Chas Bonnell.

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATING THE

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM.

A TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH OF

THE ABBE BARRUEL.

PART I.——VOL. I.

THE ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY.

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PREFACE

OF THE

TRANSLATOR.

READER,

IN the work laid before you, you are not to expect the beauties of imagination; truth alone is the object of this research. History has always been considered as the school in which the statesman is to learn the art of government; the citizen to read with awe of those disastrous days of bloodshed and rapine, expressed by the term *Revolution*. This work will lay open the most terrible, and perhaps the most astonishing concatenation of intrigue, that has ever entered the mind of man, to bring about the dreadful revolution, with which all Europe has been convulsed.

The First Part will contain, THE ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY, or that of the *Sophisters of Impiety* against the God of Christianity, and a-

gainſt every religion and every altar, whether Proteſtant or Catholic, Lutheran or Calviniſt, provided it be but Chriſtian.

The Second Part will ſhow, THE ANTI-MONARCHICAL CONSPIRACY, or that of the *Sophiſters of Impiety*, coaleſcing with thoſe *of Rebellion* againſt all kings.

The Third Part will demonſtrate THE ANTI-SOCIAL CONSPIRACY, or that of the *Sophiſters of Impiety* coaleſcing with thoſe of *Anarchy* againſt every religion, againſt every government, without even excepting the republican, againſt all civil ſociety and all property whatever.

The firſt of theſe conſpiracies was that of thoſe men called Philoſophers. The ſecond that of the Philoſophers united with the Occult Lodges of the Freemaſons.* The third was that of the Philoſophers and the Occult-Maſons coaleſced with the Illuminés, who generated the Jacobins.

It is with confidence that we preſent the firſt volume to the public, after the approbation which one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed authors of the age, both for his political knowledge, and the noble ardor he has ſhown in his writings to ſubdue the growing evil, was pleaſed to expreſs, when he read the firſt volume of the French original. He was flattering enough to ſay, in writing to the author, "The whole of the wonderful narrative is ſupported by documents and proofs,

* We ſay OCCULT LODGES, as the Freemaſons in general were far from being acquainted with the conſpiracies of the Occult Lodges; and indeed many were not people to be tampered with. It might be objected, that all lodges were occult: with regard to the public they were ſo; but beſides the common lodges, there exiſted others which were hidden from the generality of the Freemaſons. It is thoſe which the author ſtyles ARRIERES LOGES, and that we have tranſlated by OCCULT LODGES.

" with the moſt juridical regularity and exact-
" neſs. The reflexions and reaſonings are in-
" terſperſed with infinite judgment, and in their
" moſt proper places, for leading the ſentiments
" of the reader and preventing the force of plau-
" ſible objections. The tendency of the whole
" is admirable in every point of view, political,
" religious and philoſophical."

After ſuch a decided opinion on the French original, the tranſlator cannot but think it *a duty he has fulfilled* in laying ſuch a work open to thoſe of his countrymen, who may not be ſufficiently verſed in the French language; and if in ſo critical a moment, he can, by this means, ſerve his country, he is willing to take upon himſelf all thoſe inaccuracies of ſtyle, which are too frequent in tranſlations, eſpecially when done in haſte. That the reader may be inſtructed in theſe dreadful plots, and be acquainted with the whole and nothing but the truth, is the ſincere wiſh of the

TRANSLATOR.

It would be uſeleſs to add, that in all quotations the moſt literal exactneſs has been obſerved.

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Preliminary Diſcourſe.

AT an early period of the French Revolution, there appeared a ſect calling itſelf Jacobin, and teaching *that all men were equal and free!* In the name of their equality and diſorganizing liberty, they trampled under foot the altar and the throne; they ſtimulated all nations to rebellion, and aimed at plunging them ultimately into the horrors of anarchy.

At its firſt appearance, this ſect counted 300,000 adepts; and it was ſupported by two millions of men, ſcattered through France, armed with torches and pikes, and all the fire-brands of revolution.

It was under the auſpices of this ſect, by their intrigues, their influence, and their impulſe, that France beheld itſelf a prey to every crime; that its ſoil was ſtained with the blood of its pontiffs and prieſts, of its rich men and nobles; with the blood of every claſs of its citizens, without regard to rank, age or ſex! Theſe were the men who, after having made the unfortunate Lewis XVI. his Queen and Siſter, drink to the very dregs the cup of outrage and ignominy during a long confinement, ſolemnly murdered them on a ſcaffold, proudly menacing the ſovereigns of the earth with a ſimilar fate! Theſe are the men who have made the French Revolution a ſcourge to all Europe, a terror to its Powers, who vainly combine to ſtop the progreſs of their revolutionary armies, more numerous and deſtructive than the inundations of the Vandals.

Whence originated theſe men, who ſeem to ariſe from the bowels of the earth, who ſtart into exiſtence

with their plans and their projects, their tenets and their thunders, their means and ferocious reſolves; whence, I ſay, this devouring ſect? Whence this ſwarm of adepts, theſe ſyſtems, this frantic rage againſt the altar and the throne, againſt every inſtitution, whether civil or religious, ſo much reſpected by our anceſtors? Can their primogeniture in the order of the revolution give them this tremendous power, or were they not anterior? is it not their own work? where then was their hiding place? Their ſchools, their maſters, where ſhall we find them, and who will dive into their future projects? This French Revolution ended, will they ceaſe to deſolate the earth, to murder its kings, to fanaticiſe its people?

Importance of their Hiſtory

Theſe certainly are queſtions that cannot be indifferent to nations or their rulers, or to thoſe who watch for the happineſs and preſervation of ſociety; and theſe are the queſtions which I will attempt to anſwer. I will ſeek their ſolution in the very annals of the ſect, whence I will ſhew their plans and ſyſtems, their plots and means. Such, Reader, will be the object of the following Memoirs.

Had I ſeen the plots and oaths of the Jacobins end with the diſaſters they produced; had I ſeen the cloud of our misfortunes diſſipated with the French Revolution, ſtill ſhould I ſtand convinced of the importance and neceſſity of diſcloſing to the world the dark receſſes from whence it burſt into being.

to poſterity;

When with awe and reverence we read of plagues and other ſcourges that have deſolated the earth, though the danger may be paſſed, they are not to be conſidered as objects of mere curioſity. In the hiſtory of poiſons we find the antidotes; in the hiſtory of monſters we learn the weapons that deſtroyed them. When former ſcourges re-appear, or are to be apprehended, is it not our duty to explore the cauſes which firſt promoted their deſtructive influence, the means by which they might have been oppoſed, and the errors by which they may again be produced? The preſent generation is inſtructed by the misfortunes of the paſt; be then the future inſtructed by the hiſtory of ours.

to the preſent generation.

But we have evils yet more preſſing to combat: the preſent generation has been deluded; and ſuch deluſions muſt be done away as may double our misfor-

tunes in the inſtant when we think ourſelves moſt ſecure. We have ſeen men obſtinately blind to the cauſes of the French Revolution: we have ſeen men who wiſhed to perſuade themſelves that this conſpiring and revolutionary ſect had no exiſtence anterior to the revolution. In their minds this long chain of miſeries which has befallen France, to the terror of all Europe, was the mere offspring of that concourſe of unforeſeen events inſeparable from the times; it is in vain, in their conceptions, to ſeek conſpirators or conſpiracies, vain to ſearch for the hand that directs the horrid courſe. The man who rules to-day knows not the plans of his predeceſſor, and he that ſhall follow will, in their opinions, be equally ignorant of thoſe of the preſent ruler.

First error on the cauſe of the revolution.

Prepoſſeſſed with ſuch falſe ideas, and acting under ſo dangerous a prejudice, theſe ſuperficial obſervers would willingly make all nations believe, that the French Revolution could to them be no cauſe of alarm; that it was a volcano rapidly venting itſelf on the unfortunate country that gave it exiſtence, whilſt its focus and its origin remain unfathomable. Cauſes unknown (they will ſay) but peculiar to your climate; elements leſs ſubject to ferment; laws more analogous to your character; the public fortune better balanced; theſe and ſuch as theſe are reaſons ſufficient to make you regardleſs of the fate of France. But ſhould ſuch, alas! be your impending fate, vain will be your efforts to avert the threatening blow. The concourſe and fatality of circumſtances will drag you towards it; the very ramparts you ſhall build againſt it will fall back upon you, and perhaps level the ſpace that now divides you from the horrid ſcene of anarchy and deſolation.

Who could conceive, that ſuch was the language I have heard fall from the mouths even of thoſe whom the unfortunate Lewis XVI. had called near his perſon to ward off the blows perpetually aimed at him by the revolution! a language better calculated to lull all nations into that fatal ſecurity which portends deſtruction.—I have now before me the Memorial of an Exminiſter, conſulted on the cauſes of this infernal revolution, and in particular as to the chief conſpirators, which he ſhould have better known, and on the plan of the conſpiracy.—I hear this man anſwering, that it would be uſeleſs to ſeek either men, or any ſet of men,

conſpiring againſt the altar and the throne, or to ſuppoſe that any plan had been framed. Unfortunate monarch! Are thoſe who are to watch for the ſafety of your perſon, for the ſafety of your people, ignorant of the names, of the very exiſtence of your enemies! If then we behold both you and your people falling victims to their plots, can we be aſtoniſhed?

Truths combating the firſt error.

Strong in the facts, and armed with the proofs ſhown in the following Memoirs, we ſhall hold a very different language. We ſhall ſhew that with which it is incumbent on all nations and their chiefs to be acquainted: we ſhall demonſtrate that, even to the moſt horrid deeds perpetrated during the French Revolution, every thing was foreſeen and reſolved on, was combined and premeditated: that they were the offſpring of deep-thought villany, ſince they had been prepared and were produced by men, who alone held the clue of thoſe plots and conſpiracies, lurking in the ſecret meetings where they had been conceived, and only watching the favorable moment of burſting forth. Though the events of each day may not appear to have been combined, there nevertheleſs exiſted a ſecret agent and a ſecret cauſe, giving riſe to each event, and turning each circumſtance to the long-ſought-for end. Though circumſtances may often have afforded the pretence or the occaſion, yet the grand cauſe of the revolution, its leading features, its atrocious crimes, will ſtill remain one continued chain of deep-laid and premeditated villany.

Second error on the nature of the revolution.

In revealing the object, and ſhowing the extent of theſe plots, I meet a ſecond error, more dangerous than the firſt. There are men who make no difficulty in owning that the French Revolution was premeditated, but that the intention of the firſt authors was pure, and that they only ſought the happineſs and regeneration of empires; that if great misfortunes have ſince happened, they aroſe from the obſtacles thrown in their way; that a great people cannot be regenerated without commotion, but that the tempeſt will ſubſide, and a calm ſucceed the ſwelling billow. Then nations, aſtoniſhed at the fear they had conceived of the French Revolution, and true only to its principles, will be happy in imitation.

This error is the favorite theme of the Jacobin miſſionaries; it was this that gained them their firſt in-

ſtruments of rebellion ; that cohort of conſtitutionaliſts, who ſtill look on their decrees of the RIGHTS OF MAN as the ſummit of legiſlative perfection, and ſtill impatiently wait the fatal day when the world ſhall impetuouſly move in the ſphere of their political rhapſody. It was this that gained them that prodigious number of votaries more blind than wicked, and who might have been miſtaken for honeſt, if virtue could have combined with ferocity in ſearch of happier days. It was this that gained them thoſe men whoſe well-meant, though ſtupid credulity, miſled them to believe in the neceſſity of the carnage of the 10th of Auguſt, and of the horrid butcheries of the 2d of September ; in a word, all thoſe men who, in the murders of 3 or 400,000 fellow-creatures, in the extermination of millions of victims by famine, the ſword, or the guillotine, ſeek conſolation, in ſpite of this depopulating ſcourge, in the empty hope that this dreadful chain of horrors may be productive of happier days.

Truths combating the ſecond error.

In anſwer to theſe fallacious hopes, to theſe pretended good intentions, I will oppoſe the real views of this revolutionary ſect, their true projects, their conſpiracies, and their means of execution. I will ſhow them, for they muſt be divulged, the proofs being acquired. The French Revolution has been a true child to its parent ſect ; its crimes have been its filial duty ; and thoſe black deeds and atrocious acts, the natural ſequel of the principles and ſyſtems that gave it birth. I will ſhow more ; ſo far from ſeeking future proſperity, the French Revolution is but a ſportive eſſay of its ſtrength, while the whole univerſe is its aim. If elſewhere the ſame crimes are neceſſary, they will be committed ; if equal ferocity is neceſſary they will be equally ferocious ; and it will extend whereſoever its errors are received.

True conſequences of theſe truths.

The reflecting reader muſt then conclude, that either this Jacobin ſect muſt be cruſhed or ſociety overthrown : that all governments muſt give place to thoſe maſſacres, thoſe convulſive diſorders, and that infernal anarchy which rages in France : 'tis true there is no other alternative, univerſal deſtruction or extinction of the ſect. But let it be remembered, that to cruſh a ſect is not to imitate the fury of its apoſtles, intoxicated with its ſanguinary rage and propenſe to enthuſiaſtic murder. It is not to maſſacre and immolate its adepts,

or retort on them the thunders they had hurled. To cruſh a ſect, is to attack it in its ſchools, to reveal its impoſture, and ſhow to the world the abſurdity of its principles, the atrocity of its means, and above all the profound wickedneſs of its teachers. Yes; ſtrike the Jacobin, but ſpare the man; the ſect is a ſect of opinion, and its deſtruction will be doubly complete on the day when it is deſerted by its diſciples, to return to the true principles of reaſon and ſociety.

The ſect is monſtrous, but all its diſciples are not monſters. Its care in hiding its latter projects, the extreme precaution with which it initiated the choſen of the elect, ſhews how much it feared the deſertion of the multitude of its diſciples, and its conſequent deſtruction, had the horror of its myſteries been ſurmiſed. For my part, I never doubted, how depraved ſoever the Jacobins may have been, that the greateſt part would have deſerted the ſect could they have foreſeen whither and by what means they were led. Could the French people have followed ſuch chiefs, had it been poſſible to make them conceive to what lengths the plans and plots of the conſpirators would carry them!

That theſe plots ſhould be known, the intereſt of all nations;

Were France, like hell, a bottomleſs pit, impenetrable to every voice but that of the fiends of the revolution, ſtill it is not too late to acquaint other nations of their danger. They have heard of the crimes and misfortunes of that revolution, let them learn the lot that awaits them ſhould Jacobiniſm prevail; let them learn that they are not leſs within the grand revolutionary circle than France itſelf; that all thoſe crimes, the anarchy and bloody ſcenes which have followed the diſſolution of the French empire, equally await all other nations; let them learn that their altars and their thrones, their pontiffs and their kings, are doomed to the ſame fate with thoſe of France: all are comprehended within the grand conſpiracy.

intereſt of all governments.

When a phantom of peace ſhall ſeem to terminate the preſent war between the Jacobins and the combined powers, it certainly will be the intereſt of all governments to aſcertain how far ſuch a peace can be relied on. At that period, more than at any other, will it be neceſſary to ſtudy the ſecret hiſtory of that ſect, which ſends its legions rather to ſhiver the ſceptre than to fight the power, which has not promiſed to its adepts the crowns of princes, kings and emperors, but

has required of and bound thoſe adepts by the oath of deſtroying them all: at that period we muſt remember, that it is not in the field of Mars that the war againſt ſects is the moſt dangerous; when rebellion and anarchy are in the very tenets of the ſectary, the hand may be diſarmed, but war glows warmly in the heart. The ſect, weakened, may ſlumber for a while, but ſuch a ſleep is the calm preceding the irruption of the volcano. It no longer ſends forth its curling flames; but the ſubterraneous fire winds its courſe, penetrates, and, preparing many vents, ſuddenly burſts forth and carries miſery and devaſtation wherever its fiery torrent rolls.

The object of theſe Memoirs is not to treat preciſely of that ſtate of war or of peace carried on from Power to Power. Then it often happens that, all reſources being exhauſted, the ſword muſt be ſheathed, though the original grievances ſtill ſubſiſt. Let the rulers of the people diſcuſs the means of force. But we know there exiſts another ſort of war, which a confidence in treaties only renders more fatal; *that* war is a war of plots and conſpiracies, and againſt them public treaties can never avail. Woe to that Power which ſhall have made peace without knowing why its enemy had declared war againſt it. What the ſect had done before it burſt forth the firſt time, it will do again to prepare a ſecond eruption. In darkneſs it will conſpire anew, and calamities ſtill more diſaſtrous will teach all nations that the French revolution was only the firſt ſtep towards the univerſal diſſolution which the ſect has ſo long been meditating and contriving.

Object of theſe memoirs.

Such were the reaſons which ſtimulated me to inveſtigate the plots and wiſhes, the tortuous means and nature of this ſect. We have witneſſed the frantic rage and the ferocity of its legions; we have known them as the agents of the French Revolution, as the perpetrators of all its atrocious crimes and devaſtations; but few are acquainted with the ſchools that have formed them. Poſterity, alas! will feel, during many generations, their dire effects. To trace their ravages, it will only have to caſt its eyes around. The ruins of the palaces and the temples, the fallen cities, the manſions deſtroyed throughout the provinces, will paint in glowing colours the devaſtations of the modern Vandals. The liſts of proſcription, fatal to the

prince and so many of his subjects, the deserted villages, all, in a word, will long be the vouchers of those fatal lanterns, of that insatiable guillotine, of those legislative executioners supported by bands of assassins.

Circumstances so painful and so humiliating to human nature will not be recorded in these Memoirs. It is not to expose what a Marat or a Robespierre has done, but to bare to the light the schools, the systems, the conspiracies, in a word, the masters who have formed a Philippe D'Orleans, a Syeyes, a Condorcet, or a Petion, and who at this present time are forming in all nations men who would rival Marat and Robespierre in their cruelties. Our object is, that, the sect of the Jacobins and their conspiracies once known, their crimes shall be no longer a cause of surprise; that their propensity to the effusion of blood, their blasphemies against Christ and his altars, their frantic rage against the throne, and their cruelties against their fellow-citizens, shall be as naturally understood as the ravages of the plague. And may nations in future as cautiously guard against the one, as they preserve themselves against the other!

It was to attain this important object that all our researches on the sect have been directed at its chiefs, its origin, its plots, its plans, and its progress; more particularly investigating the means it employed to bring about the revolution, than describing its conduct during that revolution.

The result of our research, corroborated by proofs drawn from the records of the Jacobins, and of their first masters, has been, that this sect with its conspiracies is in itself no other than the coalition of a triple sect, of a triple conspiracy, in which, long before the revolution, the overthrow of the altar, the ruin of the throne, and the dissolution of all civil society had been debated and resolved on.

1st. Many years before the French Revolution, men who styled themselves Philosophers conspired against the God of the Gospel, against Christianity, without distinction of worship, whether Protestant or Catholic, Anglican or Presbyterian. The grand object of this conspiracy was to overturn every altar where Christ was adored. It was the conspiracy of the *Sophisters of Impiety*, or the ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY.

2dly. This ſchool of impiety ſoon formed the *Sophiſters of Rebellion:* theſe latter, combining their conſpiracy againſt kings with that of the Sophiſters of Impiety, coaleſce with that ancient ſect whoſe tenets conſtituted the whole ſecret of the *Occult Lodges* of Free-maſonry, which long ſince, impoſing on the credulity of its moſt diſtinguiſhed adepts, only initiated the choſen of the elect into the ſecret of their unrelenting hatred for Chriſt and kings.

3dly. From the Sophiſters of Impiety and Rebellion, aroſe the *Sophiſters of Impiety and Anarchy.* Theſe latter conſpire not only againſt Chriſt and his altars, but againſt every religion natural or revealed: not only againſt kings, but againſt every government, againſt all civil ſociety, even againſt all property whatſoever.

This third ſect, known by the name of *Illuminés*, coaleſced with the Sophiſters conſpiring againſt Chriſt, coaleſced with the Sophiſters who, with the Occult Maſons, conſpired againſt both Chriſt and kings. It was the coalition of the adepts of *impiety*, of the adepts of *rebellion*, and the adepts of *anarchy*, which *formed the* CLUB *of the* JACOBINS. Under this name, common to the triple ſect (originating from the name of the order, whoſe convent they had ſeized upon to hold their ſittings,) we ſhall ſee the adepts following up their triple conſpiracy againſt God, the King, and Society. Such was the origin, ſuch the progreſs of that ſect, ſince become ſo dreadfully famous under the name of JACOBIN.

In the preſent Memoirs each of theſe three conſpiracies ſhall be treated ſeparately; their authors unmaſked, the object, means, coalition and progreſs of the adepts ſhall be laid open.

Proofs of the moſt pointed nature are neceſſary, when ſuch horrid plots are denounced to all nations; and it is to give theſe proofs the greater authenticity, that the title of MEMOIRS has been prefixed to this work. To have written the ſimple hiſtory of the Jacobins might have ſufficed for many; but theſe Memoirs are intended for the hiſtorian, who will find a collection of proofs, both numerous and convincing, all extracted from the records and avowals of the conſpirators themſelves. Strong in theſe proofs, we ſhall not fear to proclaim to all nations, "that whatever

" their religion or their government may be, to what-
" ever rank they may belong in civil ſociety, if Jaco-
" biniſm triumphs, all will be overthrown; that
" ſhould the plans and wiſhes of the Jacobins be ac-
" compliſhed, their religion with its pontiffs, their
" government with its laws, their magiſtrates and
" their property, all would be ſwept away in the com-
" mon maſs of ruin! Their riches and their fields,
" their houſes and their cottages, their very wives and
" children would be torn from them. You have
" looked upon the Jacobinical faction as exhauſting
" itſelf in France, when it was only making a ſportive
" eſſay of its ſtrength. Their wiſhes and their oaths
" extend throughout Europe; nor are England or
" Germany, Italy or Spain, ſtrangers to their in-
" trigues."

Let not the Reader take this for the language of enthuſiaſm or fanaticiſm; far be ſuch paſſions either from myſelf or my readers. Let them decide on the proofs adduced, with the ſame coolneſs and impartiality which has been neceſſary to collect and digeſt them. The order followed in the inveſtigation of theſe conſpiracies ſhall be exactly that in which they were generated. We ſhall therefore begin with the conſpiracy againſt the whole religion of the Goſpel, and which we have ſtyled the ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY.

THE

ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY.

CHAP. I.

Of the Principal Actors of the Conſpiracy.

ABOUT the middle of this century, there appeared three men leagued in the moſt inveterate hatred againſt Chriſtianity. Theſe were Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Frederick II. King of Pruſſia. Voltaire hated religion becauſe he was jealous of its Author, and of all thoſe whom it had rendered illuſtrious; D'Alembert becauſe his cold heart was incapable of affection; Frederick becauſe he had never ſeen it but through the medium of its enemies. Chiefs of the conſpiracy.

To theſe three a fourth muſt be added, named Diderot; hating religion becauſe he doated on nature; enthuſiaſtically wedded to the chaos of his own ideas, he choſe rather to build his ſyſtem on chimeras and form myſteries of his own, than ſubmit to the light of the Goſpel.

Numerous were the adepts afterwards drawn into this conſpiracy, generally ſtupid admirers or ſecondary agents. Voltaire the chief, D'Alembert the moſt ſubtle agent, Frederick the protector and often the adviſer, Diderot the forlorn hope.

The firſt of theſe conſpirators, Mary Francis Arouet, was born at Paris, February 20th, 1694, ſon of an ancient notary of the Chatelet; through vanity he changed his name to that of Voltaire, which he deemed more noble, more ſonorous, and better ſuited to the reputation he aimed at: and never had there yet appeared a man with ſuch talents, and ſuch a thirſt of dominion over the literary world. Gravity of manners, Voltaire.

the ſpirit of meditation, or a genius leading to diſcuſſion and deep reſearch, were unfortunately not among the gifts which Nature had laviſhed on him; and more unfortunately ſtill, in his own heart were to be found all thoſe paſſions which render abilities dangerous: from his early youth he ſeemed to direct them all at the overthrow of religion.

While only a ſtudent in rhetoric, in the college of Louis le Grand, he drew on himſelf the following rebuke from his profeſſor, the Jeſuit Le Jay, *Unfortunate young man, you will one day come to be the ſtandard-bearer of Infidelity.** Never was oracle more literally fulfilled.

On leaving the college, he neither ſought nor loved any other ſociety, but that of men whoſe profligate morals could ſtimulate his incredulity. He was particularly intimate with Chaulieu the Anacreon of his day, the poet of voluptuouſneſs; and with a few Epicureans who held their ſittings at the Hotel de Vendôme. His firſt eſſays were in ſatire, which gave offence to government, and in tragedy, where we ſhould have ſeen the rival of Corneille, Racine and Crebillon, had he not at the ſame time wiſhed to rival Celſus and Porphyrius, with all the other enemies of religion. At a time when licentiouſneſs in opinion ſtill met with obſtacles in France, he ſought an aſylum in England. He there found men whom the writings of Shafteſbury, commented on by Bolingbroke, had trained up to Deiſm. He miſtook them for philoſophers, and was perſuaded that they alone were eſteemed by the Engliſh. If he was not then miſtaken, times ſince are greatly changed. All thoſe ſophiſters whom Voltaire extols as the glory of Great-Britain, if not forgotten, are more deſpiſed than read. Collins and Hobbes when remembered are claſſed with Tom Paine; an Engliſhman's good ſenſe does not allow him to hate religion, or make an oſtentatious diſplay of impiety. With him nothing is leſs philoſophical, notwithſtanding his toleration and variety of creeds, than that affected hatred to Chriſtianity which marks our Sophiſters, and more particularly their conſpiracies to overthrow it.

Philoſophiſm is ſaid to have firſt ariſen in England. I deny the fact. Philoſophiſm is the error of every

* Life of Voltaire, edit. of Kell, and Feller's Hiſt. Dict.

man who, judging of every thing by the ſtandard of his own reaſon, rejects in religious matters every authority that is not derived from the light of nature. It is the error of every man who denies the poſſibility of any myſtery beyond the limits of his reaſon, of every man who, diſcarding revelation, in defence of the pretended rights of reaſon, their liberty and equality, ſeeks to ſubvert the whole fabric of the Chriſtian religion.

Such an error may conſtitute a ſect; the hiſtory of ancient Jacobiniſm demonſtrates that the ſect exiſted long ſince; but it had ſhrunk back to its dark abodes, when Voltaire appeared.

Such an error may be that of a few individuals. Many of the ſame ſort had been broached during the two laſt centuries. Numerous were the ſects which had ſprung from Luther and Calvin, each making its partial attack on the ancient tenets of Chriſtianity; when at length there aroſe a ſet of men attacking them all, and they would believe nothing. At firſt they were ſtyled Libertines, the only name they deſerved.

Voltaire might every where have met with ſome of thoſe men, and more particularly at Paris under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, who was himſelf a monſter of libertiniſm; but, feeling the neceſſity of religion for the ſtate would not ſuffer it to be attacked in their publications.

It was in England, it is true, where, under their Collins and their Hobbes, the libertines firſt ſtyled themſelves Philoſophers, and aſſumed the airs of deep thought, probably from ſome impious productions, which in any other part of Chriſtendom would have enjoyed neither equal publicity nor impunity. But it may be certainly concluded, that Voltaire would every where have been, what he became in England; he would have been ſo, at leaſt, wherever, from the lenity of the laws, he could give vent to his inſatiable thirſt of dominion over the empire of ſcience or letters.

It was in vain for him to aſpire at the reputation of a Boſſuet, a Paſcal, or of that blaze of genius which had ſhone forth in the defence of religion; but, hating their cauſe, and dazzled by their glory, he dared be jealous of their God; at his empire he levelled his blows, and would be foremoſt in the ranks of the Philoſophiſts.—He ſucceeded; but, to keep his pre-emi-

nence, bluſhed not to blend philoſophy with impiety, and to compaſs the overthrow of religion. England however was the place where he firſt conceived a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Condorcet, his adept, his confidant, his hiſtorian, and his panegyriſt, aſſerts it in poſitive terms: *There it was* (in England) *that Voltaire ſwore to dedicate his life to the accompliſhment of that project; and he has kept his word.**

On his return to Paris, about the year 1730, he made ſo little ſecret of his deſign, he had publiſhed ſo many writings againſt Chriſtianity, and was ſo ſanguine in his hopes, that Mr. Herault, the Lieutenant of Police, upbraiding him one day with his impiety, and adding, *You may do or write what you pleaſe, you will never be able to deſtroy the Chriſtian religion.* Voltaire without heſitation anſwered, *That is what we ſhall ſee.*†

Stimulated by the obſtacles he met with, and ſeeing ſo much glory in his enterprize, he would not willingly have ſhared it with any body. "I am weary," he would ſay, "of hearing people repeat, that twelve "men have been ſufficient to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity, "and I will prove that one may ſuffice to overthrow "it."‡ When he uttered theſe words, his ſpite ſeemed to blind him to ſuch a degree, as to hide from him the immenſe diſtance between the genius that creates, and the petty cunning of the miſchievous monkey that deſtroys. The Sophiſter may conjure the clouds, or veil the world in darkneſs, but does not by that approach the God of truth. The virtues, the miracles, all the divine knowledge of the apoſtles, were neceſſary to teach man the path of life.

Although Voltaire in his outſet flattered himſelf to enjoy alone the whole glory of the deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion, which was his ſole object, he nevertheleſs ſoon found that aſſociates would be neceſſary. He even feared the noiſe of his undertaking, and hence reſolved to move in the ſurer though humbler ſphere of a conſpirator. Already his numerous writings, either impious or obſcene, had gained him many admirers and diſciples, who, under the name of Philoſophers, prided themſelves in the hatred they bore to Chriſtianity. Among theſe he choſe D'Alembert as the moſt proper perſon to ſecond him in his new plan of attack; and he choſe well.

* Life of Voltaire, edit. of Kell. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

In the nobler theme, among the Sophiſters we ſhould compare Voltaire to Agamemnon, and D'Alembert to Ulyſſes. If the compariſon be too noble, ſee the latter cunning and cringing, even barking like the fox. Born of Fontenelle according to ſome, of Aſtruc the doctor according to others, his birth was always a ſecret to him. His mother was at the head of one of thoſe ſocieties of men of letters common in Paris, and ſhe uſed to ſtyle them her beaſts. Whether deſigned to hide his birth or not, is unknown; but certain it is, that in the night from the 16th to the 17th of November 1717, he was found, wrapped in ſwaddling cloaths, in the portico of the pariſh church of St. John; and hence took the name of *Jean le Rond* at the Foundling Hoſpital whither he was carried and in which he was bred. D'Alembert.

While yet a youth he inliſted under the banners of incredulity, repaying with ingratitude the church that had charitably reared him; with the ſmall ſums given him for his education, he ſought, like many other young men, all thoſe profligate works written againſt a religion whoſe proofs they almoſt flee from. Thus do wicked boys calumniate the kind maſter who thwarts their evil diſpoſition.

Both his heart and mind naturally led him to be a diſciple of Voltaire; even their diverſity of character and the immenſe difference of talent, were ſoon confounded in their mutual bias to incredulity, and confirmed hatred to Chriſtianity.

Voltaire was fiery, paſſionate and impetuous; D'Alembert cold, reſerved, prudent and crafty: Voltaire fond of ſhow, D'Alembert almoſt feared to be ſeen. The one, like the chief who is obliged to maſk his battery, reluctantly uſed diſſimulation, wiſhed to wage open war with Chriſtianity, *and die on a heap of Chriſtians*, which he terms Bigots, *immolated at his feet.** The other, by inſtinct a diſſembler, waged war like the partizan who, from behind his buſhes, ſmiles to ſee his enemy fall into the ſnares he has laid.† Voltaire, ſo tranſcendent in polite literature, was but ſuperficial in mathematicks. In the latter D'Alembert was profound, and owed his reputation to them: in every thing elſe he was a dry, finical, and perplexed writer, and

* Letter from Voltaire to D'Alembert, 20th April 1761.
† Particularly Let. 100, from D'Alembert, 4th May 1762.

is ſometimes as low and vulgar as Voltaire is noble, eaſy and elegant; he would plod to turn a bad epigram, while the latter would have wittily filled whole volumes.

Voltaire impudently daring, whether for or againſt, would quote the ſcriptures, hiſtory, or the holy fathers, affirming, inventing, or traducing the paſſage he wants; for to wound was his only aim. D'Alembert carefully guards againſt the reply that may expoſe him; his ſteps, myſterious and indirect, hide his deſign; ſhrinking from refutation, if attacked he flies, concealing the fight leſt he proclaim his defeat. Voltaire on the contrary ſeeks his enemies, calls to them; though a hundred times defeated, he returns to the charge; though his error be refuted, he will inceſſantly repeat it. It is not in defeat, but in flight alone that he ſees diſgrace; and thus after a war of ſixty years we ſtill ſee him ranging on the field of battle.

D'Alembert ſeeks the ſmile of every little aſſembly; and the applauſe of forty men in an academical circle conſtitutes his triumphal day; while all the world, from London to St. Peterſburg, from Sweden to America, to pleaſe Voltaire muſt ſound his fame.

D'Alembert enliſts from around him thoſe ſecondary adepts; he trains them, initiates them, directs their miſſions, and holds petty correſpondences. Voltaire will conjure kings, emperors, miniſters and princes againſt his God; all muſt do homage to the ſultan of incredulity. Among theſe latter, hiſtory muſt diſtinguiſh that Frederick, which it has yet only known by titles glorious to monarchs, whether conquerors or rulers.

Frederick II.

In this Frederick II. the Solomon of the North according to the Sophiſters, there are two diſtinct men. Firſt, that King of Pruſſia, that hero leſs worthy of our admiration in the field of victory, diſplaying his vaſt military talents, than as the father of his people, giving life to agriculture and commerce, protecting the arts, counterpoiſing in ſome ſort, by the juſtice and wiſdom of his adminiſtration, thoſe exploits perhaps more brilliant than juſt. In the ſecond (ſo beneath a monarch) we ſee the Sophiſter, the philoſophic pedant, the conſpirator of incredulity; leſs cruel and enthuſiaſtic than Julian the apoſtate, but more artful and perfidious.

It is painful to diſcloſe the dark myſteries of this impious prince; but hiſtory muſt be true, and here eſpecially. To trace the conſpiracy againſt their thrones, kings muſt know what ſhare their colleagues have had in the conſpiracy againſt the altar.

Frederick, born with a mind worthy of a Celſus or his ſchool, had not the help of a Juſtin or a Tertullian to guide his ſteps in religion, and was ſurrounded by its calumniators. While only Prince-royal he was in correſpondence with Voltaire, and chiefly on religion or metaphyſics; and even at that early age deemed himſelf a Philoſopher; for he ſays—"To ſpeak with "my uſual freedom, I muſt naturally own, that what-"ever regards the *God made man*, diſpleaſes me in the "mouth of a Philoſopher, who ſhould be above pop-"ular error. Leave to *the great Corneille*, when *doat-"ing and fallen back to childhood*, the inſipid taſk of "verſifying the *Imitation of Chriſt*; and whatever you "may give us, let it be your own. We may ſpeak "of fables, but merely as fables; and a profound "ſilence in my opinion ſhould be kept, concerning "thoſe fables of the Chriſtians, ſanctified by time and "the credulity of the abſurd and ſtupid."*

Even in his firſt letters there appears, with the ridiculous pride of a pedantic king, all the verſatility and hypocriſy of a Sophiſter. Frederick denies, when Voltaire ſupports liberty.† With Voltaire, man is a pure machine; Frederick then maintains that man is free.‡ In one place we are free, preciſely becauſe we can form a clear idea of freedom.§ In another, man is all matter; though one can hardly form a more confuſed idea, than that of matter thinking, free or arguing, though it were with Frederick's own verſatility.‖ He upbraids Voltaire with the praiſes he had beſtowed on Chriſt, and three years after he is not aſhamed to write—"For my part, I own that (how-"ever people may enliſt under the banners of Fanat-"iciſm) I never ſhall. I may indeed compoſe a few "Pſalms to give a good opinion of my orthodoxy. "Socrates incenſed the houſehold Gods, ſo did Cice-"ro, and he was not credulous. We muſt give way

* Let. 53, anno 1738.
† Their letters in 1737.
‡ Let. of 16 Sept. 1771.
§ Ibid.
‖ Let. of 4th Dec. 1775.

" to the fancies of a frivolous people, to avoid perse-
" cution and blame. For after all what is moſt defir-
" able in this world is to live in peace ; let us then live
" fooliſhly with fools, that we may live quietly."*

The ſame Frederick had written, that the Chriſtian religion *yielded none but poiſonous weeds* ;† and Voltaire had congratulated him, *as having above all Princes fortitude of ſoul, ſufficient inſight and knowledge, to ſee that for the ſeventeen hundred years paſt the* CHRISTIAN *SECT had never done any thing but harm*,‡ when we afterward find him the opponent of that work of Philoſophic inſight, or rather ſo infamouſly profligate, *the Syſtem of Nature.* " One could be tempted," ſays he, " to accuſe its author of want of ſenſe and ſkill when, " calumniating the Chriſtian religion, he imputes to " it failings that it has not. How can he with truth " aſſert that religion can be the cauſe of the misfor-" tunes of mankind ! He would have been more cor-" rect, had he ſimply ſaid, that the ambition and ſelf-" intereſt of men, cloaked under the veil of religion, " had ſought to diſturb the world and gratify their " paſſions. What then is reprehenſible in the morals " of the commandments ? Were there in the whole " Goſpel but this ſingle precept, *Do as thou wouldſt be* " *done by*, we ſhould be obliged to confeſs that thoſe " few words contained the whole quinteſſence of mo-" rality :—The forgiveneſs of injuries, charity, hu-" manity, were not theſe preached by Jeſus in his ex-" cellent ſermon on the mount ?"§

In writing this, how much Frederick had loſt of that inſight, that knowledge which had ſo lately diſtinguiſhed him from other princes ! But ſtrange to ſay, after having ſeen religion in ſo clear a light, he compliments Voltaire on being its ſcourge,‖ he ſtill communicates his plans for its deſtruction,¶ and foreſees, that ſhould it be preſerved and protected in France, *the fine arts and higher ſciences muſt fall*, and that *the ruſt of ſuperſtition will completely deſtroy a people, otherwiſe amiable and born for ſociety.***

* Let. of 7th Jan. 1740. † Let. to Voltaire 143, anno 1766.
‡ Let. of 5th April 1764.
§ Examination of the Syſtem of Nature, by Frederick, King of Pruſſia.
‖ Let. of 12th Aug. 1773. ¶ Let. 20th July 1775.
** Let. to Voltaire, 30th July 1777.

Had our ſophiſtical monarch really foreſeen events, he would have ſeen *that* people, *otherwiſe amiable* and *born for ſociety*, when it had loſt its religion, terrifying all Europe with its horrid deeds. But, like Voltaire, he was to be the ſport of his pretended wiſdom, as he was of his philoſophy; and though we ſhall often ſee him judging ſhrewdly of the adepts, we ſhall always find him conſpiring with them againſt the religion of Chriſt.

The correſpondence that ſo well developes the characters of the royal adept, and of his idol Voltaire, begins in 1736; it was uninterrupted during their lives, ſome few years of the idol's diſgrace excepted. It is in this correſpondence that we muſt ſtudy him, incredulous and impious; diveſting himſelf of his royal inſignia, he is more emulous of the Philoſophiſt, than he was jealous of the Cæſars; and to rival Voltaire becomes his ſervile copyiſt. A poet beneath mediocrity, a metaphyſician on the lower ranks, he excels in but two things, his admiration for Voltaire, and his impiety, often worſe than that of his maſter.

In conſideration of this homage, this zeal, Voltaire overlooked his caprice, the rough uſage he ſometimes met with, even to the correction of the cane inflicted on him at Frankfort by a major by order of the deſpotic Sophiſter. It was too eſſential for the ſect to continue the ſupport of a royal adept, and we ſhall ſee how very much he ſerved them. But firſt, in order to fathom their mutual hatred to Chriſtianity, let us attend to the vaſt obſtacles they overcame; let us hear Voltaire pathetically deſcribing his ſufferings at Berlin, a few years after his arrival, in a letter to Mad. Denis, his niece and confidant. He ſays, "La Metrie in his "Prefaces may extol his extreme felicity in being "with a great king, who ſometimes reads his poetry "to him; yet in private he weeps with me; he would "willingly return though it were on foot. But why "am *I* here? I will aſtoniſh you. This La Metrie, "a man of no conſequence, chats familiarly with the "king when their readings are over—He ſpeaks to "me with confidence. He declared to me that talk"ing to the king a few days ago of my ſuppoſed fa"vor, and of the jealouſy it excites, the king had an"ſwered, *I ſhall certainly not want him above a twelve*"*month longer; we ſqueeze the orange and throw away*

" *the rind* I made him repeat these consolatory " words, I questioned him again and again, but he on- " ly reiterated his declaration.—I have done my ut- " most not to believe La Metrie; and yet, in reading " over the king's verses I found an epistle to one of " his painters called Père, it begins thus :

" *Quel spectacle etonnant vient de frapper mes yeux ?*
" *Cher Père, ton pinceau, t'égale au rang des dieux.*

" Tell me what sight has struck my wond'ring eyes ?
" Thy skill, dear Père, with gods immortal vies.

" Now this Père is a fellow whom he takes no no- " tice of, and yet he is the *dear Père, he is a God;* he " may perhaps see me in the same light, and that is " not saying much.—You may easily guess what re- " flexions, what a recoil upon myself and what per- " plexity, in a word what trouble this declaration of " La Metrie's has created within me."*

This first letter was soon succeeded by a second, as follows : " My sole views at present are, to desert in a " genteel manner, to take care of my health, to see " you again, and forget this three years dream. I " plainly perceive the orange has been squeezed; I " must think of saving the rind. For my own instruc- " tion I will compile a dictionary for the use of kings. " *My friend*, signifies *my slave; my dear friend*, is to " say, *you are to me more than indifferent:* you are to " understand by *I will make you happy, I will bear with* " *you as long as I shall have need for you; sup with me* " *to-night*, means *I will make game of you to-night.* " This dictionary might be of some length, and not " unworthy a place in the Encyclopædia.

" Seriously this distresses me. Can there be truth " in what I have seen ? To delight in making mischief " among those that live with him ! To say every thing " that is gracious to a person, and write pamphlets " against him ! To force a man from his country by " the most endearing and solemn promises, and treat " him with the blackest malice ! What contrasts ! " And this is the man who wrote in such a philosophic " strain, and whom I mistook for a Philosopher ! and " I styled him *the Solomon of the North !* Do you re-

* Let. to Mad. Denis, Berlin 2d Sept. 1752.

" member that fine letter, which never pleaſed you?
" You are a Philoſopher, ſaid he, and ſo am I. Upon
" my word, Sire, as to Philoſophers, we are neither
" of us ſo."*

Voltaire never was more correct; neither Frederick nor he could pretend to Philoſophy in its true acceptation; but they might eminently ſo in the ſenſe of the conſpirators, with whom impiety and hatred to Chriſtianity was its only eſſence.

It was ſoon after writing this laſt letter, that Voltaire ſtole away from the court of his diſciple, and received at Frankfort the *correction* which made him the laughing-ſtock of all Europe. Eſtabliſhed however at Ferney, he ſoon forgot his baſtinado, and Frederick was once more the *Solomon of the North*, who returns the compliment by ſaluting him as the Father of Philoſophy. Though not in friendſhip, they were ſoon united in their mutual hatred to Chriſtianity; and though they never met again, their plans were more eaſily formed and intelligently conducted in their future correſpondence.

Diderot.

As to Didoret, he ſpontaneouſly threw himſelf into the arms of the conſpirators. A heated brain, an enthuſiaſtic rage for that Philoſophiſm of which Voltaire had ſet the faſhion, a diſorderly confuſion of ideas (the more evident, as both his ſpeech and pen followed all the exploſions of his brain,) pointed him out to D'Alembert as a man eſſential to the conſpiracy, and who would ſay, or could be made to ſay, ſuch things as he dared not ſpeak himſelf. They were both, until death, as firmly united to Voltaire, as the latter was to Frederick.

Uncertainty of the chiefs in their philoſophical opinions.

If there had been any thing but chaos to have ſucceeded to Chriſtianity, had there been any doctrine whatſoever to have been ſubſtituted, never were four men leſs fitted for ſuch an undertaking.

Voltaire leaned to Deiſm, and ſeemed for ſome time to have adopted it; but, inſenſibly falling into Spinoſa's ſyſtems, he knew not what to believe. Conſulting at one time D'Alembert, at another Frederick, he was torn with remorſe during the remainder of his life; if doubts and anguiſh of mind, void of repentance, can be called remorſe. At nearly fourſcore he expreſſes

* Letter to Mad. Denis, 18th Dec. 1752.

himself in the following uncertain manner: "Doubts "encompass us around, *and doubting is a disagreeable* "*state*. Is there a God such as he is said to be? A "soul such as is imagined? Analogies such as laid "down? Is there any thing to be hoped for after this "life? Was Gilimer in the right to laugh, though "stript of his dominions, when brought before Justin- "ian, or Cato preferring suicide to the sight of Cæsar. "Is glory then but an illusion? Shall Mustapha in the "effeminacy of his harem, beaten, ignorant, proud "and committing every folly, be happier provided he "digests well, than the philosopher who digests ill? "Are all beings equal before the great Being that an- "imates nature? In that case could the soul of Ra- "vaillac be equal to that of Henry IV. or had they "neither of them a soul? May the heroic philosophers "unravel all this; for my part I can make nothing "of it."‡

D'Alembert and Frederick alternately pressed by these questions, each answered after his own way. Unable to fix his own uncertainty the former frankly confesses he has not the gift of solving them: "I own "to you," says he, "that concerning the existence of "God, the Author of the *System of Nature* seems too "resolute and dogmatic, and on this subject scepti- "cism seems the most rational. *What do we know* "*about it*, is with me, an answer to most metaphysical "questions, and the consequent reflection must be, "that since we know nothing of the matter, it is "doubtless unnecessary that we should know more."*

This reflection on the little importance of these questions, was added, lest Voltaire, harrassed out with the anguish of his mind, should forsake a philosophy unable to solve his doubts on questions, by no means, in his opinion, indifferent to the happiness of man. He insisted, but D'Alembert persisting in the same style, says that "*No*, in metaphysics, appeared to him not "much wiser than *yes*; and that *non liquet* (it is not "clear) was generally the only rational answer."†

Frederick was as averse to doubts as Voltaire, but perpetually wishing to stifle them, he was at length persuaded he had succeeded. "A philosopher of my

‡ Letter 179, 12th Oct. 1770.
* Letter 36, anno 1770. † Letter 38, ibid.

" acquaintance," says he, "a man pretty resolute in " his opinions, thinks that we have a sufficient degree " of probability, to constitute a certainty that *post mor-* " *tem nihil est* (or that death is an eternal sleep,) he " maintains that man is not twofold, that he is only " matter animated by motion; and this strange man " says, that there exists no relation between *animals* " and the supreme *intelligence*."*

This resolute philosopher, this strange man, was Frederick himself, and a few years after, he makes no secret of it, when he more decidedly writes, " I am " well assured that I am not twofold; hence, I con- " sider myself as a single being. I know that I am an " animal organised and that thinks; hence, I conclude " that matter can think, as well as that it has the prop- " erty of being electric."†

Verging towards his grave, but wishing to inspire Voltaire with confidence, he writes anew. " The " gout has successively ran over all my body. Our " frail machine must needs be destroyed by time, " which consumes every thing; my foundations are " undermined, but all that, gives me very little con- " cern."‡

As to the fourth hero of the conspiracy, the famous Diderot, he is exactly the person, whose decisions against God, D'Alembert had found too resolute and dogmatic, though oftentimes, in the same work, we find him after deciding against the Deist, deciding in the same peremptory manner for or against the Sceptic and the Atheist. But whether he writes for or against a God, he always appears impervious to doubts or anguish of mind. He fairly wrote what he thought at the moment he held his pen, whether *he crushed the atheist with the weight of the universe*, and that *the eye of a mite, the wing of a butterfly* was sufficient to defeat them,‖ or when *that glorious display did not give him even the most distant idea of any thing divine*,§ and that this universe was but the *fortuitous result of motion and matter*;¶ whether, when the existence of God was to be left in doubt, *scepticism at all times and in all places, could alone preserve us from the two opposite excesses*,** or when *he prays God for the sceptics*, because he sees *the*

* Letter of 30th Oct. 1770. † Letter of 4th Dec. 1775.
‡ Letter 8th Apr. 1776. ‖ Philosophical Thoughts, No. 20.
§ The Code of Nature. ¶ Philosophical Thoughts, No. 21.
** Idem, No. 33.

*yall want light ;** whether in fine to form a ſceptic, *it was neceſſary to have a head as well organiſed as that of Montagne the philoſopher.*†

Never was there a man ſo peremptory when affirming or denying any point, ſo perfectly void of conſtraint or trouble, ſo impervious to remorſe ; he was a perfect ſtranger to them even when he poſitively ſays that, *between him and his dog he knows of no other difference but their dreſs.*‡

With theſe extravagancies in their religious opinions we find, Voltaire impious and tormented by his doubts and ignorance ; D'Alembert impious but calm in his ; while Frederick impious and triumphant, or thinking he had triumphed over his ignorance, left God in heaven provided there were no ſouls on earth ; and Diderot, by turns, Atheiſt, Materialiſt, Deiſt or Sceptic, but ever impious, ever frantic, the better fitted for the various parts he was doomed to act.

Such were the men whoſe characters and religious errors, were neceſſary to be known, to aſcertain the conſpiracy of which they were the chiefs, and of whoſe exiſtence we ſhall give undeniable proof, indicate its preciſe object, and unfold its means and future progreſs.

* Idem, No. 22. † Idem, No. 28.
‡ Life of Seneca, page 377.

CHAP. II.

Of the Object, Extent, and Exiſtence of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy.

The true characteriſtics of a conſpiracy.

TO ſay that there exiſted a conſpiracy againſt the Chriſtian religion, of which Voltaire, D'Alembert, Frederick II. King of Pruſſia, and Diderot, were the chief authors and inſtigators, is not ſimply to ſay, that each one of them was an enemy and that their writings tended to the deſtruction of the religion of Chriſt; for both before and after them, we have ſeen enemies to this ſame religion, ſeeking to ſpread, by their writings, the venom of incredulity. France has had her Bayle, and her Monteſquieu; the firſt a true ſophiſter, undecided in his principles and ſupporting the *pro* and *con* with equal verſatility; but deſtitute of that hatred, which conſtitutes the conſpirator, and ſeeks accomplices: the latter is but a youth when he writes his *Perſian Letters*, and has no fixed principle againſt that faith, to which he will one day do homage, by declaring that *he always reſpected religion*, and that he beheld the Goſpel, *as the faireſt gift that God had beſtowed on man.**

England has ſeen her Hobbes, her Woolſtons or her Collins, with many other diſciples of incredulity; but each of theſe ſophiſters was impious in his own way, and they ſought not to league together, however much Voltaire and Condorcet may aſſert the contrary. Each makes his partial attack on Chriſtianity from his own brain, and that is not ſufficient to conſtitute a conſpiracy.

In order to ſhow a real conſpiracy againſt Chriſtianity, we muſt not only point out the wiſh to deſtroy, but alſo the union and ſecret correſpondence in the means employed to attack, debaſe or annihilate it. When therefore I name Voltaire and Frederick, Diderot and D'Alembert, as the chiefs of this Antichriſtian Conſpiracy, I not only mean to ſhew, that each had im-

* Vid. Monteſquieu, Feller's Hiſt. Dict.

piously written against Christianity, but that they had formed the wish, and had secretly communicated that wish of destroying the religion of Christ; that they had acted in concert, sparing no political nor impious art to effectuate this destruction; that they were the instigators and conductors of those secondary agents whom they had misled, and following up their plans and projects, with all that ardor and constancy, which denotes the most finished conspirator. My very proofs shall be drawn from what we may very properly term the records of the conspiracy, I mean from their most intimate correspondence, a long time secret, or from their own assertions contained in their divers writings.

The true archives of the conspirators.

When Beaumarchais gave us a compleat edition of Voltaire's works, with all the magnificence of the Baskerville type; either the adepts, blinded by their success, were persuaded that the publicity of this monstrous conspiracy, could only add new lustre to its chief, or that the Editors themselves were ignorant of the fact, or in fine, that being scattered and dispersed through forty large volumes of letters, to all sorts of persons, and on all sorts of subjects, no man could at once seize the thread of a conspiracy, the work of many long years. But whatever may have been their intentions, whatever their art in suppressing parts of the correspondence, they have not effectually done away all means of discovery. Never should I have undertaken a work of such labour, so painful and disgusting, had I not seen the necessity of proving from the very records of the conspirators, the reality of their plots; the necessity of denouncing to all nations, with proof in hand, the men, who wish to mislead them, and who sought to overturn every altar provided it was but Christian. With them the altars of London or Geneva, of Stockholm or Petersburg were to share the same fate with those of Paris or Madrid, of Vienna or Rome, thus adding, by their fall, a new, though tardy proof of the universality of this conspiracy. Such then are their black and hidden crimes. Behold them conspiring against your God, in order to conspire against your sovereign and your laws, behold them seeking to overthrow all civil society and universally extend the scourges of the French revolution.

I know that the gravity of the charge requires strong evidence and clear proofs, to justify it; if then my

proofs are too numerous, let my reader reflect on the weightineſs of the charge.

The word of the conſpirators.

In all conſpiracies there is generally a ſecret language or a watchword, unintelligible to the vulgar, though it perpetually recals the object to the mind of the conſpirator. The word choſen by Voltaire muſt have been dictated by ſome fiend of hatred or frantic rage. But what words! *Cruſh the wretch!* (ecraſez l'infame!) and what a ſignification is attached to theſe three words in the mouths of D'Alembert, of Frederick or their diſciples; conſtantly they mean *cruſh Chriſt, cruſh the religion of Chriſt, cruſh every religion that adores Chriſt.* Oh readers retain your indignation until you have ſeen the proof!

Proofs as to the true ſenſe of the word with Voltaire.

When Voltaire complains that the adepts are not ſufficiently united in the war they wage againſt the *wretch*; when he wiſhes to revive their zeal, he recals to their minds, the hopes and projects he had already conceived in 1730, when the lieutenant of the police at Paris, warned him that he would not ſucceed in overturning the Chriſtian religion, he had daringly, anſwered *that is what we ſhall ſee.**

When exulting in the ſucceſs of the war, and progreſs of the conſpiracy againſt the *wretch*, he triumphs in the idea, "that in Geneva, Calvin's own town, there "are but a few beggarly fellows who believe in the "conſubſtantial."†

When he wiſhes, during this war againſt the *wretch*, to give his reaſons for tolerating the Socinians, it is, ſays he, *becauſe Julian would have favoured them, and that he hates what Julian hated, and deſpiſes what he* (Julian) *deſpiſed.*‡

What then is this hatred, common to the Socinians and to Julian the apoſtate, if it be not their hatred to the divinity of Chriſt. What is meant by the conſubſtantial, fallen into diſrepute, if it be not Chriſt, or how can the word *wretch*, be otherwiſe interpreted, in the mouth of him that had uttered, "I am weary of hear-"ing people repeat that twelve men have been ſuffi-"cient to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity, and I will prove that "one may ſuffice to overthrow it."§ In the mouth

* Let. to D'Alembert, 20th of June 1760.
† Let. 119, anno 1763, 28th Sept.
‡ Let. to Frederick, 5th Nov. 1773.
§ Life of Voltaire by Condorcet.

I say of a man who, in his intrigues against the *wretch* exclaims, "could not five or six men of parts, and "who rightly understood each other, succeed, after "the example of twelve scoundrels who have already "succeeded."*

In the mouth of this frantic infidel can we conceal the sense of these words: The twelve apostles called *twelve scoundrels!* and their divine master a *wretch!* I may dwell too much on the proofs, but the charges are too heinous, to pass them over lightly.

All those men, so much extolled by Voltaire for their ardor in *crushing the wretch*, are precisely those who attacked Christianity without the least decorum or decency, such as Diderot, Condorcet, Helvetius, Freret, Boulanger, Dumarsais and such like infidels; and those whom he particularly wishes D'Alembert to rally, the more effectually *to crush the wretch*, are the Atheists the Deists and Spinosists.†

Against whom then will the Atheist, the Deist and the Spinosist coalesce, unless it be against the God of the Gospel?

Voltaire proceeds to direct the zeal of the conspirators against the holy fathers, and those modern writers, who have written in defence of Christianity and the divinity of Christ, both of whom he wishes to see treated with the utmost contempt; he writes to his adepts, "Victory is declaring for us on all sides, and I can "assure you, that soon, none but the rabble will fol- "low the standard of our enemies, and we equally "contemn that rabble whether for or against us. We "are a corps of brave knights, defenders of the truth "and who admit none amongst us, but men of edu- "cation. Courage brave Diderot, intrepid D'Alem- "bert, form with my dear Damilaville and rush for- "ward on those fanatics and knaves; pity poor Pas- "chal, but despise Houtville and Abadie as much as "if they were fathers of the church."‡

Here then is the explanation of what Voltaire means *by crushing the wretch.* It is to undo what the apostles have done, to hate what Julian the apostate hated, to attack those, whom the Deists, Atheists and Spinosists always attacked, it is in fine to rush on the holy fa-

* Let. to D'Alembert 24th July 1760.
† Let. 37th to D'Alembert, 1770.
‡ Let. to Damilaville, anno 1765.

thers or on any other man who dares defend the religion of Chriſt.

The ſenſe of this atrocious watchword is equally clear in the mouth of Frederick. With this royal ſophiſter as with Voltaire, *Chriſtianity, the Chriſtian ſect, the Chriſticole ſuperſtition* (La ſuperſtition Chriſticole) and *the wretch*, are all ſynonimous terms. With him as with Voltaire *the wretch yielded none but poiſonous weeds ;* the beſt writings againſt the *wretch* are preciſely the moſt impious, and if any in particular deſerve his peculiar eſteem, it is, *that ſince Celſus, nothing ſo ſtriking had been publiſhed* againſt Chriſtianity. The fact really is, that Boulanger, unfortunately more known by his impiety that by his converſion, *is ſtill ſuperior to Celſus himſelf.** With Frederick.

As to D'Alembert we may ſee, though he ſeldom uſes this ſhocking word, that he was well acquainted with its meaning ; by his anſwers to Voltaire, by the means he ſuggeſts, by the writings he approves of and ſeeks to circulate, as fitteſt *to cruſh the wretch ;* and which writings are preciſely thoſe that more directly tend to eradicate religion from the minds of the people. We may ſee it, when wiſhing to ſhew his zeal for the progreſs of the conſpiracy againſt *the wretch*, he profeſſes his eagerneſs to ſupport Voltaire, or his ſorrow that from localities, he cannot ſpeak with the ſame freedom againſt Chriſtianity. His expreſſions and numberleſs letters hereafter quoted, will leave no more doubt of him, than of Voltaire or Frederick.‡ With D'Alembert.

Such was the general acceptation of the word among all the conſpirators ; Condorcet, even laying aſide the word *wretch*, poſitively aſſerts, that Voltaire had ſworn, *to cruſh Chriſtianity*,§ and Mercier ſays *to cruſh Chriſt*.‖ Extent of the conſpiracy.

In the views of the conſpirators, *to cruſh Chriſt* was not too ſtrong an expreſſion. In the extent of their projects, no ſhadow of his worſhip was to remain : it is true that among the Chriſtians, they honored the church of Rome with their chief hatred. But Luther and Calvin, the Church of England or of Geneva, tho' ſeparated from Rome, had retained their belief of Chriſt, and were therefore to ſhare the fate of the former.

* See let. of the King of Pruſſia, No. 143, 145, 153, anno 1767, &c. &c. &c.

‡ See D'Alembert's letters, 100, 102, 151.

§ Life of Voltaire. ‖ Mercier's letters. No. 60 of M. Pelletier.

The whole Gospel of Calvin, is ridiculed by Voltaire, *as the fooleries of Jean Chauvin*,* and it was of these fooleries he speaks when writing to D'Alembert he says, *that in Calvin's own town* (Geneva) *there were but a few beggarly fellows who believed in the consubstantial*, that is to say, *who believed in Christ*. He particularly exults in the approaching fall of the Church of England, when he extols *the English truths*,† that is the impieties of Hume, or when he thought himself authorized to write, that *in London Christ was spurned*.‡

Those disciples who paid him the homage of their philosophic science, adopting his style, write, "I don't "like Calvin, he was intolerant, and poor Servet fell "a victim to him, and it is true he is no more spoken "of at Geneva than if he had never existed. As to "Luther, though he had not much wit, as is easily "perceived by his writings, he did not persecute, and "only loved wine and women?"§

It is even observable, that for a considerable time the conspiring sophisters placed particular satisfaction in their successes against the Protestant churches. With what excessive joy Voltaire would write, that England and Switzerland were over-run with men *who hated and despised* Christianity, as *Julian* the apostate *hated and despised it*,‖ and that *from Geneva to Berne not a Christian was to be found*.¶ Frederick on his side, writes with equal joy, *In our protestant countries we go on much briskер*.**

Such then was the extent of this conspiracy; they were to overtun every altar where Christ was adored. An historian might have been misled in seeing the adepts solicit, more than once, the recal of the Protestants into France; but at the very time that Voltaire writes, how much he laments to see the petition made by the minister Choiseul rejected, fearing lest his disciples should imagine he wished to spare the Huguenot more than the Catholic, he hastens to add, that the Huguenots and the Calvinists *are not less mad than the Sorbonists or the Catholics*, that they were even *raving*

* Let. to Damilaville, Aug. 18th, 1766.
† Let. to the Marquis D'Argence, April 28th, 1760.
‡ Let. to D'Alembert, Sept. 28th, 1763.
§ Let. of the Langrave of Hesse to Voltaire, Sept. 9th, 1766.
‖ Let. to the King of Prussia, 15th Nov. 1773.
¶ Let. to D'Alembert, Feb. 8th, 1776. ** Let, 143.

mad;* nay, ſometimes he ſaw *nothing more atrabilarious and ferocious than the Huguenots.*†

All this pretended zeal of the conſpirators to calvinize France, was but as a preparatory ſtep to de-Chriſtianize it with greater expedition. We may trace the gradation of their intended progreſs, in the following words of D'Alembert to Voltaire: "For my part I ſee "every thing in the brighteſt colours, I already be- "hold toleration eſtabliſhed, *the Proteſtants recalled*, "the prieſts married, confeſſion aboliſhed, and fanati- "ciſm cruſhed, *without ſo much as its being perceived.*"‡ *Fanaticiſm and wretch* in D'Alembert's mouth are ſynonimous, the latter is even made uſe of in the ſame letter, both meaning *Chriſt* or *his whole religion cruſhed.*

There is however an exception often made by Voltaire, which might have left Chriſt ſome few worſhippers among the rabble. He ſeems little jealous of that conqueſt, when he writes to D'Alembert, "Both you "and Damilaville muſt be well pleaſed, to ſee the con- "tempt into which *the wretch* is fallen among the bet- "ter ſort of people throughout Europe. *They are all* "*we wiſhed for*, or that were neceſſary. We never "pretended to enlighten *the houſe-maids and ſhoemakers*; "we leave them to the apoſtles."‖ Or when he writes to Diderot, "Whatever you do, have your eye "on *the wretch*. *It* muſt be deſtroyed among the "better ſort *and leave it to the rabble* for whom *it* was "made;"§ or when, in fine, he writes to Damilaville, "I can aſſure you, that ſoon none but the rabble will "follow the ſtandard of our enemies, and we equally "contemn that rabble whether for or againſt us."¶

Voltaire, deſpairing of wider ſucceſs, would ſometimes except *the clergy and the great chamber of the Parliament*. But in the ſequel of theſe memoirs, we ſhall ſee the conſpirators actively extending their principles, and inſtilling their hatred againſt Chriſtianity into every claſs of men, from the cottage to the throne, not even excepting their ſo much deſpiſed rabble.

* Let. to Marmontel, 21ſt Aug. 1767.
† Let. to the Marquis D'Argence de Dirac, Mar. 2d 1763.
‡ May 4th 1762. ‖ Sept. 2d 1768. § Dec. 25th 1762.
¶ Anno 1765.

CHAP. III.

The Secret, the Union and the Epoch of the Conſpiracy.

IN conſpiracies it is not enough for the agents to have a particular watchword, or formula, in order to hide their general object, but they have alſo peculiar names, by which they mutually point out each other, and which are unintelligible to the public. They carefully conceal their correſpondence; but if they fear diſcovery, it is then they uſe theſe precautions leſt their names, or the object of the plot, be expoſed.

The ſuppoſed names of the conſpirators.

Theſe means were not to be neglected by Voltaire or D'Alembert. In their correſpondence Frederick is often called *Duluc*,* D'Alembert *Protagoras*,† though he often ſtyles himſelf *Bertrand*.‡ Both were well applied to him, the former to denote the infidel, the latter to betoken the means of his impiety, by the ſhifts of Bertrand, in Fontaine's fable of the Monkey and the Cat: when D'Alembert is Bertrand (the monkey,) Voltaire is Raton§ (the cat.) Diderot perſonates Plato or Tomplat,‖ and the general term for the conſpirators, is *Cacouac*.¶ They ſay he is a good Cacouac, when he can be perfectly depended upon. Oftentimes, and particularly by Voltaire, they are called brothers as in maſonary. They alſo give peculiar imports to whole phraſes of their enigmatical language, for example, *the vine of Truth is well cultivated*, is to ſay we make amazing progreſs againſt religion.**

Their ſecret language.

This ſecret language was particularly made uſe of, when they feared their letters were opened or ſtopped, which often gave Voltaire and D'Alembert great uneaſineſs. It was for that reaſon, that many of their letters, were directed to fictitious perſons, to merchants or ſome clerk in office, who was in the ſecret. It does not appear that they ever made uſe of cyphers, they

* Let. of D'Alembert, No. 77.
† Voltaire to Thiriot, 26th Jan. 1762.
‡ Let. 90. § Let. 22d March, 1774.
‖ Voltaire to Damilaville, 25th Auguſt, 1766.
¶ Let. of D'Alembert, No. 76.
** Let. to D'Alembert, No. 55.

would have been much too tedious, considering Voltaire's immense correspondence. Those were reserved for conspirators, not less ardent, but of a deeper policy. False directions and not signing their names, seem to have given them sufficient confidence in their style, and if perchance, any of their letters are more enigmatical than common, they are easily explained by the preceding or following ones. It was by these shifts they wished to leave an opening for excusing or explaining what they had already written; but they are not sufficiently obscure to prevent discovery, and that with very little trouble, when surprised.

Some few, nevertheless, are more difficult to be understood than others; for example, the letter written by Voltaire to D'Alembert, the 30th of January 1764: "My illustrious philosopher has sent me the "letter of Hippias, B. This letter of B. proves that "there are T.'s and that poor literature is falling "back into the shackles which *Malesherbes* had broken. "That demi-scholar as well as demi-citizen, D'A-"guesseau, was a T.... He would have hindered "the nation from thinking! I wish you had but seen "that brute of a *Maboul*, he was a very silly T... to "be at the head of the customs upon ideas under the "T...D'Aguesseau. Then followed the under T.'s "about half a dozen miserable rascals, who for the "pitiful salary of 17l. per annum, would erase from a "book, every thing that was worth leaving in it."

Here it is evident that T. stands for *tyrant*, one of which tyrants is the chancellor D'Aguesseau, the other Maboul, the comptroller of the press. The under T's, or tyrants, are the public censors, whose salaries were about 17l. per annum. As to *Hippias B*, his person is not so clear; he was most probably some tyrant who wished to stop the circulation of those works, which directly tended to the overthrow of the altar and the throne. But who can see, without indignation, the chancellor D'Aguesseau, the ornament of the magistracy, called a tyrant, a demi-scholar, a demi-citizen. It is, however, forbearance in Voltaire, not to abuse him more grossly; we must expect to see him and D'Alembert lavishing the lowest terms of blackguardism, throughout this correspondence, on every man who differs from them in opinion, whatsoever be his merits

otherwiſe, but eſpecially on thoſe who laboured for, or wrote in defence of religion.

Their ſecrecy.

However openly the conſpirators expreſſed themſelves to each other, ſecrecy was ſtrictly recommended to them, with reſpect to the public; and Voltaire perpetually apprizes the adepts of its importance. "The "myſteries of Mytra, (he would make D'Alembert "write to the adepts) are not to be divulged, the mon-"ſter (religion) muſt fall, pierced by a hundred in-"viſible hands; yes, let it fall beneath a thouſand "repeated blows."*

This ſecrecy, nevertheleſs, was not to be ſo much with reſpect to the object of the conſpiracy, as to the names of the conſpirators, and the means they employed; for it was impoſſible for the rancorous hatred of Voltaire, to diſguiſe the wiſh of annihilating Chriſtianity; but he had to fear on one ſide the ſeverity of the laws, and on the other the contempt and infamy which would certainly attach to himſelf and diſciples, from the impudence of their falſehoods and the effrontery of their calumnies, had it ever been poſſible to trace their authors and abettors.

Hiſtory is not in fault, if it is obliged to repreſent the chief of the conſpiracy, at once the moſt daring, the moſt unrelenting in his hatred to Chriſt, and the moſt deſirous of hiding his attacks. Voltaire ſecretly conſpiring and concealing his means, is the ſame man, though bold and blaſpheming. Openly attacking the altars of his God, he is ſtill the Sophiſter, though veiling the hand that ſtrikes, or ſeeking in the dark to undermine the temple. It is hatred that fires his rage, or leads him through the tortuous ways of the conſpirator. To unmaſk this diſſimulating man, ſhall be a leading point in the following memoirs.

In his character of chief, the myſteries of Mytra as well as the intrigues of the conſpirators, could be of no ſmall concern to him, and the following were his ſecret inſtructions. "Confound *the wretch* to the ut-"moſt of your power, ſpeak your mind boldly, ſtrike "*and conceal your hand.* You may be known; I am "willing to believe there are people ſufficiently keen-"ſcented, but they will not be able to convict you."†

Their leſſons on the art of ſecrecy.

* Let. to D'Alembert, April 27th, 1768.
† Let. to D'Alembert, May, 1761.

" The Nile, it was ſaid, ſpread around its fertilizing " waters, though it concealled its head ; *do you the* " *ſame*, you will ſecretly enjoy your triumph. I re- " commend *the wretch to you.*"* " We embrace the " worthy knight and exhort him to conceal his hand " from the enemy."†

No precept is oftener repeated by Voltaire than *ſtrike but conceal the hand*, and if by indiſcretion any adept occaſioned his diſcovery, he would complain moſt bitterly, he would even deny works that were the moſt decidedly his. " I know not why (ſays he) peo- " ple are ſo obſtinately bent on believing me the au- " thor of the *Philoſophical Dictionary*. The greateſt " ſervice you can do me, is to aſſert, though you pledge " your ſhare in Paradiſe, that I have no hand in that " helliſh work. There are three or four people, who " perpetually repeat, that I have ſupported the good " cauſe, and that I fight mortally againſt the wild " beaſts. *It is betraying one's brethren, to praiſe them* " *on ſuch an occaſion, thoſe good ſouls bleſs me, but ruin* " *me.* It is certainly him, they ſay, it is his ſtyle, his " manner. Ah, my brethren, what fatal accents ; " on the contrary you ſhould cry out on the public " ways, it is not he, *for the monſter muſt fall pierced by* " *a hundred inviſible hands ; yes, let it fall beneath a* " *thouſand repeated blows.*"‡

It was in this art of ſecrecy and of concealing his ſteps, that D'Alembert ſo much excelled. Him it was, that Voltaire recommended to the brethren for imitation, and *as the hope of the flock.* " He is daring " (would he ſay to them,) but not raſh ; he will make " hypocrites tremble (that is religious men) without " giving any hold againſt himſelf."§

Frederick not only approved of this ſecrecy,‖ but we ſhall ſee him playing off all the artifices of his dark policy to enſure the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy.

Union of the conſpirators.

In every plot, union is as eſſential to the conſpirator, as ſecrecy to the cauſe, and ſo it is often and particularly recommended. Among others we find the following inſtructions : " Oh, my philoſophers, we " ſhould march cloſed, as the Macedonian phalanx, it

* Let. to Helvetius, May 11th 1761.
† Let. to Mr. de Vielleville, 26th April 1767.
‡ Let. to D'Alembert, 152 and 219.
§ Let. from Voltaire to Thuriot, 19th Nov. 1760.
‖ Let. to Voltaire, 16th May 1771.

" was only vanquiſhed when it opened. Let the real " philoſophers unite in a brotherhood like the Free- " maſons; let them aſſemble and ſupport each other, " let them be faithful to the aſſociation. Such an " academy will be far ſuperior to that of Athens, and " to all thoſe of Paris."*

If any diſſention, perchance, happened among the conſpirators, the chief immediately wrote to appeaſe them: he would ſay, " Ah poor brethren, the primi- " tive Chriſtians behaved themſelves much better than " we do. Patience, do not let us loſe courage, God " will help us provided we remain united," and when he wiſhed to inſiſt more particularly on the object of that union, he would repeat his anſwer to Herault, *We'll ſee whether it be true, that the Chriſtian religion cannot be deſtroyed.*†

Moſt of theſe diſſentions aroſe from the difference of opinion in the conſpirators, and the diſcordancy of their ſophiſms againſt Chriſtianity, which often made them thwart each other. Voltaire, aware of the advantage it gave to religious writers, immediately enjoined D'Alembert to ſeek, if poſſible, a reconciliation with the Atheiſts, Deiſts and Spinoſiſts. " The two " parties (ſays he) muſt neceſſarily coaleſce. I wiſh " you would undertake that reconciliation; ſay to " them, if you will omit the emetic, I will overlook " the bleeding."‡

Ardor and conſtancy in the plot

This premier chief, always fearful leſt their ardor ſhould ſubſide, and wiſhing to animate their zeal, would write to the other chiefs, " I fear you are not ſufficient- " ly zealous, you bury your talents, you ſeem only to " contemn whilſt you ſhould abhor and deſtroy the " monſter. Could not you cruſh him in a few pages, " while you modeſtly hide from him, that he falls by " your pen. It was given Meleager to kill the boar; " *hurl the javelin, but hide your hand.* Comfort me in " my old age."§ He would write to a young adept, who might be dejected through ill ſucceſs, *Courage! do not let yourſelf be dejected.*‖ In fine, to bind them by the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt, he would tell them by

* Let. to D'Alembert, No. 85 anno 1761, and No. 2, anno 1769.
† Let. to D'Alembert, No. 66.
‡ Let. to D'Alembert, No. 37, 1770.
§ Let. to D'Alembert, 28th Sept. 1763.
‖ Let. to Damilaville.

means of D'Alembert, "Such is our situation that we "shall be the execration of mankind, if we have not the "better sort of people on our side. We must then "gain them, cost what it will; labour therefore in the "vineyard, *and crush the wretch, then crush the wretch.*"*

It is thus that every distinctive mark which constitutes the conspirator, such as enigmatical language, a common and secret wish, union, ardor and perseverance, is to be seen in these first authors of the war against Christianity. It is thus that the historian is authorised to represent this coalition of Sophisters, as a true conspiracy against the altar. At length Voltaire not only allows it, but wishes every adept to understand, that the war of which he was the chief, was a true plot, and that each one was to act the part of a conspirator. When he feared their excessive zeal, he would write himself, or through D'Alembert, that in the war they waged, *they were to act as conspirators and not as zealots.*† Open avowal of Voltaire.

When the chief of these infidels makes so formal a declaration, when he so clearly orders them to *act as conspirators*, it would be absurd to seek further proofs, as to the existance of the conspiracy. I fear they have already been too numerous for my reader; but in a matter of such importance, I was to presume him equally rigid as myself, with respect to its demonstration. Now as nobody will deny this, unless blind to conviction, to have been a real conspiracy of the Sophisters against Christ and his church, I will not end this chapter, without trying to ascertain its origin and true epoch.

Was this conspiracy to be dated from the day on which Voltaire consecrated his life to the annihilation of Christianity, we should look back to the year 1728, that being the epoch of his return from London to France; and his most faithful disciples inform us, that he made his determination when in England.‡ But Voltaire lived many years, alone ruminating his hatred against Christ; it is true he was already the officious defender of every impious work that had the same tendency, but these were only the isolated works of Sophisters, singly writing, without any of the appurtenances of the conspirator. To form adepts and instil his hatred into them, could be but the work of time, and his efforts, unfortunately crowned with success, Epoch of the conspiracy.

* 13th Feb. 1764. † Voltaire to D'Alembert, let, 142.
‡ Life of Voltaire, edit. of Kell.

had greatly augmented their number, when, in 1750, he by the expreſs deſire of the king of Pruſſia, took his departure for Berlin. Of all the diſciples he left in Paris, the moſt zealous were D'Alembert and Diderot, and it is to theſe two men, that the coalition againſt Chriſt can be firſt traced. Though it may not have acquired all its ſtrength, it certainly exiſted when the plan of the Encyclopedia was decided on; that is to ſay, the year that Voltaire left Paris for Berlin. Voltaire had formed his diſciples, but it was D'Alembert and Diderot who united them in one body to make that famous compilation, which may in truth be ſtyled the grand arſenal of impiety, whence all their ſophiſticated arms, were to be directed againſt Chriſtianity.

Voltaire, who alone was worth a hoſt of infidels, laboring apart in the war againſt Chriſtianity, left the Encyclopediſts, for ſome time, to their own ſchemes; but if his diſciples had been able to form the coalition, they were incapable of carrying it on. Their difficulties augmenting, they ſought a man able to remove them, and without heſitation fixed on Voltaire, or rather, to uſe the words of his hiſtorian, *Voltaire, by his age, his reputation and his genius, naturally became their chief.*

At his return from Pruſſia, about the year 1752, he found the conſpiracy complete. Its preciſe object was the deſtruction of Chriſtianity; the firſt chief had ſworn it, the ſecondary chiefs, ſuch as D'Alembert, Diderot and even Frederick, notwithſtanding his quarrels with the premier, were ever after leagued with him in the ſame bonds. At this period, the adepts were all that Voltaire could number, as his diſciples: but from the day of the coalition between the premier, the ſecondary chiefs, and the adepts' agents or protectors; from the day that the object of this coalition to cruſh Chriſt and his religion, under the appellation of *wretch*, had been decreed, until the grand object of the coalition was to be conſummated by the proſcriptions and horrid maſſacres of the Jacobins, near half a century was to elapſe; for ſo much time was neceſſary for the harbinger of blood and corruption, to prepare the way for the Philoſophiſt of deſtruction and murder. Naturally during this long period of time, we ſhall ſee this ſophiſtical ſect, who had ſworn to cruſh, coaleſcing with the ſect, who under the name of *Jacobin*, really does cruſh and maſſacre.

Where then the difference between the ſophiſtical ſect under Voltaire and D'Alembert, anticipating the murders of the French revolution, by their wiſhes and their conſpiracies, and thoſe ſophiſters, who under the name of Jacobin, overthrow the altar and embrue its ſteps with the blood of its prieſts and pontiffs? Do not they proſcribe the religion of the ſame Chriſt, of the ſame God, whom Voltaire, D'Alembert, Frederick and all that impious ſequel of adepts had ſworn to cruſh and abhor? Will any one tell us, that there is any difference between the ſophiſms of the former, and the pretexts of the latter, between the ſchool of Voltaire and the maxims of the Jacobinical den. Relation between the Sophiſters and the Jacobins.

The Jacobins will one day declare that all men are free, that all men are equal, and as a conſequence of this liberty and equality they will conclude that every man muſt be left to the lights of reaſon. That every religion ſubjecting man's reaſon to myſteries, or to the authorities of any revelation ſpeaking in God's name, is a religion of ſlavery and conſtraint; that as ſuch it ſhould be annihilated, in order to re-eſtabliſh the indefeaſible rights of liberty and equality, as to the belief or diſbelief of all that the reaſon of man approves or diſapproves: and they will call this liberty and equality, the reign of reaſon and the empire of philoſophy. Can the candid reader believe, that this liberty and equality is not appoſite to the war carried on by Voltaire againſt Chriſtianity? Had the chiefs or adepts ever any other view, than that of eſtabliſhing their pretended empire of philoſophy or their reign of reaſon, on that ſelf-ſame liberty and equality applied to revelation and the myſteries, in perpetual oppoſition to Chriſt and his church?

Did not Voltaire hate the church and its paſtors, becauſe they oppoſed that liberty and equality applied to our belief; becauſe nothing was *ſo contemptible* and *ſo miſerable* in his eyes, as to ſee one man have recourſe to another in matters of faith, *or to aſk what he ought to believe.** *Reaſon, liberty* and *philoſophy* were as conſtantly in the mouths of Voltaire and D'Alembert, as a means of overthrowing Revelation and the Goſpel; as they are at this day in the mouths of the Jacobins.†

* Letter to the Duke D'Uſez, 19th Nov. 1760.

† See the whole of their correſpondence.

When the adepts wiſh to extol the glory of their chiefs, they will repreſent them *perpetually reclaiming the independence of Reaſon*, and devoutly expecting thoſe days when *the ſun ſhall no longer ſhine, but upon free men, acknowledging no other maſter but their own reaſon.*‡

When therefore, on the ruins of the temple, the Jacobins ſhall have erected the idol of their reaſon, their liberty or their philoſophy; will they have fulfilled any other wiſh, any other oath, than that ſworn by Voltaire and his adepts.

When the Jacobins ſhall apply the axe to the foundations of the temples whether Proteſtant or Catholic, or in fine of any ſect acknowledging the God of the Chriſtians; will they have more widely extended their ſyſtems of deſtruction, than Voltaire conſpiring againſt the altars of London or Geneva, equally as againſt thoſe of Rome?

When their grand club ſhall be filled with every infidel the French revolution can produce, whether Atheiſt, Deiſt or Sceptic, will their revolutionary cohorts be differently formed, than thoſe which D'Alembert was to quicken and ſtir up againſt the God of Chriſtianity?

In fine, when one day theſe legions ſallying from this den of impiety, from the grand club of the Jacobins, ſhall triumphantly carry to the Pantheon, the aſhes of Voltaire; will not that be the conſummating of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy, will not that be the revolution ſo long planned by Voltaire? The means may differ, but the object, the ſpirit, and the extent of the conſpiracy will remain. We ſhall ſee the very means employed, the revolution that deſtroys the altar, that plunders and maſſacres its prieſts by the hand of the Jacobin, were not foreign to the wiſhes or intentions of the firſt adepts. The moſt dreadful and diſguſting parts of this irreligious revolution, only differs from their plans, by a difference in terms; *one WISHED to cruſh, the other DID cruſh.* The means were ſuch as the times ſuggeſted, both were not equally powerful.—We will now proceed to tear the veil from thoſe dark intrigues, ſucceſſivly employed by the Sophiſters during the half century, which prepared ſuch ſcenes of blood and confuſion.

‡ Condorcet's Progreſs of Reaſon, 9th Epoch.

CHAP. IV.

First Means of the Conspirators.

IN order *to crush the wretch*, in the sense of Voltaire, or to attain the destruction of the altars of that God whose worship had been taught by the Apostles, nothing less could suffice than the total subjection of the public opinion, and the annihilation of the faith of all Christian nations. To annihilate it by force was above the strength of the rising coalition. Force was only to be resorted to, when by a revolution in all religious ideas, things had been brought to that state, in which our Jacobin legislators found them; or when, by incredulity, the courts, the senates, the armies, in fine, men of all descriptions, had been gained over to a submission, or blind confidence in their sophistry. And indeed the necessary growth of impiety and corruption, supposed too long a period, for Frederick or Voltaire ever to flatter themselves with the hopes of seeing it.* It was then too early for them to grasp the falchion of the butchering Jacobin; nor must we expect, in the following pages, to read of guillotines, or forced requisitions in battle array, against the altars of Christianity.

In the beginning we see their intrigues hidden, and without tumult; slow and tortuous, but more insidious from their secrecy, more certain from their slowness; the public opinion was to perish, as it were, by inanition, before they dared lay the axe to the altar. And this mode of proceeding we find, is perfectly understood by Frederick, when he writes to Voltaire, that *to undermine the edifice in silence, is to oblige it to fall of itself*;† and still better understood by D'Alembert, when upbraiding Voltaire with being too hasty, he says, *If mankind grows enlightened, it is because we have the care to enlighten them by degrees.*‡ Convinced of the necessity of this gradation, D'Alembert bethought himself of the Encyclopedia, as the grand means of phi-

The Encyclopedia projected.

* Letter of Frederick to Voltaire, 5th May, 1767.
† 29th July 1775. ‡ 31st July 1762.

loſophizing mankind, and *cruſhing the wretch*. His project is no ſooner conceived, than enthuſiaſtically embraced by Diderot; and Voltaire animated their drooping courage more than once, by his conſtant attention to the undertaking.

Its ſuppoſed object.

To judge of what amazing importance the ſucceſs of this famous dictionary was to the conſpiring chiefs, we muſt be acquainted with the plan, the method of its execution, and how it was to become the infallible agent of incredulity, and its moſt powerful weapon in perverting the public opinion, or overturning all the principles of Chriſtianity.

The Encyclopedia is at firſt uſhered into the world as the aggregate, as the complete treaſure of all human arts and ſciences, of Religion, Divinity, Phyſics, Hiſtory, Geography, Aſtronomy or Commerce; in a word, of whatever may conſtitute a Science: of Poetry, Oratory, Grammar, Painting, Architecture, Manufactures, or of whatever can be the object of uſeful or pleaſing arts. This great work was to comprehend the very minutiæ of different trades, from the manufacturer to the labourer; it was of itſelf to be an immenſe library, and ſupply the place of one. It was to be the work of men the moſt ſcientific and the moſt profound in every branch, that France could produce. The diſcourſe in which it was announced by D'Alembert to all Europe, was written with ſo much art, had been ſo profoundly meditated and nicely weighed, the concatenation of the ſciences and the progreſs of the human mind, appeared ſo properly delineated: whatever he had borrowed from Bacon or Chambers on the filiation of ideas, ſo perfectly diſguiſed; in fine, the plagiary ſophiſter had ſo perfectly decked himſelf in the riches of others, that the proſpectus of the Encyclopedia was looked upon as a maſterpiece, and its author as the moſt proper perſon to preſide over ſo ſtupendous a work.

Its ſecret object.

Such were their mighty promiſes, but promiſes never intended to be fulfilled; while, on the other ſide, they had their ſecret object, and that they were determined to accompliſh. This was to convert the Encyclopedia into a vaſt emporium of all the ſophiſms, errors or calumnies, which ever had been invented againſt religion, from the firſt ſchools of impiety, until the day of their enterprize; and theſe were to be ſo artfully concealed, that the reader ſhould inſenſibly imbibe the

poiſon without the leaſt ſuſpicion. To prevent diſcovery the error was never to be found where it might be ſuppoſed, religion was not only to be reſpected, but even ſupported in all direct diſcuſſions, though ſometimes the diſcuſſion is ſo handled, that the objection they ſeem to refute, is more forcibly impreſſed on the mind of the reader. The more to impoſe on the unthinking, D'Alembert and Diderot artfully engaged ſeveral men of unblemiſhed character to partake in this vaſt undertaking. Such was Mr. de Jeaucourt, a man of great learning and probity, who has furniſhed a number of articles to the Encyclopedia: his name alone could have been thought a ſufficient guarantee againſt all the art and perfidy of its principles; in ſhort, it was declared that all points of religion were to be diſcuſſed by divines well known for their learning and orthodoxy.

All this might have been true, and the work only prove the more perfidious, D'Alembert and Diderot reſerving to themſelves a three-fold reſource to forward their Antichriſtian Conſpiracy.

Its means and art.

Their firſt reſource, was that of inſinuating error and infidelity into thoſe articles deemed the leaſt ſuſceptible of them; ſuch, for example, as Hiſtory, or Natural Philoſophy, even into Chemiſtry and Geography, where ſuch danger could not even have been ſurmiſed. The ſecond was that of references, an art ſo precious, by which after having placed ſome religious truths under the reader's eye, he is tempted to ſeek further information in articles of a quite different caſt. Sometimes the mere reference was an epigram or a ſarcaſm. They would, after having treated a religious ſubject with all poſſible reſpect, ſimply add, *See the art.* PREJUDICE, or SUPERSTITION, or FANATICISM; laſtly, when our referring Sophiſters feared this ſhift could not avail them, they would not heſitate at falſifying and altering the diſcuſſion of a virtuous co-operator, or at adding an article of their own, whoſe apparent object was to defend, while the real was to refute what had already been written on the ſubject. In fine, impiety was to be ſufficiently veiled to make it attractive, while it left place for excuſe and ſubterfuge. This was the peculiar art of our barking ſophiſter D'Alembert. Diderot, more daring, was at firſt countenanced in the mad flights of his impiety, but in cooler moments, his

articles were to be reviſed; he was then to add ſome apparent reſtriction in favour of religion, ſome of thoſe high-ſounding and reverential words, but which left the whole of the impiety to ſubſiſt. If he was above that care, D'Alembert as ſuperviſor-general, took it upon himſelf.

Peculiar care was to be taken in the compiling of the firſt volumes, leſt the clergy or thoſe men of prejudice, as they were called, ſhould take the alarm. As they proceeded in the work they were to grow more bold, and if circumſtances did not favor them, nor allow them to ſay all they wiſhed to ſay, they were to reſort to ſupplements, and to foreign editions, which would at the ſame time render this dangerous work more common, and leſs coſtly to the generality of readers.

The Encyclopedia, perpetually recommended and cried up by the adepts, was to be a ſtanding book in all libraries, and inſenſibly the learned was to be converted into the Antichriſtian world. If the project was well conceived, it was impoſſible to ſee one more faithfully executed.

Proofs.

As to the fact.

It is now our duty to lay before the reader, proofs firſt as to the fact, ſecondly as to the intention. For the firſt, it will be ſufficient to caſt the eye on divers articles of this immenſe collection, eſpecially where the principal tenets of Chriſtianity, or even of natural religion are treated, and to follow them through the divers references the Sophiſters have prepared for the reader. We ſhall find the exiſtence of God, free agency, the ſpirituality of the ſoul, treated in the ſtyle of a Chriſtian philoſopher, but a *vide* DEMONSTRATION, or a *vide* CORRUPTION will be added, to pervert all that had been ſaid; and thoſe articles to which D'Alembert and Diderot more particularly refer the reader, are exactly thoſe where the doctrine of the ſceptic or the Spinoſiſt, of the Fataliſt or the Materialiſt, is chiefly inculcated. [*See note at the end of the Chapter.*]

This cunning could not eſcape thoſe authors who wrote in the defence of religion.* But Voltaire reſorting to calumny, in order to defend their Encyclopedia, will repreſent theſe authors as enemies of the

* See *Religion Vindicated*, the writings of Gauchat, of Bergier, in our Helvian Letters.

ſtate, as bad citizens.* Such, indeed, were his uſual weapons, and had he perfectly ſucceeded in deceiving people, it would have been ſufficient to have examined his confidential correſpondence with the very authors of the work, to be convinced of the wickedneſs of their intentions.

As to the intention.

At a hundred leagues from Paris, and not thwarted by the obſtacles D'Alembert had to combat, he often complains, that the attacks are not ſufficiently direct. He is often ruffled by certain reſtrictions familiar to D'Alembert, and at length he breaks out on thoſe put to the article BAYLE. D'Alembert anſwers, " This is an " idle quarrel indeed, on Bayle's Dictionary. In the " firſt place, I did not ſay, *happy would it have been had " he ſhown more reverence to religion and morality.* My " phraſe is much more modeſt : and beſides, in a " curſed country like this, where we are writing, who " does not know that ſuch ſentences are of mere form " and only a cloak to the truths additionally conveyed. " Every one is aware of that."†

During the time that Voltaire was ſo much buſied with the articles he ſo frequently ſent to D'Alembert for the Encyclopedia, he often complains of his ſhackles, and is unable to diſſemble how much he deſires to attack religion openly, and writes, " All that I am told " about the articles of Divinity and Metaphyſics, " grieves me to the heart ; *oh how cruel it is to print " the very reverſe of what one thinks.*"‡ But D'Alembert, more adroit, ſenſible of the neceſſity of theſe palliatives, " *leſt he ſhould be looked upon as a madman by " thoſe he wiſhed to convert,*" foreſaw the day when he could triumphantly anſwer, " If mankind is ſo much " enlightened to-day, it is only becauſe we have had " the precaution, or good fortune, *to enlighten them by " degrees.*"§

When Voltaire had ſent certain violent articles, under the name of the prieſt of Lauſanne, D'Alembert would immediately write, " We ſhall always receive " with gratitude whatever comes from the ſame hand. " We only pray our heretic to draw in his claw a lit- " tle, as in certain places he has ſhown his fangs a " little too much. *This is the time for ſtepping back to*

* 18th Letter to D'Alembert.
† 10th Oct. 1764. ‡ Let. of the 9th of Oct. 1755.
§ 16th July 1762.

" *make the better leap.*"* And to ſhow that he never loſt ſight of this maxim, he anſwers Voltaire's animadverſions on the article HELL: " Without doubt we " have ſeveral wretched articles in our divinity and " metaphyſics, *but with divines for cenſors and a privi-* " *lege, I defy you to make them better.* There are arti- " cles *leſs expoſed* where *all is ſet to rights again.*"†

Can there be a doubt left of the preciſe and determined intention of the Encyclopediſts, when Voltaire exhorts D'Alembert to ſnatch the moment, whilſt the attention of government is drawn off by other concerns. " During this war *with the parliament* and the *biſhops*, " the philoſophers will have fine play. *You have a* " *fair opportunity of filling the Encyclopedia with thoſe* " *truths, that we ſhould not have dared utter twenty years* " *ago.*"‡ Or when he writes to Damilaville, " I can " be concerned for a good dramatic performance, but " could be far more pleaſed with a good philoſophical " work that ſhould forever cruſh the wretch. *I place* " *all my hopes in the Encyclopedia.*"§ After ſuch an avowal it would be uſeleſs to ſeek further proof, of this immenſe compilation being no other than the grand arſenal for all their ſophiſticated arms againſt religion.

Diderot more open, even in his ambuſhes reluctantly employed cunning. He does not hide how much he wiſhed, boldly to inſert his principles, and his principles are explained when he writes, " The age of Louis " XIV. only produced two men worthy of co-opera- " ting to the Encyclopedia," and theſe two men were Perault and Boindin. The merits of the latter are more conſpicuous than thoſe of the former. Boindin, born in 1676, had lately died a reputed Atheiſt, and had been refuſed Chriſtian burial. The notoriety of his principles had ſhut the French academy againſt him, and with ſuch titles he could not have failed being a worthy co-operator.

Such then the object, ſuch the intention of the conſpiring authors. We ſee by their own confeſſion, that they did not wiſh to compile for ſcience, but to compile for incredulity; that it was not the advancement of arts they ſought, but to ſeize the moment, when the attention of the ruling authorities were drawn off, to propagate their impious calumnies againſt religion.

* 21ſt July 1757. † Ibid.
‡ Let. to D'Alembert, 13th Nov. 1756. § 23d May 1764.

They hypocritically utter ſome few religious truths; they *print the contrary of what they believed* on Chriſtianity, but only the better to cover the ſophiſms they printed againſt it.

In ſpite of all thoſe arts, men zealous for religion, forcibly oppoſed the work. The Dauphin in particular, obtained a temporary ſuſpenſion of it; and various were the rebuffs the authors met with. D'Alembert wearied, had nearly forſaken it, when Voltaire, ſenſible of the importance of this firſt tool of the conſpiracy, rouſed his drooping courage. He, far from abating, rather redoubled his efforts, aſking for, and inceſſantly ſending freſh articles. He would extol perſeverance, he would ſhow D'Alembert and Diderot the ignominy and ſhame redounding to their opponents.* He would urge them, conjure them by their friendſhip or in the name of philoſophy to overcome their diſguſt, and not to be foiled in ſo glorious an undertaking.† Obſtacles and ſucceſs of the Encyclopedia.

At length the Encyclopedia was brought to a concluſion, and it made its appearance under the ſanction of a public privilege. Triumphant in their firſt ſtep, the conſpirators ſaw in it but the forerunner of their future ſucceſſes againſt religion.

Leſt any one ſhould doubt of the particular drift of this compilation; the reader muſt be informed of the co-operators choſen by D'Alembert and Diderot, and that eſpecially for the religious part. Their firſt divine was Raynal, a man juſt expelled from the order of the Jeſuits on account of his impiety, his chief and ſtrongeſt recommendation to D'Alembert. Every one unfortunately knows how much he verified the judgment of his former brethren, by his atrocious declamations againſt Chriſtianity; but few are acquainted with the anecdote of his expulſion from among the co-operators, and that connects his ſtory with that of another divine, who, without being impious himſelf, had been unfortunately drawn into the company of the Sophiſters.

This was the Abbé Yvon, an odd metaphyſician, but an inoffenſive and upright man; often in extreme indigence, and living by his pen, when he thought he could do it with decency. In the ſimplicity of his

* See his letters of the years 1755-6.

† Letters of 5th Sept. 1752, 13th Nov. 1756, and particularly of 8th Jan. 1757.

heart he had written *The Defence of the Abbé de Prades.* I have heard him assert that not a single error could be found in that work, and on the first argument give up the point. With the same simplicity I have heard him relate, by what means he had co-operated to the Encyclopedia. "I was in want of money, (said he;) Raynal met me and persuaded me to write a few articles, promising me a good reward, I acceded, and my work delivered at Raynal's study, I received twenty-five Louis-d'ors. Thinking myself very well paid, I imparted my good fortune to one of the booksellers employed for the Encyclopedia, who seemed much surprised that the articles furnished by Raynal, should not be his own. He was furious at the trick he surmised. A few days after I was sent for to the office; and Raynal, who had received a thousand crowns for his pretended work, was obliged to refund me the hundred Louis-d'ors he had kept for himself."

This anecdote will not surprise those who are acquainted with Raynal's plagiary talents. His impiety was not sufficient to prevent his dismission, but it preserved him within the pale of the fraternal embrace.

I must add, that the articles on GOD and on the SOUL, furnished by the Abbé Yvon, are exactly those which grieved Voltaire to the heart, and for which, D'Alembert and Diderot were obliged to have recourse to their art of references.

The third divine, or as D'Alembert styles him the second, for he never dared mention Yvon to Voltaire, was the Abbé de Prades, obliged to fly to Prussia, on his attempt to impose on the Sorbonne in advancing his own impious propositions for those of religion. It was the cunning of this thesis which had misled the Abbé Yvon, but soon discovered, the parliament took it up. The author, nevertheless, was put under the protection of the King of Prussia, by Voltaire and D'Alembert.*

We also owe to the memory of De Prades to repeat, what his protectors would willingly conceal; that three years after, he publicly retracted all his errors in a declaration signed the 6th of April 1754, bewailing his intimacy with the Sophisters, adding, *that one life*

* Correspondence of Voltaire and D'Alembert, let. 2 and 3.

*could not suffice to weep his past conduct** : he died in 1782.

Another of their divines was the Abbé Morelet, a man precious to Voltaire and D'Alembert, who playing on his name called him the Abbé *Mord-les* (bite them,) because under pretence of attacking the Inquisition, he had fallen on (bitten) the church with all his might.†

Should we enumerate the lay writers who co-operated in this work, we should find far worse. But we will only mention the famous Dumarsais, at the same time so infamous, that the public authorities were obliged to interfere and destroy a school he had formed, solely to imbibe his pupils with the venom of his impiety. This unfortunate man also retracted his errors, but only on his death-bed. The choice of this man's pen, shows what co-operators D'Alembert sought.

Far be it from me, to confound, in this class, such men as M. de Formey or Jaucourt, particularly the latter, to whom, as we have already said, they were indebted for many articles. The only reproach we can make him, is that he should have continued his labours, after he either did or should have seen the drift of that vast compilation, where intermixed with his toils, lay all the sophisms and calumnies impiety could invent.

Excepting these two men, we may nearly comprehend the rest of the Encyclopedian writers, in the following picture, drawn by Diderot himself. " All " that detestable crew, who, though perfectly igno- " rant, valued themselves on knowing every thing, " who seeking to distinguish themselves by that vexa- " tious universality they pretended to, fell upon every " thing, jumbled and spoiled all, and converted this " pretended digest of science *into a gulph, or rather a* " *sort of rag-basket, where they promiscuously threw ev-* " *ery thing half examined, ill digested, good, bad, and in-* " *different, but always incoherent.*" What a precious avowal as to the intrinsic merit of their work ; especially after after what he says as to their views, in describing the pains they had taken, the torments it had put them to, the art it had required to insinuate what

* Feller's Hist. Dict.

† Correspondence of D'Alembert, No. 65 and 96 : Let. to Thiriot, 26th Jan. 1762.

they dared not openly write againſt prejudices (religion,) in order to overthrow them without being perceived.*

In fine, all theſe follies of the *rag-dealers*, contributed to the bulk and accelerated the appearance of the volumes; the chiefs carefully inſerting, in each volume, what could promote the grand object. At length terminated, all the trumpets ſounded, and the journals of the party teemed with the praiſes of this literary atchievement. The learned themſelves were duped. Every one would have an Encyclopedia. Numerous were the editions, of all ſizes and prices, but under the pretence of correcting, greater boldneſs was aſſumed. About the time, when the antichriſtian revolution was nearly accompliſhed, appeared *The Encyclopedia by order of Matter*. When it was firſt undertaken, ſome deference was ſtill paid to religion. A man of eminent merit, Mr. Bergier, a canon of Paris, thought it incumbent on him to yield to the preſſing ſolicitations of his friends, leſt the part treating of religion, ſhould fall into the hands of its greateſt enemies. What was eaſy to foreſee came to paſs. The name of a man, who had combated the impious works of a Voltaire or a Rouſſeau, naturally ſerved as a cloak to this new digeſt, ſtyled *The Encyclopedia methodiſed*. This was on the eve of the French revolution, ſo that the petty infidels charged with the work, kept no further bounds with regard to religion. This new work is more completely impious than the former, notwithſtanding ſome excellent tracts of Mr. Bergier and of ſome others; and thus the Sophiſters of the day perfected the firſt tool of the Antichriſtian conſpirators.

A new Encyclopedia.

* The text in the original is far more extenſive, where Diderot treats of the deficiencies of the Encyclopedia, but not having it at hand, we quote from Feller's Hiſt. Dict. art. DIDEROT.

Note referred to in Page 34.

Look for the article GOD (Geneva edition) and you will find very ſound notions, together with the direct, phyſical and metaphyſical demonſtration of his exiſtence; and indeed under ſuch an article it would have been too manifeſt to have broached any thing even bordering on Atheiſm, Spinoſiſm, or Epicuriſm; but the reader is *referred* to the article DEMONSTRATION,

Devices of the Encyclopedia on the article GOD.

and there all the physical and metaphysical cogent arguments for the existence of a God disappear. We are there taught, that all direct demonstrations *suppose the idea of infinitude, and that such an idea cannot be of the clearest, either for the Naturalist or the Metaphysician.* This in a word destroys all confidence the reader had in the proofs adduced of the existence of God. There again, they are pleased to tell you, that a single insect, in the eyes of the philosopher, more forcibly proves *the existence of a God, than all the metaphysical arguments whatever* (ibid.); but you are then *referred* to CORRUPTION, where you learn how much you are to beware of asserting in a positive manner, that corruption can never beget animated bodies, and that such a production of animated bodies by corruption, seems to be countenanced by *daily experiments;* and it is from these experments precisely, that the Atheists conclude, that the existence of God is unnecessary, either for the creation of man or animals. Prepossessed by these *references*, against the existence of God, let the reader turn to the articles of ENCYCLOPEDIA and EPICURISM. In the former he will be told, *that there is no being in nature that can be called the first or last, and that a machine infinite in every way must necessarily be the Deity.* In the latter the *atom* is to be the Deity. It will be the primary cause of all things, by whom and of whom, every thing is, active, essentially of itself, *alone unalterable, alone eternal, alone immutable;* and thus the reader will be insensibly led from the God of the Gospel to the heathenish fictions of an Epicurus or of a Spinosa.

On the article of the SOUL.

The same cunning is to be found in the article of the SOUL. When the Sophisters treat directly of its essence they give the ordinary proofs of its *spirituality and of its immortality.* They will even add in the article BRUTE, that the soul cannot be supposed *material*, nor can *the brute be reduced to the quality of a mere machine, without running the hazard of making of man an Automaton.* And under NATURAL LAW we read, that if the determinations of man, or even his oscillations, arise from any thing *material, extraneous to his soul, there will be neither good nor evil, neither just nor unjust, neither obligation nor right.* Then *referred* to the article LOCKE, in order to do away all this consequence, we are told that it is of no importance *whether matter thinks or not, for what is that to justice or injustice, to the immortality of the soul and to all the truths of the system, whether political or religious;* the reader, enjoying the liberty and equality of his reason, is left in doubt with regard to the spirituality, and no longer knows whether he should not think himself all matter. But he will decide when, under the article ANIMAL, he finds *that life and animation are only physical properties of matter*, and lest he should think himself debased by his resembling a plant or an animal, to console him in his fall, they will tell him, article ENCYCLOPÆDIA and ANIMAL, *that the only difference between certain vegetables, and animals such as us, is, that they sleep and that we wake, that we are animals that feel, and that they are animals that feel not;* and still further in the article ANIMAL, that the sole difference *between a stock and a man, is, that the one ever falls, while the latter never falls after the same manner.* After perusing these articles *bona fide*, the reader must be insensibly drawn into the vortex of materialism.

On the article LIBERTY.

In treating of Liberty or free agency, we find the ſame artifice. When they treat of it directly they will ſay, "Take "away liberty, all human nature is overthrown, and there will "be no trace of order in ſociety—Recompenſe will be ridicu- "lous, and chaſtiſement unjuſt.—The ruin of liberty carries "with it, that of all order, of police, and legitimates the moſt "monſtrous crimes—So monſtrous a doctrine is not to be de- "bated in the ſchools, but puniſhed by the magiſtrates, &c. "*Oh, Liberty!* they exclaim, *Oh, Liberty, gift of heaven! Oh,* "*Liberty of action! Oh, Liberty of thought!* thou alone art "capable of great things." [*See articles* AUTHORITY *and the* PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.] But at the article CHANCE *(fortuit)* all this liberty of action and of thought is only *a power that cannot be exerciſed, that cannot be known by actual exerciſe;* and Diderot at the article EVIDENCE pretending to ſupport liberty will very properly ſay, "This concatenation of cauſes and "effects ſuppoſed by the philoſophers, in order to form ideas "repreſenting the mechaniſm of the Univerſe, is as fabulous as "the Tritons and the Naïads." But both him and D'Alembert will deſcant again on that concatenation, and returning to CHANCE *(fortuit,)* will tell us "That though it is *imperceptible,* "it is not the leſs *real;* that it *connects* all things in nature, that "*all events depend on it;* juſt as the wheels of the watch, as to "their motion, depend on each other: that from the firſt mo- "ment of our exiſtence, we are by *no means maſters of our mo-* "*tions;* that were there a thouſand worlds ſimilar to this, and "ſimultaneouſly exiſting, governed by the ſame laws, every "thing in them would be done in the ſame way; and that "*man in virtue of theſe ſame laws, would perform at the ſame* "*inſtants of time, the ſame actions,* in each one of theſe worlds." This will naturally convince, the uninformed reader, of the chimera of ſuch a liberty or free agency, which cannot be exerciſed. Not content, with this, Diderot at the article FATALITY, after a long diſſertation on this *concatenation of cauſes*, ends by ſaying, that it *cannot be conteſted* either *in the phyſical world*, or *in the moral* and *intellectual world.* Hence what becomes of that liberty without which there no longer exiſts *juſt* or *unjuſt*, *obligation* or *right*.

Theſe examples will ſuffice to convince the reader of the truth of what we have aſſerted, as to the artful policy with which the Encyclopedia had been digeſted; they will ſhow with what cunning its authors ſought to ſpread the principles of Atheiſm, Materialiſm and Fataliſm, in fine, every error incompatible with that religion, for which they profeſſed ſo great a reverence at their outſet.

CHAP. V.

Second means of the Conſpirators.—The Extinction of the Jeſuits.

THE hypocriſy of Voltaire and D'Alembert, had triumphed over every obſtacle. They had ſo perfectly ſucceeded in their abuſe on every perſon who dared oppoſe the Encyclopedia, repreſenting them as barbarians and enemies to literature ; they had found ſuch powerful ſupport during the ſucceſſive miniſters of D'Argenſon, Choiſeul and Maleſherbes, that all the oppoſition of the great Dauphin, of the clergy and of the religious writers, could not avail, and this impious digeſt was in future to be looked upon as a neceſſary work. It was to be found in every library, whether at home or abroad, it was always to be referred to. From thence the ſimple mind in queſt of ſcience, was to imbibe the poiſon of incredulity, and the Sophiſter was to be furniſhed with arms againſt Chriſtianity. The conſpirators, though proud of their firſt invention, could not diſſemble, that there exiſted a ſet of men whoſe zeal, whoſe learning, whoſe weight and authority, might one day counteract their undertaking. The church was defended by her biſhops and all the lower clergy. They had, moreover, numerous orders of religious, always ready to join the ſeculars for her defence in the cauſe of Chriſtianity. But before we treat of the means employed for the deſtruction of theſe defenders of the faith, we muſt ſhow the plan formed by Frederick, whence they reſolved on the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, as the firſt ſtep towards diſmantling the church, the deſtruction of her biſhops and of her different orders of prieſthood.

General wiſh of the conſpirators as to religious orders.

In the year 1743, Voltaire had been ſent on ſecret ſervice to the court of Pruſſia and among his diſpatches from Berlin, we find the following written to the miniſter Amelot. " In the laſt interview I had with his " Pruſſian majeſty, I ſpoke to him of a pamphlet that " appeared in Holland about ſix weeks back, in which " the ſecularization of eccleſiaſtical principalities in fa- " vour of the Emperor and Queen of Hungary, was

Frederick's firſt plan to overthrow the church.

" propoſed as the means of pacification for the Em-
" pire. I told him that I could wiſh, with all my
" heart, to ſee it take place; that what was Cæſar's
" was to be given to Cæſar; that the whole buſineſs
" of the church was to ſupplicate God and the princes;
" that by his inſtitution, the Benedictine would have
" no claim to ſovereignty, and that this decided opin-
" ion of mine, had gained me many enemies among
" the clergy. He owned that the *pamphlet had been*
" *printed by his orders*. He hinted that he ſhould not
" diſlike to be one of thoſe kings, to whom the clergy
" would conſcientiouſly make reſtitution, and that he
" ſhould not be ſorry to embelliſh Berlin with the goods
" of the church. This is moſt certainly his grand
" object, and he means only to make peace, when he
" ſees the poſſibility of accompliſhing it. It is in your
" breaſt, to prudently profit of this his ſecret plans,
" which he confided to me alone."*

Effect of this plan at the court of Verſailles.

It was at this period that the court of Lewis XV. began to be overrun with miniſters, who thought on religious matters, like a Voltaire or a Frederick. They had no eccleſiaſtical ſtates, no eccleſiaſtical electors to pillage, but the poſſeſſions of the numerous religious orders diſperſed through France, could ſatiate their rapacity, and they conceived that the plan of Frederick, could be equally lucrative to France. The Marquis D'Argenſon, counſellor of ſtate and miniſter of foreign affairs, was the great patron of Voltaire. It was he who adopted all his ideas, and formed the plan for the deſtruction of all religious orders in France. The progreſs of the plan was to be ſlow and ſucceſſive, leſt it ſhould ſpread the alarm. They were to begin with thoſe orders that were leaſt numerous, they were to render the entrance into religion more difficult, and the time of their profeſſions was to be delayed until that age, when people are already engaged in ſome other ſtate of life. The poſſeſſions of the ſuppreſſed were artfully to be adapted to ſome pious uſe, or united to the epiſcopal revenues. Time was to do away all difficulties, and the day was not far off, when, as lord paramount, the ſovereign was to put in his claim to all that belonged to the ſuppreſſed orders, even to what had been united, for the moment, to the ſees of

D'Argenſon's plan.

* General correſpondence, 8th Oct. 1743.

the biſhops; the whole was to be added to his domains.

That the French miniſtry often changed, but that the plans of the cabinet never did; and that it always watched the favorable opportunity, was the remark of a ſhrewd and obſerving legate. The plan, for the deſtruction of religious orders, had been made by D'Argenſon, in the year 1745, though forty years after it lay on the chimney-piece of Maurepas, then prime miniſter. I owe this anecdote to a perſon of the name of Bevis,* a learned Benedictine, and in ſuch high repute with Maurepas, that he often preſſed him to leave his hood, promiſing him preferment as a ſecular. The Benedictine refuſed ſuch offers, and it was not without ſurpriſe, that he heard Maurepas tell him, in preſſing him to accept his offer, *that ſecularization would one day be his lot;* he then gave him *D'Argenſon's* plan, which had long been followed and would ſoon be accompliſhed.

Avarice alone could not have ſuggeſted this plan, as the mendicant orders, as well as the more wealthy, were equally to be deſtroyed.

It would have been nugatory to attempt the execution before the Encyclopedian ſophiſters had prepared the way; it was therefore dormant many years in the ſtate offices at Verſailles. In the mean time the Voltarian miniſtry, foſtering up infidelity, pretended to ſtrike, while they ſecretly ſupported the ſophiſtical tribe. They forbid Voltaire the entrance of Paris, while *in amazement he receives a ſcroll of the king*, confirming his penſion, *which had been ſuppreſſed twelve years before!*† He carries on his correſpondence with the adepts, under the covers and the very ſeal of the firſt ſecretaries and of the miniſters themſelves, who were perfectly converſant with all his impious plans.‡ It was this very part of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy that Condorcet was wont to deſcribe when he ſays: "Often a govern-"ment would reward the philoſopher with one hand, "whilſt with the other it would pay his ſlanderer; "would proſcribe him, while they were proud of the "ſoil that had given him birth; puniſhed him for

* He is at preſent in London.
† Let. to Damilaville, 9th Jan. 1762.
‡ Let. to Marmontel, 13th Aug. 1760.

" his opinions, but would have bluſhed not to have " partaken of them."*

Choiſeul's underſtanding with the Sophiſters.

This perfidious underſtanding between the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Antichriſtian Conſpirators, haſtened their progreſs, when the moſt impious and moſt deſpotic of miniſters, judged that the time was come when the deciſive blow could be ſtruck. This miniſter was the Duke of Choiſeul; during the whole time of his power he was the faithful adept and admirer of Voltaire, who ſays: " Don't " fear oppoſition from the Duke of Choiſeul; I re- " peat it, I don't miſlead you, he will be proud of ſerv- " ing you :"† or to Marmontel, " We have been a " little alarmed by certain panics, but never was fright " ſo unfounded. The Duke de Choiſeul and Mad. " de Pompadour know the opinions of the *uncle* and " of the *niece*. You may ſend any thing without dan- " ger." In fine, he was ſo ſecure in the duke's protection againſt the Sorbonne and the church, that he would exclaim, " *The miniſtry of France for ever; long* " *live the Duke de Choiſeul.*"‡

Reſolves the deſtruction of the Jeſuits: why he begins with them.

This confidence of the premier chief was well placed in Choiſeul, who had adopted and taken up all the plans of D'Argenſon. The miniſtry prognoſticated a great ſource of riches to the ſtate, in the deſtruction of the religious, though many of them did not ſeek in that the deſtruction of religion; they even thought ſome of them neceſſary, and the Jeſuits were excepted. Unfortunately theſe were exactly the men with whom Choiſeul wiſhed to begin, and his intention was already known by the following anecdote:—Choiſeul, one day, converſing with three ambaſſadors, one of them ſaid, If I ever chance to be in power, I will certainly deſtroy all religious orders excepting the Jeſuits, for they are at leaſt uſeful to education. " As for my part (an- " ſwered Choiſeul), I will deſtroy none but the Jeſu- " its; for, their education once deſtroyed, all the " other religious orders will fall of themſelves," and his policy was deep! There can be no doubt but that deſtroying the order, in whoſe hands the majority of the colleges were at that time, would be ſtriking at the very root of that Chriſtian education, which prepared

* Condorcet's Sketch on Hiſtory, 9th Epoch.
† Let. to D'Alembert, No. 68, anno 1760.
‡ Let. to Marmontel, 13th Aug. 1760, and 2d Sept. 1767.

ſo many for the religious ſtate ; therefore, in ſpite of the exception, Choiſeul ſtill ſought to ſway the council by his opinion.

The Jeſuits were tampered with, but in vain : ſo far from acceding to the deſtruction of the other orders, they were foremoſt in their defence ; they pleaded the rights of the church ; they ſupported them with all their weight, whether in their writings or their diſcourſe. This gave occaſion to Choiſeul to remonſtrate with the council, and to perſuade them, if they wiſhed to procure to the ſtate, the immenſe reſources of the religious poſſeſſions, that it was neceſſary to begin with the *deſtruction of the Jeſuits*.

This anecdote I only cite, as having heard it among the Jeſuits, but their ſubſequent expulſion ſtrongly corroborates its veracity. Whether theſe religious deſerved their fate or not, is alien to my ſubject ; I only wiſh to point out the hand that ſtrikes, and the men who D'Alembert ſays *gave the orders* for their deſtruction. Treating of this Antichriſtian Conſpiracy, I have only to aſcertain whether their deſtruction was not conceived, urged and premeditated, by the ſophiſtical conſpirators, as a means powerfully tending to the deſtruction of Chriſtianity. Let us then examine what that body of men really was, and how neceſſarily odious they muſt have been to the conſpirators, from their general reputation. Let us, above all, hear the Sophiſters themſelves ; let us ſee how much they intereſted themſelves in their deſtruction.

What the Jeſuits were.

The Jeſuits were a body of twenty thouſand men, ſpread through all Catholic countries, and particularly charged with the education of youth. They did not for that neglect the other duties of the eccleſiaſtic, and were bound by a particular vow, to go as miſſionaries to any part of the globe, if ſent to preach the goſpel. From their youth, brought up to the ſtudy of literature, they had produced numberleſs authors, but more particularly divines, who immediately combated any error, that might ſpring up in the church. Latterly they were chiefly engaged in France againſt the Janſeniſts and Sophiſters, and it was their zeal in the defence of the church, that made the King of Pruſſia ſtyle them *The Life-guards of the Pope.**

* Let. of the King of Pruſſia to Voltaire, No. 154, an. 1767.

Opinion of the bishops on the Jesuits.

When fifty French prelates, cardinals, arch-bishops or bishops, assembled, were consulted by Louis XV. on the propriety of destroying the order, they expressly answered: "The Jesuits are of infinite service to us in our dioceses, whether for preaching "or the direction of the faithful, to revive, preserve "and propagate faith and piety, by their missions, "congregations and spiritual retreats, which they "make with our approbation, and under our authority. For these reasons we think, Sire, that to prohibit them from instructing, would essentially injure our dioceses, and that it would be difficult to "replace them with equal advantage in the instruction of youth, and more particularly so, in those "provincial towns where there are no universities."†

Such in general was the idea entertained of them in all Catholic countries; it is essential to the reader to be acquainted with it, that he may understand of what importance their destruction was to the Sophisters. At the time, the Jansenists had the honor of it, and indeed they were very ardent in the success. But the Duke de Choiseul, and the famous courtezan La Marquise de Pompadour, who then held the destiny of France, under the shadow and in the name of Louis XV, were not more partial to the Jansenists than to the Jesuits. Both confidants of Voltaire, they were consequently initiated in all the mysteries of the Sophisters,‡ and Voltaire, as he says himself, *would willingly have seen all the Jesuits at the bottom of the sea, each with a Jansenist hung to his neck.*§

The Jansenists were nothing more than the hounds employed in the general hunt by Choiseul, the Marquise de Pompadour and the Sophisters. The Minister, spurred on by his impiety, the Marquise, wishing to revenge the insult, as she called it, received from Pere Sacy a Jesuit. This father had refused her the sacraments, unless by quitting the court, she would in some sort atone for the public scandal she had given, by her cohabitation with Louis XV. But if we judge by Voltaire's letters, they neither of them needed much stimulation, as they both had always been great

† Opinion of the Bishops, 1761.
‡ Let. of Voltaire to Marmontel, 13th Aug. 1760.
§ Let. to Chabanon.

protectors of the Sophisters, and the minister had always favored their intrigues as far as he could, consistently with circumstances and politics.* The following pages will show these intrigues, and we shall begin by D'Alembert, who writes in the most sanguine manner on their future victory over the Jesuits, and on the immense advantages to be derived to the conspiracy by their downfall. "You are perpetually "repeating, *Crush the wretch;* for God's sake let it "fall headlong of itself! Do you know what Astruc "says? It is not the Jansenists that are killing the "Jesuits, but the Encyclopedia. Yes, zounds! it is "the Encyclopedia, and that is not unlikely. This "scoundrel of an Astruc is a second Pasquin, he "sometimes says good things. For my part I see "every thing in the brightest colours: I foresee the "Jansenists naturally dying off the next year, after "having strangled the Jesuits this; toleration established, the Protestants recalled, the priests married, "confession abolished, and *fanaticism* (religion) *crushed*, "and all this without its even being perceived."†

D'Alembert's avowal on their destruction.

The very words of the conspirators show what part they had in the destruction of the Jesuits. They were the true cause; we see what advantage they hoped to reap from it; they had kindled the hatred, they had procured the death warrant. The Jansenists were to serve the conspirators, but fall themselves, when no more wanted. The Calvinists were to be recalled, but only to perish in their turn. To strike at the whole Christian religion was their aim, and impiety with its sophisters, was solely to range throughout the unbelieving world.

D'Alembert smiles at the blinded parliaments, seconding with all their power the plans of the conspirators. It is in this idea he writes to Voltaire: "The "laugh is no longer on the side of the Jesuits, since "they have fallen out with the philosophers; at present they are at open war with the parliament, who "find that the society of Jesus is contrary to *human* "society. This same society of Jesus finds on its "side, that the *order* of the parliament is not within "the *order* of those who have common sense, and "*philosophy would decide that both the society of Jesus*

* Let. from Voltaire to Marmontel, 21st Aug. 1767.
† Let. 100.

" *and the parliament are in the right.*"* Or again, when he writes to Voltaire: " The evacuation of the " college of Louis le Grand (the Jesuits College at " Paris) is of more importance to us than that of " Martinico. Upon my word this is becoming seri- " ous, and the people of the parliament don't mince " the matter. They think they are serving religion, " while *they are forwarding reason without the least sus-* " *picion.* They are the public executioners, *who take* " *their orders from philosophy without knowing it.*"† Wrapped up in his idea, when he sees the Encyclopedian commands nearly executed, he openly avows the cause of his revenge; he even implores Heaven, lest his prey should escape him. " Philosophy (says he) is on " the eve of being revenged of the Jesuits, but who " will avenge it of the other fanatics. Pray God, " dear brother, that reason may triumph even in our " days."‡

And this day of triumph comes, he proclaims the long-concerted exploit: " At length, he cries, on the " sixth of next month, we shall be delivered from all " that Jesuitical rabble, but will reason for that, have " gained, or *the wretch* have lost ground.§

Thus we see, under this shocking formula, the destruction of Christianity is linked with that of the Jesuits. D'Alembert was so much convinced of the importance of their triumph over that order, that hearing one day of Voltaire's pretended gratitude to his former masters, he immediately wrote to him, " Do you know what I was told yesterday, that you " began to pity the Jesuits, that you was almost " tempted to write in their favor, as if it were possible " to interest any one in favor of people, on whom " you have cast so much ridicule. *Believe me, let us* " *have no human weakness.* Let the Jansenitical rab- " ble rid us of the Jesuitical, and do not prevent one " spider from devouring another."‖

Avowal of Voltaire.

Nothing was less founded than this alarm, Voltaire was not the writer of the conclusions drawn by the Attorney-Generals of the Parliament, as D'Alembert had been informed, who himself had been the author of Mr. de la Chalotais, the most artful and virulent piece that appeared against the Jesuits. Votaire how-

* Letter 98, 1761. † Let. 100. ‡ Let. 90, anno 1761.
§ Let. 102. ‖ Let. 15th of Sept. 1762.

ever was not leſs active in compoſing and circulating memorials againſt them.*

If he ſuſpected any great perſonage of protecting the Jeſuits, he would write and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them. It was for that he wrote to the Mareſchal de Richelieu, "I have been told, "my Lord, that you had favored the Jeſuits at Bour- "deaux. Try to deſtroy whatever influence they "may have."† Thus again he did not bluſh to upbraid Frederick himſelf, with having offered an aſylum to theſe unfortunate victims of their plots.‡ Full as rancorous as D'Alembert, he would expreſs his joy at their misfortunes in the ſame groſs abuſe, and his letters ſhow with what adepts he ſhared it. "I rejoice "with my brave *chevalier* (he would write to the Marq. "de Vielleville) on the expulſion of the Jeſuits; Ja- "pan led the way in driving out thoſe knaves of "Loyola; China followed the example of Japan, "and France and Spain have imitated the Chineſe. "Would to God that all the monks were ſwept from "the face of the earth, they are no better than thoſe "knaves of Loyola. If the Sorbonne was ſuffered to "act, it would be worſe than the Jeſuits. One is "ſurrounded with monſters: we embrace our wor- "thy chevalier, and exhort him to conceal his march "from the enemy."§

What examples does the philoſophiſt of Ferney adduce! The cruelties of a Taikoſama, who, in expelling and crucifying the miſſionary Jeſuits, alſo murders thouſands and thouſands of his ſubjects, in order to irradicate Chriſtianity. The Chineſe, leſs violent indeed, but with whom every perſecution againſt the miſſionaries, has always been followed or preceded by a prohibition to preach the goſpel. Can the man build upon ſuch authorities, without forming the ſame wiſh?

It is to be remarked that Voltaire dares not cite the example of Portugal or of its tyrant Carvalho.‖ The

* Let. to the Marquis D'Argence de Dirac, 26th Feb. 1762.
† Let. of the 27th Nov. 1761. ‡ 5th Nov. 1773.
§ 27th April, 1767.
‖ I have ſeen well-informed perſons, who thought that the perſecution in Portugal was not entirely unconnected with the conſpiracy of the Sophiſters. That it was only a firſt eſſay of what might be afterwards attempted againſt the whole body. This might be. The politics and power of Choiſeul and the

truth is, that with the reſt of Europe, he is obliged to confeſs, that the conduct of this miniſter in Portugal, with regard to the Father Malagrida and the pretended conſpiracy of the Jeſuits, *was the ſummit of ridicule and the exceſs of horror.**

It is alſo worthy of remark, that the conſpiring Sophiſters ſpared no pains to throw the odium of the aſſaſſination of Louis XV. on the Jeſuits, and more particularly Damilaville, whom Voltaire anſwers in the following manner: "My brethren, you may eaſily perceive that I have not ſpared the Jeſuits. But poſterity would revolt againſt me in their favor, were I to accuſe them of a crime of which all Europe and Damien has cleared them. I ſhould debaſe myſelf into the vile *echo of the Janſeniſts*, were I to ſpeak otherwiſe."†

Notwithſtanding the incoherency in their accuſations againſt the Jeſuits, D'Alembert, certain of Voltaire's zeal in this warfare, ſends him his *pretended hiſtory* of theſe Religious; a work, of whoſe hypocriſy, his own pen is the beſt guarantee, when he ſpeaks of it as a means for the grand object. "I recommend this work to your protection (he writes to Voltaire,) I really believe it will be of ſervice to the common cauſe, and that *ſuperſtition* notwithſtanding the many bows I pretend to make before it, will not fare the better for it. Was I, like you, far from Paris, *to give it a ſound threſhing*, I would certainly do it, with all my heart, with all my ſoul, with all my ſtrength, in fine, as they tell us, we are to love God. But, *placed as I am, I muſt content myſelf with giving a few fillips*, apologizing for the great liberty taken, and I do not think but what I have hit it off pretty well."‡

character of Carvalho, could add weight to this opinion. I candidly confeſs I have no proof of their ſecret co-operations; and beſides, the ferocious wickedneſs of Carvalho, has been ſet in ſo ſtrong a light, he was the murderer and jailor of ſo many victims declared innocent by the decree of the 8th of April 1771, that it would be uſeleſs to ſeek any other ſtimulator than his own heart, in that ſhocking ſeries of cruelties which diſtinguiſhed his miniſtry. *See the Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Marq. of Pombal. The Diſcourſe on Hiſtory by the Comte D'Albon.*

* Voltaire's Age of Louis XV. chap. 33.

† Let. to Damilaville, 2d March, 1763. ‡ 3d Jan. 1765.

Could the reader for a moment forget his indignation at the profligacy of the ſtyle, would not the hypocriſy, the profound diſſimulation, of which theſe Sophiſters ſpeak ſo lightly, rouſe it anew; if the annals of hiſtory ſhould ever be ſearched, it would be in vain to ſeek a conſpiracy whoſe intruges, whoſe cunning was of a deeper hue, and that from its own confeſſion.

As to Frederick, during the whole of this warfare, his conduct is ſo ſingular, that his words alone can give a proper idea of it. He would call the Jeſuits, *The life-guards of the court of Rome, the grenadiers of Religion;* and as ſuch hated them, and triumphed with the reſt of the conſpirators in their defeat. But he alſo beheld in them a body of men uſeful and even neceſſary to his ſtate; as ſuch he ſupported them ſeveral years after their deſtruction; was deaf to the repeated ſolicitations of Voltaire and his motly crew. One could be almoſt tempted to think he liked them; he openly writes to Voltaire, "I have no reaſon to complain of "Ganganelli, he has left me my dear Jeſuits, who "are the objects of univerſal perſecution. I will pre-"ſerve a ſeed of ſo precious and uncommon a plant, "to furniſh thoſe who may wiſh to cultivate it here-"after."* He would even enter in a ſort of juſtification, with Voltaire, on his conduct, ſo oppoſite to the views of the party. "However much a heretic, "and ſtill more an infidel, ſays he, I have preſerved "that order after a faſhion, and for the following "reaſons:

Avowal and ſtrange conduct of Frederick.

"Not one Catholic man of letters is to be found in "theſe regions, except among the Jeſuits. We had "nobody capable of keeping ſchools. We had no "Oratorian Fathers, no Puriſts (Piariſtes or Fathers "of charity-ſchools;) there was no alternative, the "deſtruction of our ſchools, or the preſervation of the "Jeſuits. It was neceſſary that the order ſhould ſub-"ſiſt to furniſh profeſſors, where they dropped off; "and the foundation could ſuffice for ſuch an ex-"pence; but it would have been inadequate to the "ſalary of laymen profeſſors. Moreover, it was at "the univerſity of the Jeſuits, that the divines were "taught; who where afterwards to fill the rectories. "Had the order been ſuppreſſed, there was an end of "the univerſity, and our Sileſian divines would have

* 7th July, 1770.

" been obliged to go and finiſh their ſtudies in Bohe-
" mia, which would have been contrary to the funda-
" mental principles of our government."*

Such was the language of Frederick, ſpeaking in his royal character, ſuch were the political reaſons he ſo ably adduced, in ſupport of his oppoſition to the Sophiſters. Alas! I have already ſaid it; in Frederick there were two diſtinct men, one the great king, and as ſuch, he believes the preſervation of the Jeſuits neceſſary; the other the impious Sophiſter, conſpiring with Voltaire, and triumphant in the loſs religion had ſuſtained in that of the Jeſuits. In the latter character we find him freely exulting with the conſpirators and felicitating D'Alembert, on this happy omen of the total deſtruction of Chriſtianity, and in his ſarcaſtic ſtyle, writes, " What an unfortunate age for the court
" of Rome; ſhe is openly attacked in Poland, her
" life-guards are driven out of France and Portugal,
" and it appears that they will ſhare the ſame fate in
" Spain. The philoſophers openly ſap the founda-
" tions of the apoſtolic throne; the hieroglyphics of
" the conjuror are laughed at, and the author of the
" ſect is pelted, toleration is preached, ſo all is loſt.
" A miracle alone could ſave the church. She is
" ſtrucken with a dreadful apoplexy, and you (Vol-
" taire) will have the happineſs of burying her, and of
" writing her epitaph, as you formerly did that of the
" Sorbonne."†

When what Frederick had foreſeen really came to paſs in Spain, he wrote again to Voltaire. " Here is
" a new victory you have gained in Spain. The Jeſ-
" uits are driven out of the kingdom. Moreover the
" courts of Verſailles, of Vienna and Madrid have
" applied to the Pope for the ſuppreſſion of divers con-
" vents. It is ſaid the holy father, though in a rage,
" will be obliged to conſent. Oh! cruel revolution,
" what are we not to expect in the next century, the
" axe is at the root of the tree. On one ſide the phi-
" loſophers openly attack the abuſes of a fainted ſu-
" perſtition; on the other, *princes by the abuſes of diſ-*
" *ſipation* are forced to lay violent hands on the goods
" of theſe recluſe, who are the props and trumpeters
" of fanaticiſm. This edifice ſapped in its founda-

* 8th November, 1777. † Letter 154, anno 1767.

" tions, is on the eve of falling, and nations ſhall in-
" ſcribe on their annals, that Voltaire was the promo-
" ter of the revolution, operated, during the nine-
" teenth century, in the human mind."*

A long while fluctuating between the king and the Sophiſter, Frederick had not yet yielded to the ſolicitations of the conſpirators. D'Alembert was particularly preſſing in his; we ſee how much he was bent on the ſucceſs by his following letter to Voltaire. " My venerable Patriarch, do not accuſe me of want " of zeal in the good cauſe, no one perhaps ſerves it " more than myſelf. Do you know with what I am " occupied at preſent? With nothing leſs than the ex-" pulſion of the Jeſuitical rabble, from Sileſia; and " your former diſciple is but too willing, on account " of the numerous and perfidious treacheries he expe-" rienced through their means, as he ſays himſelf, " during the laſt war; I do not ſend a ſingle letter to " Berlin without repeating, *That the philoſophers of* " *France are amazed, that the king of Philoſophers, that* " *the declared protector of philoſophy* ſhould be ſo *dila-* " *tory*, in following the example of the kings of France " or Portugal. Theſe letters are read to the king, " who is very ſenſible, as you know, to what the true " believers may think of him; and this ſenſe will, " without doubt, produce a good effect, by the help " of God's grace, which, as the ſcripture very prop-" erly remarks, turns the heart of kings like a water-" cock."†

Further avowals of D'Alembert and Voltaire.

It is a loathſome taſk to copy all this low buffoonery with which D'Alembert would ſeaſon his dark plots, and the unconcern of his clandeſtine perſecution, againſt a ſociety of men, whoſe only crime was their reſpect and reverence for Chriſtianity. I paſs over many more expreſſions of this ſtamp, or more indecent; it will ſuffice for my object, to ſhow how little, how empty, how deſpicable, theſe proud and mighty men were, when ſeen in their true light.

In ſpite of all theſe ſolicitations, Frederick was invincible, and fifteen years after, he ſtill protected and preſerved *his dear Jeſuits*. This expreſſion in his mouth, when he at length ſacrificed them to the conſpiracy,

* 5th May, 1767.
† D'Alembert to Voltaire, 15th Dec. 1763.

may be looked upon as an anſwer to what D'Alembert had written of their treachery to the king; it might prove with what unconcern, calumny or ſuppoſed evidence of others, were adduced as proofs by him; as in another place he ſays, Frederick is not a man, *to confine within his royal breaſt*, the ſubjects of complaint he may have had againſt them,* as had been the caſe with the king of Spain, whoſe conduct in that reſpect had been ſo much blamed by the Sophiſters.†

Their fears of the recal of the Jeſuits.

Theſe ſophiſtical conſpirators were not to be ſatisfied by the general expulſion of the Jeſuits, from the different ſtates of the kings of the earth. But by their reiterated cries, Rome was at length to be forced *to declare the total extinction of the order.* We may obſerve this in a work, in which Voltaire particularly intereſts himſelf, and whoſe ſole object, was to obtain that extinction. At length it was obtained. France too late perceiving the blow it had given to public education, without appearing to recoil, many of her leading men, ſeeking to remedy the miſtake, formed the plan of a new ſociety ſolely deſtined to the education of youth. In this the former Jeſuits, as the moſt habituated to education, were to be admitted. On the firſt news of this plan, D'Alembert ſpread the alarm; he ſees the Jeſuits returning to life; he writes again and again to Voltaire; he ſends the counter-plan. He lays great ſtreſs on the danger that *would reſult from thence, for the ſtate, for the king, and for the Duke D'Aiguillon*, during whoſe adminiſtration, the deſtruction had taken place; *alſo on the impropriety of placing youth under the tuition of any community of prieſts whatever:* they were to be repreſented *as ultramontains by principle and as anti-citizens.* Our barking philoſophiſt then concluding in his cant to Voltaire, ſays, *Raton* (cat,) *this cheſnut requires to be covered in the embers, and to be handled by a paw as dextrous as that of Raton, and ſo ſaying I tenderly kiſs thoſe dear paws.* Seized with the ſame panic, Voltaire ſets to work, and aſks for freſh inſtructions. He conſiders what turn can be given to this affair, much too ſerious to be treated with ridicule alone. D'Alembert inſiſts,‡ Voltaire at Ferney, writes againſt the recal, and the conſpirators fill Paris and Verſailles

* 24th July 1767.
† D'Alembert to Voltaire, 4th May 1767.
‡ See Letters of 26th Feb. 5th and 22d March 1774.

with their intrigues. The miniſters are prevailed upon, the plan laid aſide, youth left without inſtruction, and it is on ſuch an occaſion that Voltaire writes, "My "dear friend, I know not what is to become of me; "in the mean time let us enjoy the pleaſure of ha- "ving ſeen the Jeſuits expelled."*

This pleaſure was but ſhort, as D'Alembert, ſeized with a new panic, writes again to Voltaire, "I am "told, for certain, that the Jeſuitical rabble is about "to be reinſtated in Portugal, in all but the dreſs. "This new Queen appears to be a very *ſuperſtitious* "*Majeſty*. Should the King of Spain chance to die, "I would not anſwer for that kingdom's not imitating "Portugal. *Reaſon is undone ſhould the enemy's army* "*gain this battle.*"†

When I firſt undertook to ſhow that the deſtruction of the Jeſuits was a favourite object of the conſpirators, and that it was eſſentially inherent to their plan of overthrowing the Chriſtian religion, I promiſed to confine myſelf to the records and confeſſions of the Sophiſters themſelves. I have omitted, for brevity ſake, ſeveral of great weight, even that written by Voltaire, fifteen years after their expulſion, wherein he flatters himſelf, *that by means of the court of Peterſburg*, he could ſucceed in getting them expelled from China, becauſe *thoſe Jeſuits, whom the Emperor of China had choſen to preſerve at Pekin, were rather* CONVERTERS *than Mathematicians.*‡

Had the Sophiſters been leſs ſanguine, or leſs active, in the extinction of this order I ſhould not have inſiſted ſo much on that object. But the very warfare they waged was a libel on Chriſtianity; what! they had perſuaded themſelves that the religion of the Chriſtians was the work of man, that the deſtruction of a few poor mortals, was to ſhake it to its very foundations? Had they forgotten that Chriſtianity had flouriſhed during fourteen centuries, before a Jeſuit was heard of? Hell might open its gates wider after their deſtruction, but it was written that they ſhould not prevail. The power and intrigues of the miniſters of France, of a Choiſeul or a Pompadour, plotting with a Voltaire; of a D'Aranda in Spain, the public friend of D'Alembert and the protector of infidelity;

Miſtake of the Sophiſters on this abolition.

* Let. to D'Alembert. 27th April 1771.
† 23d June 1777. ‡ 8th Dec. 1776.

of a Carvalho in Portugal, the ferocious perfecutor of the good; in fine, the intrigues of many other miniſters, dupes or agents of the ſophiſtical conſpiracy, rather than politicians, may have extorted the bull of extinction from Ganganelli, by threats of ſchiſm: but did that pontiff, or any other Chriſtian, believe that the power of the Goſpel reſted on the Jeſuits? No: the God of the Goſpel reigns above, he will one day judge the pontiff and the miniſter, the Jeſuit and the Sophiſter.—It is certain that a body of twenty thouſand religious diſperſed throughout Chriſtendom, and forming a ſucceſſion of men, attending to the education of youth, applying to the ſtudy of ſcience, both religous and prophane, muſt have been of the greateſt utility both to church and ſtate. The conſpirators were not long before they perceived their error, and though they had done the Jeſuits the honor to look upon them as the baſe on which the church reſted, they found that Chriſtianity had other ſuccours left, that new plots were neceſſary, and with equal ardor, we ſhall ſee them attacking all other religious orders, as the third means of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy.

CHAP. VI.

Third Means of the Conſpirators.—Extinction of all the Religious Orders.

Charges againſt religious orders.

THE favorite theme of thoſe who were inimical to religious orders, has been to ſhew their inutility both to church and ſtate. But by what right ſhall Europe complain of a ſet of men, by whoſe care ſhe has emerged from that ſavage ſtate of the ancient Gauls or Germanni, by whoſe labours two-thirds of her lands have been cultivated, her villages built, her towns beautified and augmented. Shall the ſtate complain of thoſe men, who perpetually attending to the cultivation of lands which their predeceſſors had firſt tilled, furniſh ſuſtenance to the inhabitants; ſhall the inhabitant complain, when the village, the town, the country, from whence he comes, would not have exiſted, or remained uncultivated, but from their care. Shall men of letters complain, when, ſhould they have been happy enough to have eſcaped the general ignorance and barbarity of Europe, they would perhaps, be vainly ſearching ruins in hopes of finding ſome fragment of ancient literature. Yes complain, all Europe complain! It is from them you learned your letters, and they have been abuſed but too much; alas! your forefathers learned to read, but we to read perverſely; they opened the temple of ſcience, we half ſhut it again; and the dangerous man is not he who is ignorant, but the half wiſe, who would pretend to wiſdom.

Had any one been at the trouble of comparing the knowledge of the leaſt learned part of the religious orders, with that of the generality of the laity, I have no doubt but the former would greatly have excelled the latter, though they had received their ordinary education. It is true, the religious were not verſed in the ſophiſticated ſcience of the age; but often have I ſeen thoſe very men, who upbraided with their ignorance, were happy in the ſciences their occupations required. It was not only among the Benedictines, who have been more generally excepted from this

badge of ignorance, but among all other orders that I have met with men, as distinguished by their knowledge, as by the purity of their morals. Could I, alas, extend this remark to the laiety! This, indeed, is a language very different from that, which the reader may have seen in the satiric declamations of the age; but will satire satisfy his judgment. In the annals of the conspiring Sophisters, shall he find testimony borne of their services, and every scurrilous expression, shall be a new laurel in their crown.

Frederick's plan.

The Jesuits were destroyed, the conspirators saw Christianity still subsisted, and they then said to each other, we must destroy the other religious orders, or we shall not triumph. Their whole plan is to be seen in a letter from Frederick, to which Voltaire gave occasion by the following: "Hercules went to fight "the robbers and Bellerophon chimeras; I should "not be sorry to behold Herculeses and Bellerophons "delivering the earth, both from Catholic robbers "and Catholic chimeras."* Frederick answers on the 24th of the same month: "It is not the lot of "arms *to destroy the wretch*, it shall perish by the arm "of truth and interested selfishness. If you wish me "to explain this idea, my meaning is as follows.—I "have remarked as well as many others, that those "places where convents are the most numerous, are "those where the people are most blindly attached "to superstition. No doubt but if these asylums of "fanaticism were destroyed, the people would grow "tepid and see with indifference, the present objects "of their veneration. The point would *be to destroy "the cloisters*, at least to begin by lessening their number. The time is come, the French and Austrian "governments are involved in debt; they have exhausted the resources of industry to discharge them, "and they have not succeeded; the lure of rich abbeys and well-endowed convents, is tempting. By "representing to them the prejudice cloistered persons "occasion to the population of their states, as well "as the great abuse of the numbers of *Cucullati*, who "are spread throughout the provinces; also the facility of paying off part of their debts, with the treasures of those communities, who are without heirs;

Frederick's plan for the destruction of the religious orders.

* 3d March, 1767.

" they might, I think, be made to adopt this plan of " reform ; and it may be presumed, that after having " enjoyed the secularization of some good livings, " their rapacity could crave the rest.

" Every government who shall adopt this plan, " *will be friendly to the philosophers*, and the promoter " of all those books, which attack popular superstition, or the false zeal that would support it.

" Here is a pretty little plan, which I submit to the " examination of the patriarch of Ferney ; it is his " province, as father of the faithful, to rectify and " put it in execution.

" The patriarch may perhaps ask *what is to become " of the bishops?* I answer, it is not yet time to touch " them. To destroy those, who stir up the fire of " fanaticism in the hearts of the people, is the first " step, and when the people are cooled, *the bishops " will be but little personages, whom sovereigns in pro- " cess of time, will dispose of as they please.*"

Voltaire relished such plans too much not to set a great value on them, and of course answered the King of Prussia : " Your plan of attack against the *Chris- " ticole Superstition*, in that of the friarhood, is wor- " thy a great captain. The religious orders once " abolished, *error* is exposed to universal contempt. " Much is written in France on this subject ; every " one talks of it, but it is not ripe enough as yet. " People are not sufficiently daring in France, bigots " are yet in power."*

Having read these letters, it would be ridiculous to ask of what service religious orders could be to the church. Certain it is, that many had fallen off from the austerity of their first institute ; but even in this degenerate state we see Frederick making use of all his policy to overturn them, because his antichristian plots are thwarted by the zeal and example of these religious : because he thinks the church cannot be stormed, until the convents are carried as the outworks ; and Voltaire traces the hand of the great captain, who had distiguished himself so eminently by his military science in Germany, in the plan of attack against the *Christicole Superstition*. These religious corps were useful then, though branded with sloth and

* 5th April 1767.

ignorance; they were a true barrier to impiety. Frederick was so much convinced of it, that when the Sophisters had already occupied all the avenues of the throne, he dared not direct his attacks against the Bishops, nor the body of the place, until the outworks were carried.

Voltaire writes to him on the 29th of July 1775, "We hope that philosophy which in France *is near* "*the throne*, will soon *be on it*. But that is but hope, "which too often proves fallacious. There are so "many people interested in the support of error and "nonsense, so many dignities, and such riches are "annexed to the trade, that the hypocrites, it is to "be feared, will get the better of the sages. Has "not your Germany transformed your principal ec"clesiastics into sovereigns? Where is there an elec"tor or a bishop, who will side with reason against a "sect, that allows him two or three hundred thou"sand pounds a-year?"

Frederick continued to vote for the war being carried on against the religious. It was too early to attack the bishops. He answers Voltaire, "All that "you say of our German bishops is but too true; "they are the hogs fattened on the tythes of Sion "(such is their scurrilous language in their private "correspondence.) But you know likewise, that in "the Holy Roman Empire, ancient custom, the gol"den bull, *and such like antiquated fooleries*, have giv"en weight to established abuses. One sees them, "shrugs one's shoulders, and things jog on in the old "way. If we wish to diminish fanaticism, *we must* "*not begin by the bishops*. But if we succeed in lessen"ing the friarhood, especially the mendicant orders, "the people will cool, and they being less superstitious, "will allow the powers *to bring down the bishops* as best "suits their states. *This is the only possible mode of pro*"*ceeding*. To silently undermine the edifice hostile "to reason, is to force it to fall of itself."*

I began by saying, that the means of the conspirators would give new proofs of the reality of the conspiracy, and of its object. Can any other interpretation, than that of an Antichristian Conspiracy, be put on the whole sentences made use of in their corres-

* 13th August 1775.

pondence ? How can we otherwiſe underſtand, *ſuch is the only poſſible mode of proceeding, to undermine* the edifice of that religion, which they are pleaſed to deſign by *Chriſticole Superſtition*, as fanatic or unreaſonable ; or in order to overthrow its pontiffs, to ſeduce the people from its worſhip ? What then is conſpiracy, if thoſe ſecret machinations carried on between Ferney, Berlin and Paris, in ſpite of diſtances, be not ſo ? What reader can be ſufficiently blind not to ſee, that by the eſtabliſhment of reaſon, it is only the overthrow of Chriſtianity that is ſought ? It is indeed a matter of ſurpriſe, that the Sophiſters ſhould have ſo openly expoſed their plans at ſo early a period.

In the mean time Voltaire was correct when he anſwers Frederick, that the plan of deſtruction was ardently purſued in France, ever ſince the expulſion of the Jeſuits, and that by people who were in office. The firſt ſtep taken was to put off the period of religious profeſſions until the age of twenty-one, though the adepts in miniſtry would fain have deferred it till the age of twenty-five. That is to ſay, that of a hundred young people, who would have embraced that ſtate, not two would have been able to follow their vocations ; for what parent would let his child attain that age, without being certain of the ſtate of life he would embrace. The remonſtrances made by many friends to religion, cauſed the age fixed on by the edict, to be that of eighteen for women, and twenty-one for men. Nevertheleſs, this was looked upon as an act of authority exerciſed on thoſe, who choſe to conſecrate themſelves more particularly to the ſervice of their God, and reſcue themſelves from the danger of the paſſions, at that age when they are the moſt powerful. This ſubject had been very fully treated in the laſt Œcumenical Council, where the age for the profeſſion of religious perſons had been fixed at ſixteen, with a term of five years to reclaim againſt their laſt vows, in caſe they did not chooſe to continue the religious life they had undertaken. And it had always been looked upon as a right inherent to the church, to decide on theſe matters, as may be ſeen in Chappelain's diſcourſe on that ſubject. It would be ridiculous to repeat the favourite argument of their inutility to France, after what has been ſaid in this chapter. What ! pious

Plan adopted in France on the religious.

works, edification and the inſtruction of the people uſeleſs to a nation! Beſides, France was a lively example that the number of convents had not hurt its population, as few ſtates were peopled in an equal proportion. If celibacy was to be attacked, ſhe might have turned her eyes to her armies and to that numerous claſs of men, who lived in celibacy, and who perhaps ought to have been noticed by the laws. In fine, all further reclamations were uſeleſs. What had been foreſeen came to paſs, according to the wiſhes of the miniſterial Sophiſters. In many colleges the Jeſuits being very ill replaced, youth neglected in their education, left a prey to their paſſions, or looking on the number of years they had to wait for their reception into the religious ſtate, as ſo much time loſt, laid aſide all thoughts of that ſtate, and took to other employments. Some few, from want, engaged, but rather ſeeking bread than the ſervice of their God, or elſe prone to vice and to their paſſions, which they had never been taught to ſubdue, reluctantly ſubmitted to the rules of the cloiſter. Already there exiſted many abuſes, but they daily increaſed; and while the number of religious was diminiſhing, their fervor languiſhed, and public ſcandals became more frequent. This was preciſely what the miniſters wanted, to have a plea for the ſuppreſſion of the whole; while their maſters, more ſanguine if poſſible, made the preſs teem with writings, in which neither ſatire nor calumny were ſpared.

Briennes proſecutes the plan.

The perſon who ſeemed to ſecond them with the greateſt warmth, was that man who, after having perſuaded his companions even, that he had ſome talent for governing, at length finiſhed by only adding his name to thoſe miniſters, whom ambition may be ſaid to have blinded even to ſtupidity. This man was Briennes, Archbiſhop of Touloufe, ſince Archbiſhop of Sens, afterwards prime miniſter, then a public apoſtate, and who died as univerſally hated and deſpiſed, as Necker himſelf appears to be at this day. Briennes will be more deſpiſed, when it ſhall be known that he was the friend and confidant of D'Alembert, and that in a commiſſion for the reform of the religious orders, he wore the mitre, and exerciſed its powers as a D'Alembert would have done.

The clergy had thought it neceſſary to examine the means of reforming the religious, and of re-eſtabliſhing their primitive fervor. The court ſeemed to enter into their views, and named counſellors of ſtate to join the biſhops in their deliberations on this ſubject, and called it the *Commiſſion of Regulars*. A mixture of prelates, who are only to be actuated by the ſpirit of the church, and of ſtateſmen ſolely acting from worldly views, could never agree; ſome few articles were ſuppoſed to have beén ſettled; but all was in vain, and many, through diſguſt, abandoned the commiſſion. Among the biſhops were Mr. Dillon, Archbiſhop of Narbonne; Mr. de Boiſgelin, Archbiſhop of Aix; Mr. de Cicè, Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, and the famous Briennes, Archbiſhop of Toulouſe.

The firſt, majeſtic in his perſon and noble in his eloquence, ſeems to have had but little to do in this affair, and ſoon withdrew. The talents and zeal ſhewn by the ſecond in the national aſſembly, in defence of the religious ſtate, will convince the reader that he might have given an opinion which the court did not wiſh to adopt; he alſo abandoned the commiſſion. In the third we ſee, that if by accepting of the ſeals of the revolution, and by affixing them to the conſtitutional decrees, he could err; by his repentance and retractation he never would have found it in his heart, had he known the plans of the conſpirators.

Briennes was the only man of this commiſſion who enjoyed the confidence of the court, or had the ſecret of D'Alembert, and the latter knew but too well how to prize the future ſervices Briennes was about to render to the conſpiracy. On his reception into the French academy, D'Alembert informs the patriarch, "We have in him a good brother, who will certainly "prove uſeful to letters *and to philoſophy*, provided "*philoſophy does not tie up his hands by licentiouſneſs*, or "that the general outcry does not force him to act "againſt his will."* In fewer words, he might have ſaid, he will attack his God and his religion with all the hypocriſy worthy a conſpiring Sophiſter.

Briennes' underſtanding with D'Alembert.

Voltaire, thinking he had reaſon to complain of the monſtrous prelate, is anſwered by D'Alembert, who was a connoiſſeur in brethren, "For God's ſake don't

* 20th June and 21ſt December 1770.

" judge raſhly——I would lay a hundred to one, that " things have been miſrepreſented, and that his miſ- " conduct has been greatly exaggerated. I know his " way of thinking too well, not to be aſſured that he " only did on that occaſion, what he was indiſpenſibly " obliged to do."*

Voltaire complained on that occaſion, of an order publiſhed by Briennes againſt the adept Audra, who at Toulouſe openly read lectures on impiety, under pretence of reading on hiſtory. On the enquiries made in favor of the adept by D'Alembert, he writes that Briennes " had withſtood, during a whole year, " the joint clamours of the parliament, the biſhops, " and the aſſembly of the clergy;" and that it was abſolutely neceſſary *to compel him to act*, to prevent the youth of his dioceſe from receiving the like lectures. His apologiſt continues, " Don't let yourſelf be pre- " judiced againſt Briennes, and be aſſured, once for " all, that reaſon (that is our reaſon) will never have " to complain of him."†

Such was the hypocrite or mitred Sophiſter, whom intrigue had placed in the commiſſion to deliberate on the reform of the religious orders. Seeking diſorder and deſtruction, ſupported by the miniſtry, without attending to the other biſhops of the commiſſion, he ſolely dictated in this reform.

Means and ſucceſs of Briennes.

To the edict on the age for profeſſions he added another, ſuppreſſing all convents in towns that conſiſted of leſs than twenty religious; and elſewhere, when their number was under ten, on the ſpecious pretence, that the conventual rules were better obſerved where the number was greater. The biſhops and the cardinal de Luynes in particular, objected the great ſervices rendered in country places by theſe ſmall convents, and how much they helped the curates, but all to no purpoſe; and Briennes had already contrived to ſuppreſs fifteen hundred convents before the revolution. Soon he would have advanced more rapidly, for by promoting and encouraging the complaints of the young religious againſt the elder, of the inferior againſt the ſuperior, by cramping and thwarting their elections, he ſpread diſſentions throughout the cloiſters. On the other ſide, the ridicule and calumnies contri-

* 4th Dec. 1770. † 21ſt Dec. 1770.

ved by the Sophiſters were ſo powerful, that few young men dared take the habit, while ſome of the ancients were *aſhamed of wearing a gown covered with infamy.*§ Others at length, wearied out by theſe ſhuffling tricks, themſelves petitioned to be ſuppreſſed.

Philoſophiſm, with its principles of liberty and equality, was even gaining ground in their houſes, with all its concomitant evils; the good religious ſhed tears of blood over thoſe perſecutions of Briennes, who alone would have effectuated thoſe dreadful ſchemes planned by Voltaire and Frederick. Their decline was daily more evident, and it was a prodigy that any fervor yet remained, though a greater prodigy ſtill, when we ſee the fervor of many of thoſe who had petitioned for their ſecularization, revive in the firſt days of the revolution. I know for certain that not one third of thoſe who had petitioned, dared take the oath, for apoſtacy ſtared them in the face. The tortuous intrigues of a Briennes had ſhaken them; but the direct attacks of the National Aſſembly opened their eyes, and they beheld aſtoniſhed, in their ſuppreſſion, the grand attack which had been levelled againſt Chriſtianity.

Voltaire and Frederick did not live to ſee their plans accompliſhed, Briennes did; but claiming the honor, he only reaped the ignominy of them. Shame and remorſe devoured him. With what pleaſure we may ſpeak of the piety of thoſe chaſte virgins, conſecrated to the ſervice of their God! With them his intrigues had been uſeleſs. They, more immediately under the direction of their biſhops, had not been expoſed to the anarchy and diſſentions of a Briennes; their ſecluſion from the world, their profeſſions at an earlier age (eighteen,) their education within the walls of the convent, theſe were barriers againſt his intrigues; but with what admiration ſhould we not behold thoſe who from the pure motives of religion ſpent their lives in the ſervice of the ſick, whoſe charity, whoſe chaſte modeſty, though in the midſt of the world, could make man believe them to be angels in human forms. Theſe were far above the reach of calumny or of a Briennes, a pretence could not even be deviſed.

His attempt fruitleſs againſt the nuns.

§ Voltaire to the King of Pruſſia, No. 15.

With a view to diminiſh the number of real nuns, he thought, that if he augmented thoſe aſylums for canoneſſes, who have a much greater communication with the world, therefore more eaſily perverted, that novices would not be ſo numerous. But by an inconceivable overſight, unleſs he had ſome very deep and hidden ſcheme, theſe canoneſſes were in future, to prove a certain number of degrees of nobility to enter theſe aſylums, when before they had been open to all ranks in the ſtate. One would have thought he meant to render the real nuns odious to the nobility, and the latter to all other claſſes, by applying foundations to particular ranks, which had ever been common to all.

Theſe were reflections that Briennes little attended to; he was laying his ſnares, while D'Alembert ſmiled at the idea, that ſoon both nuns and canoneſſes would add to the common maſs of ruin; but theſe ſacred virgins baffled all their cunning. Nothing leſs than all the deſpotic powers of the Conſtituent Aſſembly could prevail againſt them; they were to be claſſed with the martyrs of that bloody September; their fervor was impaſſible. Edicts worthy of Nero, exulting in the flames of burning Rome, are neceſſary to drive them from the altar, cannons and the ſatelites of that Conſtituent Aſſembly, march againſt them to enforce thoſe edicts, and *thirty thouſand women* are driven from their convents, in contradiction to a decree of that ſame aſſembly, promiſing to let them die peaceably in their aſylums. Thus was the deſtruction of religious orders completed in France. It was then forty years ſince this plan had been dictated by the Sophiſters to the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. But when accompliſhed, miniſters are no more! . . . The ſacred perſon of the king, a priſoner in the towers of the Temple! . . . The object of the abolition of religious orders was fulfilled; religion was ſavagely perſecuted in the perſon of its miniſters! But during the long period that preceded the triumph of the Sophiſters, they had reſorted to many other means with which I have to acquaint my reader.

Theſe plans conſummated by the National Aſſembly.

CHAP. VII.

Fourth Means of the Conſpirators—Voltaire's Colony.

WHILST the conſpirators were ſo much taken up with the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, and of all other religious orders, Voltaire was forming a plan which was to give to impiety itſelf, both apoſtles and propogandiſts. This idea ſeems to have firſt ſtruck him about the year 1760-61. Always ruminating the deſtruction of Chriſtianity, he writes to D'Alembert, Object of this colony. "Could not five or ſix men of parts, who rightly understood each other, ſucceed after the example of twelve ſcoundrels, who have already ſucceeded."* The object of this underſtanding has already been explained in a letter before quoted. "Let the real philoſophers unite in a brotherhood, like the Free-maſons; let them aſſemble and ſupport each other; let them be faithful to the aſſociation. This ſecret academy will be far ſuperior to that of Athens and to all thoſe of Paris. But every one thinks but of himſelf, and forgets that his moſt ſacred duty *is to cruſh the wretch.*"†

The conſpirators never loſt ſight of this moſt ſacred duty, but met with various obſtacles; religion was ſtill zealouſly defended in France, and Paris was not yet a proper aſylum for ſuch an aſſociation. It appears alſo that Voltaire was obliged for ſome time to lay this plan aſide; but taking it up again, a few years afterwards, he applied to Frederick, as we are told by the editor of their correſpondence, for leave "to Frederick ſeconds this plan. eſtabliſh at Cleves a little colony of French philoſophers, who might there, freely and boldly, ſpeak the truth, *without fearing miniſters, prieſts, or parliaments.*" Frederick anſwered with all the deſired zeal, "I ſee you wiſh to eſtabliſh the little colony you had mentioned to me.—I think the ſhorteſt way would be, that thoſe men, or your aſſociates, ſhould ſend to Cleves to ſee what would be moſt

* Let. 69, anno 1760.
† Let, 85, to D'Alembert, 1761.

" convenient for them, and what I can diſpoſe of in " their favor."*

It is to be lamented that many letters reſpecting this colony have been ſuppreſſed in their correſpondence; but Frederick's anſwers are ſufficient to convince us of the obſtinacy of Voltaire in the undertaking, who returning to the charge again, is anſwered, " You " ſpeak of a colony of philoſophers, who wiſh to eſ- " tabliſh themſelves at Cleves. I have no objection " to it. I can give them every thing but wood, the " foreſts having been almoſt deſtroyed by your coun- " trymen. But only on this condition, that *they will* " *reſpect thoſe who are to be reſpected*, and that they " will keep within the *proper bounds of decency in their* " *writings*."†

The explanation of this letter, will be better underſtood, when we treat of the Antimonarchial Conſpiracy. Decency in their writings, one ſhould think, would be of the firſt neceſſity even for their own views, otherwiſe this new colony muſt have ſpread a general alarm, and governments would have been obliged to repreſs their barefaced impudence.

While on one ſide Voltaire was imploring the ſuccour and protection of the King of Pruſſia, for theſe apoſtles of impiety, on the other he was ſeeking Sophiſters worthy of the apoſtleſhip. He writes to Damilaville, that he is ready to make a ſacrifice of all the ſweets of Ferney, and go and place himſelf at their head. " Your friend, ſays he, perſiſts in his idea; " it is true, as you have remarked, that he muſt tear " himſelf from many objects that are at preſent his " delight, and then will be of his regret. But is it " not better to quit them through philoſophy than by " death. What ſurpriſes him moſt, is that many " people have not taken this reſolution together. " Why ſhould not a certain philoſophic baron labor " at the eſtabliſhment of this colony? Why ſhould " not ſo many others improve ſo fair an opportu- " nity?" In the continuation of this letter we find that Frederick was not the only prince who countenanced the plan: " Two ſovereign princes, *who think* " *entirely as you do*, have lately viſited your friend.

* 24th October 1765.
† Letter 146, anno 1766.

" One of them offered a town, provided that which " relates to the grand work, ſhould not ſuit."*

It was preciſely at the time this letter was written, that the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel went to pay homage to the idol of Ferney. The date of his journey, the ſimilarity of his ſentiments, can leave little doubt, but what he was the prince who offered a town to the colony, ſhould Cleves prove inconvenient.†

Coolneſs of the conſpirators for this colony.

Meanwhile, the apoſtles of this mock Meſſiah, however zealous for the grand work, were not equally ready to ſacrifice their eaſe. D'Alembert idolized by the Sophiſters at Paris, ſaw that he could be but a ſecondary divinity in the preſence of Voltaire. That Damilaville, celebrated by the impious patriarch as perſonally hating God, was neceſſary for carrying on the ſecret correſpondence in Paris. Diderot, the certain philoſophic Baron, and the remaining multitude of adepts, reluctantly caſt their eyes on a German town, where they could not with equal eaſe, ſacrifice in luxury and debauchery to their Pagan divinities. Such remiſſneſs diſconcerted Voltaire. He endeavoured to ſtimulate their ardor by aſking, " If ſix or " ſeven hundred thouſand Huguenots left their coun- " try for the *fooleries of Jean Chauvin*, ſhall not " twelve ſages be found, who will make ſome little " ſacrifice to reaſon which is trampled on."‡

When he wiſhes to perſuade them, that their conſent is all that is neceſſary to accompliſh the grand object, he writes again, " All that I can tell you now, " by a ſure hand, is, that every thing is ready for the " eſtabliſhment of the manufacture ; more than one " Prince envies the honor of it, and from the borders " of the Rhine unto the Oby, Tomplat (that is Plato " Diderot) will be honored, encouraged, and live in " ſecurity." He would then repeat the grand object of the conſpiracy, in hopes of perſuading the conſpirators. He would ſeek to inflame their hearts with that hatred for Chriſt, which was conſuming his own. He would repeatedly cry out, *Cruſh, cruſh the wretch, then cruſh the wretch.*§

* Letter of the 6th of Auguſt 1766.
† Letter of the Landgrave, 9th Sept. 1766.
‡ Letter to Damilaville, 18th of Auguſt 1766.
§ Letter to Damilaville, 25th of Auguſt 1766.

Voltaire's regret on its failure.

His prayers, his repeated ſolicitations could not avail againſt the ſweets of Paris. That ſame reaſon which made Voltaire willing to ſacrifice all the pleaſing ſcenes of Ferney, to bury himſelf in the heart of Germany, there to conſecrate his days and writings to the extinction of Chriſtianity, that reaſon, I ſay, taught the younger adepts that the ſweets of Paris were not to be neglected. They were not the Apoſtles of the Goſpel preaching temperance and mortification both by word and example; ſo indeed, was Voltaire obliged to give up all hopes of expatriating his ſophiſtical apoſtles. He indignantly expreſſes his vexation to Frederick a few years afterwards: "I "own to you, that I was ſo much vexed and ſo much "aſhamed of the little ſucceſs I had in the tranſmi- "gration to Cleves, that I have never ſince dared "propoſe any of my ideas to your Majeſty. When I "reflect that a fool and an ideot, like St. Ignatius, "ſhould have found twelve followers, and that I could "not find three Philoſophers who would follow me, "I was almoſt tempted to think, that reaſon was "uſeleſs.‡ I ſhall never recover the non-execution "of this plan, it was there I ſhould have ended my "old age."§

However violent Voltaire was in his reproaches againſt the other conſpirators, the ſequel of theſe memoirs will ſhow that it was unjuſtly. D'Alembert in particular had far other plans to proſecute; he graſped at the empire of the academic honors, and without expoſing his dictatorſhip, or expatriating the adepts, by diſtributing theſe honors ſolely to the Sophiſters, he abundantly replaced Voltaire's ſo much regretted plan. This means and the method by which it was forwarded, ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

‡ Nov. 1769. § 12th of October 1770.

CHAP. VIII.

Fifth Means of the Conſpirators.—The Academic Honors.

THE protection which the kings had given to men of letters, had brought them into that repute which they ſo well deſerved, until abuſing their talents, they turned them againſt religion and governments. It was in the French academy where glory ſeemed to be enthroned, and a ſeat within its walls, was the grand purſuit of the orator and the poet, in fine of all writers, whether eminent in the hiſtoric or any other branch of literature. Corneille, Boſſuet, Racine, Maſſillon, La Bruyére, Lafontaine, in fine, all thoſe authors who had adorned the reign of Louis XIV were proud of their admiſſion within this ſanctuary of letters. Morals and the laws ſeemed to guard its entrance, leſt it might be prophaned by the impious. Any public ſign of incredulity, was a bar againſt admiſſion, even during the reign of Louis XV. Nor was the famous Monteſquieu himſelf admitted until he had given proper ſatisfaction, on account of certain articles contained in his Perſian Letters.—Voltaire pretends that he deceived the Cardinal de Fleury, by ſending him a new edition of his work, in which all the objectionable parts had been omitted. Such a low trick was beneath Monteſquieu, repentance was his only plea, and later, little doubt can be left of his repenting ſincerely. In fine, on admiſſion, impiety was openly renounced, and religion publicly avowed.

First object of the academies.

Boindin, whoſe incredulity was notorious, had been rejected, though a member of ſeveral other academies. Voltaire was for a long time unable to gain admiſſion, and at length only ſucceeded by means of high protection and that low hypocriſy which we ſhall ſee him recommending to his diſciples. D'Alembert, ever provident, hid his propenſity to incredulity until he had gained his ſeat; and though the road to theſe literary honors had been much widened by the adepts who ſurrounded the court, nevertheleſs, he thought that it would not be impoſſible, by dint of intrigues, to turn the ſcale; that if formerly impiety had been

D'Alembert's plan on the academies.

a means of excluſion, in future it might be a title of admiſſion, and that none ſhould be ſeated near him, but thoſe whoſe writings had rendered them worthy abettors of the conſpiracy, and ſupporters of their ſophiſtical arts. His true field was that of petty intrigue, and ſo ſucceſsfully did he handle it, that in the latter times, the titles of Academician and Sophiſter were nearly ſynonimous. It is true that ſometimes he met with obſtacles; and the plot framed between him and Voltaire, for the admiſſion of Diderot, will be ſufficient to evince what great advantages they expected would accrue to their conſpiracy, by this new means of promoting irreligion.

Intrigues for Diderot.

D'Alembert firſt propoſed it, Voltaire received the propoſal with all the attention due to its importance, and anſwers, "You wiſh Diderot to be of the academy, it muſt then be brought about." The king was to approve of the nomination, and D'Alembert feared miniſterial oppoſition. It is to this fear that we owe the account Voltaire has given of Choiſeul, it is then, he mentions his partiality to the Sophiſters, and that ſo far from obſtructing the like plots, he would forward them with all his power; "In a word, "he continues, Diderot muſt be of the academy, it "will be the moſt noble revenge that can be taken for "the play againſt the philoſophers. The academy is "incenſed at le Franc-de-Pompignan: it would wil-"lingly give him a moſt ſwinging ſlap.—I will make a "bonfire on Diderot's admiſſion. Ah! what a hap-"pineſs it would be, if Helvetius and Diderot could "be received together."*

D'Alembert would have been equally happy in ſuch a triumph, but he was on the ſpot and ſaw the oppoſition made by the Dauphin, the Queen and the Clergy; he anſwers, "I ſhould be more deſirous than "yourſelf to ſee Diderot of the academy. *I am per-"fectly ſenſible how much the common cauſe would be ben-"efitted by it*, but the impoſſibility of doing it, is be-"yond what you can conceive."†

Voltaire knowing that Choiſeul and La Pompadour had often prevailed againſt the Dauphin, ordered D'Alembert not to deſpond. He takes the direction of the intrigue on himſelf, and places his chief hopes

* 9th of July 1760. † 18th July 1760.

on the Courtesan. "Still further, (says he,) she "may look upon it as an honor, and make a merit of "supporting Diderot. Let her undeceive the king on "his score, and delight in quashing a cabal which she "despises."‡ What D'Alembert could not personally undertake, Voltaire recommends to the courtiers, and particularly to the Count D'Argental: "My divine "Angel, would he write, do but get Diderot to be "of the academy, it will be the boldest stroke that "can be in the game reason is playing against fanati-"cism and folly *(that is religion and piety;)* impose "for penance on the Duke de Choiseul to introduce "Diderot into the academy."§

The secretary of the academy, Duclos, is also called in, as an auxiliary by Voltaire, who gives him instructions to insure the success of the recipiendary adept. "Could not you represent, or cause to be represented, "how very essential such a man is to you for the com-"pletion of some necessary work? Could not you "*after having slyly played off that battery* assemble *seven* "*or eight of the elect*, and form a deputation to the "king, to ask for Diderot as the most capable of for-"warding your enterprize? Would not the Duke of "Nivernois help you in that project, would not he be "the speaker on the occasion? The bigots will say, "that Diderot has written a metaphysical work which "they do not understand: *Deny the fact, say that he* "*did not write it, and that he is a good Catholic—it is* "*so easy to be a Catholic.*"‖

It would be an object of surprise to the reader and to the historian to see Voltaire straining every nerve, calling on Dukes and courtiers, not blushing at the vilest hypocrisy, advising base dissimulation, and that merely to gain the admission of one of his fellow conspirators, into the academy; but this surprise will cease when they see D'Alembert's own words: *I am perfectly sensible how much the common cause would be benefitted by it;* or in other words, the war we are waging against Christianity. These words will explain all his agitation. And to have admitted within the sanctuary of letters, the man the most notorious for his incredulity, would it not have been corrobating the fault government had committed, in letting itself be led away

‡ 28th July 1760. § Let. 153, anno 1760.
‖ Let. 11th of August 1760.

by the hypocritical demonſtrations of a Voltaire or a D'Alembert? Would it not have been crowning the moſt ſcandalous impiety with the laurels of literature, and declaring that Atheiſm ſo far from being a ſtain, would be a new title to its honors? The moſt prejudiced muſt own it would have been an open contempt for religion, and Choiſeul and La Pompadour were conſcious, that it was not yet time to allow the conſpirators ſuch a triumph. D'Alembert even ſhrunk back when he beheld the clamours it would excite, and deſiſted for the preſent. But the critical moment was now come, when the miniſters ſecretly abetted, what they publicly ſeemed to wiſh to cruſh. D'Alembert perſiſted in his hopes, that with ſome contrivance he would ſoon be able to exclude all writers from literary honors, who had not offered ſome ſacrifice at leaſt, to the Antichriſtian Sophiſtry, and he at length ſucceeded.

Succeſs of the conſpirators, and liſt of the principal academicians.

From the time when D'Alembert had conceived of what importance the French academy, converted into a club of irreligious Sophiſters, might be to the conſpiracy, let us examine the merits of ſome of thoſe who were admitted among its members. Firſt, we find Marmontel perfectly coinciding in opinion with Voltaire, D'Alembert and Diderot; then in ſucceſſion, La Harpe the favorite adept of Voltaire; Champfort, the adept and hebdomadary co-adjutor of Marmontel and La Harpe; a Lemierre diſtinguiſhed by Voltaire as *a ſtaunch enemy to the wretch*, or Chriſt;* an Abbé Millot whoſe ſole merit with D'Alembert was his total oblivion of his prieſthood, and with the public to have transformed the hiſtory of France into an antipapal one;† a Briennes, long ſince known to D'Alembert as an enemy to the church, though living in its boſom; a Suar, a Gaillar, and laſtly a Condorcet, whoſe reception was to enthrone the fiend of atheiſm within the walls of the academy.

It does not appear why Mr. de Turgot did not ſucceed in his admiſſion, though ſeconded by all the intrigues of D'Alembert and Voltaire.‡ In caſting an eye on their correſpondence, the reader would be ſurpriſed to ſee of what concern it was to them to fill this

* Letter from Voltaire to Damilaville, 1767.
† Letter of D'Alembert, 27th Dec. 1777.
‡ Letter of Voltaire, 8th of Feb. 1776.

philoſophical Sanhedrim with their favorite adepts. There are above thirty letters on the admiſſion of their adepts, or on the excluſion of thoſe who were friendly to religion. Their intrigues, whether through protection or any other way, were at length ſo ſucceſsful, that in a few years, the name of Academician and Atheiſt or Deiſt were ſynonimous. If there were yet to be found among them ſome few men, eſpecially biſhops, of a different ſtamp from Briennes, it was a remains of deference ſhown them, which ſome might have miſtaken for an honor, whilſt they ſhould have looked upon it as an inſult, to be ſeated next to a D'Alembert, a Marmontel or a Condorcet.

There was however among the forty, a layman much to be reſpected for his piety. This was Mr. Beauzet. I one day aſked him, how it had been poſſible, that a man of his morality could ever have been aſſociated with men ſo notoriouſly unbelievers? "The very "ſame queſtion (he anſwered,) have I put to D'A- "lembert. At one of the ſittings, ſeeing that I was "nearly the only perſon who believed in God, I aſked "him, how he poſſibly could ever have thought of "me for a member, when he knew that my ſenti- "ments and opinions differed ſo widely from thoſe of "his brethren? D'Alembert without heſitation (ad- "ded Mr. Beauzet) anſwered, I am ſenſible of your "amazement, but we were in want of a ſkilful gram- "marian, and among our party, not one had made "himſelf a reputation in that line. We knew that "you believed in God, but being a good ſort of man, "we caſt our eyes on you, for want of a philoſopher "to ſupply your place."

Thus was the ſceptre wreſted from the hands of ſcience and talents, by the hand of impiety. Voltaire had wiſhed to place his conſpirators under the protection of the Royal Sôphiſter? D'Alembert ſtopped their flight, and made them triumph in the very ſtates of that monarch, who gloried in the title of Moſt Chriſtian. His plot, better laid, conferred the laurels of literature ſolely on the impious writer, whilſt he who dared defend religion, was to be covered with reproach and infamy. The French academy thus converted into a club of infidels, was a far better ſupport to the Sophiſters conſpiring againſt Chriſtanity, than any colony which Voltaire could have conceived. The

academy infected the men of letters, and these perverted the public opinion by that torrent of impious productions, which deluged all Europe. These were to be instrumental in bringing over the people to universal apostacy, and will be considered by us, as the sixth means for the Antichristian revolution.

CHAP. IX.

Sixth Means of the Conſpirators.—Inundation of Antichriſtian Writings.

Concert of the chiefs in their writings.

THAT for theſe forty years paſt, and particularly for the laſt twenty of Voltaire's life, all Europe has been overrun with moſt impious writings, whether under the forms of pamphlets, ſyſtems, romances or pretended hiſtories, is one of thoſe ſelf-evident truths which needs no proof. Though I ſhall in this place confine myſelf only to a part of what I have to ſay on this ſubject, I will here ſhow how the chiefs of the conſpiracy acted in concert, whether in the production, the multiplication or diſtribution of them, in order to diſſeminate their poiſons throughout Europe.

The method to be obſerved in their own works, was particularly concerted between Voltaire, D'Alembert and Frederick. We ſee them, in their letters, confiding to each other the different works they are writing againſt Chriſtianty, their hopes of ſucceſs and their arts to enſure it. We ſee them ſmile at the ſnares they have laid againſt religion, and that particularly, in thoſe works and ſyſtems which they affected moſt to look upon as indifferent to, or as rather promoting than attacking religion. In that ſtyle D'Alembert was admirable. The following example will convince the hiſtorian, or the reader, of the great art of this crafty Sophiſter.

Cunning of D'Alembert with regard to ſyſtems.

It is well known, with what immenſe pains our philoſophers of the day, have been forming their pretended phyſical ſyſtems on the formation of the globe, their numerous theories and genealogies of the earth. We have ſeen them diving into mines, ſplitting mountains or digging up their ſurface in ſearch of ſhells, to trace old ocean's travels, and build their epochs. Theſe numerous reſearches, to hear them talk, had no other end but the advancement of ſcience and natural philoſophy. Their new epochs were not to affect religion, and we have reaſon to believe that many of our naturaliſts had no other object in view, as many of them,

real men of learning and of candour in their researches, and capable of observation, have rather furnished arms against, than forwarded those vain systems by their studies, labours or peregrinations: not such the case with D'Alembert and his adepts. They soon perceived that these new epochs and systems drew the attention of divines, who had to maintain the truth of the facts and the authenticity of the books of Moses, the foundation and title-pages of Revelation. To baffle the Sorbonne and all the defenders of sacred writ, D'Alembert writes a work under the title of *The Abuse of Criticism*, a real apology of all those systems. The main drift of the work, was with showing a great respect for religion, to prove that neither revelation, nor the credibility of Moses, could be the least affected by these theories or epochs, and that the alarms of the divines were ungrounded. Many pages were dedicated to prove that these systems could only serve to raise our ideas to the grand and sublime. That so far from *counteracting the power of God, or his divine wisdom*, they only *displayed it more*; that considering the object of their researches, *it little became the divine, but the natural philosopher to judge of them.* Divines are represented as *narrow-minded, pusillanimous, or enemies to reason*, terrified at an object which did not so much as regard them. He is very pointed in his writings against those pretended panics, and among other things says, "They have sought to connect Christianity with "systems purely philosophical. In vain did religion, "so simple and precise in its tenets, constantly throw "off the alloy that disfigured it, and it is from that "alloy the notion has prevailed, of its being attacked "in works where it was the least so."*

These are precisely the works where, for the formation of the universe, *a much longer space of time is required*, than the history of the creation, delineated by Moses, leaves us at liberty to suppose.

Who but would have thought D'Alembert convinced that all those physical systems, those theories, *and longer space of time*, so far from overturning Christianity, would only serve to raise the grandeur and sublimity of our ideas of the God of Moses and of the Christians. But that same D'Alembert, while seeking this

* The Abuse of Criticism, Nos. 4, 15, 16, 17.

longer ſpace of time, anticipated his applauſe to the lie, which his travelling adepts were about to give to Moſes and to revelation. Thoſe adepts rambling in the mountains of the Alps or the Appenines, are the men he points out to Voltaire *as precious to philoſophy*. It is he who, after having been ſo tender for the honor of Moſes and revelation, writes to Voltaire, "This letter, "my dear companion, will be delivered to you by "Deſmarets, a man of merit and of ſound philoſophy, "who wiſhes to pay his reſpects to you on his journey "to Italy, where he purpoſes *making ſuch obſervations "on natural hiſtory, as may very well give the lie to Mo-"ſes*. He will not ſay a word of this to the maſter "of the ſacred palace, but if perchance, *he ſhould diſ-"cover that the world is more ancient than even the ſep-"tuagint pretend, he will not keep it a ſecret from you.*"*

It would have been difficult to uſe more art, though it were to direct the hand of an aſſaſſin; D'Alembert would ſometimes direct Voltaire, when ſhafts were to be ſent from Ferney, which could not yet be ſhot from Paris. On theſe occaſions the theme was already made, and only needed the laſt gloſs of Voltaire's pen. D'Alembert directs Voltaire in his writings.

When, in 1763, the Sorbonne publiſhed that famous Theſis, which foretold what the French revolution has ſince taught the ſovereigns of Europe, on the evil tendency of this modern philoſophiſm to their very thrones; D'Alembert, in haſte, informs Voltaire of the exigency of counteracting an impreſſion ſo detrimental to the conſpiracy. He ſhews Voltaire how to impoſe on the kings themſelves, and how to involve the church in all their doubts and ſuſpicions. In tracing this maſter-piece of art and cunning, he reminds him of the conteſts long ſince extinct, between the prieſthood and the empire, and lets him into the whole art of throwing odium and ſuſpicion on the clergy.† Many other plans are propoſed to the patriarch according to circumſtances.‡ Thoſe were in his ſtyle *the cheſnuts* that *Bertrand* (D'Alembert) *pointed out under the aſhes*, and which *Raton* (Voltaire) was to help him to draw out of the fire with *his delicate paw*.

Voltaire did not fail, on his part, to inform D'Alembert and the other adepts, of what he himſelf Their concert

* Let. 137, 1763.
† Let. of D'Alembert, 18th Jan. and 9th Feb. 1773.
‡ Particularly let. of 26th Feb. and 22d March 1774.

compoſed, or of the ſteps he took with miniſtry. It is thus that as a prelude to the plundering decrees of the revolution, he gave Count D'Argental notice of the memorial he had ſent to the Duke de Praſlin, to prevail on that miniſter to deprive the clergy of part of its maintenance by aboliſhing tythes.*

Theſe ſecret memorials, the anecdotes, whether true or ſlanderous againſt the religious writers, were all concerted among the conſpirators and their chiefs.† Even the ſmiles, the witticiſms or inſipid epigrams of the adepts, were under the direction of Voltaire, and uſed by him as forwarding the conſpiracy. He, better than any man, knew the powers of ridicule, and he would often recommend it to the adepts in their writings or in their converſation. "Do your beſt, he "writes to D'Alembert, to preſerve your cheerfulneſs, always endeavour *to cruſh the wretch.* I only "aſk five or ſix witticiſms a day; that would ſuffice. "*It* would not get the better of them. Laugh Democritus, make me laugh, and the ſages ſhall carry "the day."‡

Voltaire was not always of the ſame opinion, with regard to this attack on Chriſtianity. This method was not ſufficiently elevated for a philoſopher, and he ſoon after adds, in his quality of chief, *To the flood of jeſts and ſarcaſms*, there ſhould ſucceed, *ſome ſerious work, which however ſhould be worth reading*, for the juſtification of the philoſophers, and the confuſion *of the wretch.*‖ This work, notwithſtanding the exhortations of the chief, and his union with the adepts, never was executed. But on the other ſide, the preſs teemed with deiſtical and atheiſtical works, fraught with calumny and impiety. Monthly or weekly ſome new production of the moſt daring impiety was printed in Holland. Such were the *Philoſophic Soldier*, *The Doubts*, *Prieſtcraft*, *Blackguardiſm unveiled*,§ which are nearly the moſt profligate the ſect has produced. One would have thought Voltare alone preſided over this traffic of impiety, ſuch was his zeal in promoting the ſale of them. He received notice of the publications,

* Let. to the Count D'Argental, 1764.
† Letters of Voltaire and D'Alembert, 18 and 20.
‡ Let. 128. ‖ Let. to D,Alembert, 67.
§ Le Militaire Philoſophe, Les Doubts, l'Impoſture Sacerdotale, Le Poliſſoniſme devoilé.

which he communicated to his brethren at Paris. He recommended their getting them, circulating them; upbraided them with their little ardor in ſpreading them abroad, while he himſelf diſperſed them all around him.* To ſtimulate them, he would write, that it was out of theſe works *that all the German youth learned to read; in ſhort, that they were the univerſal catechiſms from Baden to Moſcow.*† Circulation of theſe works urged.

When he thought Holland could not ſufficiently infect France with theſe profligate writings, he would ſelect thoſe which D'Alembert was to get privately printed at Paris, and then diſtribute them by thouſands. Such, for example, was the pretended *Survey of Religion*, by Dumarſais. "They have ſent me," theſe are Voltaire's own words, "*a work of Dumarſais* ASCRIBED *to St. Evremond.* It is an excellent "work (preciſely one of the moſt impious.) I exhort you, my dear brother, to prevail on ſome one "of our faithful and beloved, to reprint this little "work, which may do a great deal of good."‡ Like exhortations, but rather more preſſing, he made with regard to the *Laſt Will of Jean Meſlier*, of that famous Curate of Etrepigni, whoſe apoſtacy and blaſphemies could make ſtill ſtronger an impreſſion on the minds of the populace. Voltaire would complain that there were not ſo many copies of that impious work in all Paris, as he himſelf had diſperſed throughout the mountains of Switzerland.‖

D'Alembert was himſelf obliged to apologize as if indifferent and deficient in point of zeal, but particularly for not having dared, at the entreaties of Voltaire, to *print* in Paris *and diſtribute four or five thouſand copies of John Meſlier's Laſt Will.* His excuſe ſhows the conſummate conſpirator, who knows how to wait the moment, and take precautions to enſure that ſucceſs, which too great precipitancy might have ruined.§ We ſee by what he writes to Voltaire on a maſter-piece of impiety, entitled *Good Senſe*, that he was perfectly aware of the effect theſe impious works had on the minds of the people; that he knew when D'Alembert's excuſe.

* See his letters to Count D'Argental, to Mad. du Deffant and particularly to D'Alembert, No. 2, 1769.

† Let. to the Count D'Argental, 26th Sept. 1766. ‡ Let. 122.

‖ Let. of D'Alembert, 3d of July, and of Voltaire 15th Sept. 1762. § Let. 102,

they were to be multiplied or caſt into the hands of the vulgar; he ſays, "This production *(Good Senſe)* "is a work much more to be dreaded than the *Syſtem* "*of Nature.*" It really was ſo, becauſe, with greater art and unconcern, it leads to the moſt unqualified Atheiſm; and for that reaſon we ſee D'Alembert ſetting forth the advantages to be derived from it to the conſpiracy if it were abridged, though already but ſmall, *ſo as to coſt no more than five-pence, and thus to be fitted for the pocket and the reading of every cook-maid.**

Their circulation helped by miniſtry.

Theſe low intrigues were not the only means the Sophiſters reſorted to, to evade the law, and overrun all Europe with theſe Antichriſtian productions. They were ſupported at court by powerful men, or miniſterial adepts, who knew how to ſilence the law itſelf, or if it ever was to ſpeak, it was only the better to favour this impious traffic, at another time, in ſpite of the magiſtracy. The duke de Choiſeul and Maleſherbes were again the promoters of this grand means of robbing the people of their religion, and inſinuating the errors of philoſophiſm. The former, with all the aſſurance of miniſterial deſpotiſm, threatened the Sorbonne with all the weight of his indignation, when by their public cenſures, they ſought to guard the people againſt thoſe ephemerous productions. It was this ſtrange exertion of authority, which made Voltaire exclaim, *Long live the miniſtry of France; above all, long live the Duke of Choiſeul!*†

Maleſherbes, who, having the ſuperintendency over the whole of bookſelling, and hence enabled to evade the law, both as to the introduction and circulation of theſe impious writings, was on that object, in perfect uniſon with D'Alembert. They both would willingly have hindered the champions of religion from printing their replies to that legion of infidels then riſing in France. But the time was not yet come. With his pretended toleration, Voltaire was indignant, that under a philoſophic miniſter, the apologiſts of the Goſpel, ſhould ſtill have acceſs to the preſs, and D'Alembert is obliged to plead in his defence, that Maleſherbes, ſo far from favoring the antiphiloſophic works, had reluctantly been obliged *to ſubmit to ſuperior orders*, which he could not reſiſt.‡ Not content with

* Let. 146. † Let. of Voltaire to Marmontel, 1767.
‡ Let. of 15th Jan. 1757.

a simple connivance, such excuses were not satisfactory to Voltaire, nothing less than the authority of kings could second his zeal, and he has again recourse to Frederick. This inundation of impious books, was to have been the grand object of his colony. As yet unconsoled for the failure of that plan, he writes to the king of the Sophisters, "Was I younger, had I health, "I would willingly quit, the house I have built, the "trees I have planted, to go and dedicate with two "or three philosophers, the remainder of my life, un- "der your protection, to the printing of a few useful "books. *But, Sire, cannot you, without exposing your- "self, have some of the Berlin booksellers encouraged to "reprint them, and to distribute them throughout Europe, "at a price low enough to ensure their sale.*"†

Concert of Voltaire and Frederick on this object.

This proposal, which transformed the king of Prussia into the hawker-general of Antichristian pamphlets, did not displease his protecting majesty. "You may "(answers Frederick) *make use of our printers as you "please*, they enjoy perfect liberty, and as they are "connected with those of Holland, France and Ger- "many, I have no doubt, but that they have means "of conveying books whithersoever they may think "proper."‡

Even at Petersburgh, Voltaire had found hawkers of these impious productions. Under the protection, and by the influence of Count Schouvallow, Russia was to petition Diderot, *for leave to be honoured with* the impression of the Encyclopedia, and Voltaire is commissioned to announce that triumph to Diderot.§ The most impious and most seditious work Helvetius had written, was then reprinting at the Hague, and the Prince Gallitzin dares to dedicate it to the Empress of all the Russias. Here Voltaire's zeal was out-run by his success. He could not help remarking, with what amazement the world would see such a work inscribed to the most despotic sovereign on earth; but whilst he smiled at the imprudence and folly of the prince adept, he exultingly beheld *the flock of sages silently increasing*, since princes themselves were no less eager than himself, in the circulation of these antichristian writings. We find this account repeated three different times in his letters to D'Alembert, so great was his joy, and so

† 5th April 1767. ‡ 5th May 1767.
§ Let. of Voltaire to Diderot.

confident was he of annihilating all idea of Chriſtianity in the minds of the people by this means.

In this chapter we have only treated of the ſolicitude with which the chiefs ſought to infuſe the poiſon of their writings into the minds of the people; hereafter we ſhall ſee the means employed by the ſect, to extend it to the hovel or the cottage, and to imbibe that low rabble with its impious principles, though we have ſeen Voltaire ſo little deſirous of ſuch a conqueſt.

Note to CHAP. IX.

On thoſe Works which are more particularly recommended by the Conſpirators.

Were I leſs acquainted with a certain, though numerous claſs of readers, I might look upon the obſervations I am about to make, on the doctrine of thoſe works which the chiefs of the conſpiracy, independently of their own, ſought to circulate through all claſſes of ſociety, as ſuperfluous. I have not only to ſatisfy men difficult of conviction, but perſuade men who will reſiſt evidence itſelf, unleſs it overwhelms them. In ſpite of all the proofs we have already adduced of the conſpiracy formed and carried on by Voltaire, D'Alembert, Frederick, Diderot and their adepts againſt the vitals of Chriſtianity, will nobody recur again to ſay, that the Sophiſters only levelled their writings at the abuſes, or at leaſt that Catholicity was their only aim, and that they never meant to attack the divers other religions that are within the pale of Chriſtianity, whether at Geneva or London, in Germany or Sweden. The extreme falſity of ſuch an argument renders it abſurd. If we do but reflect for a moment on the nature of thoſe works, which the Sophiſters circulated with ſo much zeal; could they wiſh to diſſeminate other principles than thoſe preached up in theſe works? Let us appeal to them and ſee if the deſtruction of abuſes, or even of Catholicity alone, could have been their ſole object.

Their doctrine.

That the conſpiracy was general, proved by theſe works.

The works we have ſeen ſo highly recommended by Voltaire and D'Alembert, are particularly thoſe of Freret, Boulanger, Helvetius, John Meſlier, Dumarſais and Maillet, or at leaſt they bear the name of theſe Sophiſters. They are once more, THE PHILOSOPHIC SOLDIER, THE DOUBTS OR THE SAGE'S SCEPTICISM, GOOD SENSE, whoſe authors remain unknown. I will lay before the reader the divers opinions, broached by theſe writers, ſo much commended by the Sophiſters, concerning thoſe points which cannot be invalidated, without overthrowing the very foundation of Chriſtianity. Then let any one conclude that the conſpiracy only impugned abuſes, or ſome particular branch of Chriſtianity.

The abſolute belief of the exiſtence of a God, belongs to every religion that is Chriſtian; let us then examine their doctrine as to a GOD.

Freret tells us expreſsly, "*The univerſal cauſe, that* GOD *of* "*the philoſophers, of the Jews and of the Chriſtians, is but a* "*chimera and a phantom.*" The ſame author continues, "Im- "agination daily creates freſh chimeras, which raiſe in them "that impulſe of fear, and ſuch is the phantom of the Deity."* Doctrine of theſe works: Of God.

The author of *Good Senſe*, or of that work which D'Alembert wiſhes to ſee abridged, in order to ſell it for five-pence to the poor and ignorant, is not ſo emphatical; but what is his doctrine? "*That the phenomena of nature only prove the exiſt-* "*ence of* GOD *to a few prepoſſeſſed men*," that is to ſay, full of falſe prejudices; "that *the wonders of nature, ſo far from be-* "*ſpeaking a* GOD, *are but the neceſſary effects of matter prodi-* "*giouſly diverſified.*"†

The Philoſophic Soldier does not deny the exiſtence of GOD, but ſets off, in his firſt chapter, by a monſtrous compariſon *between Jupiter* and *the* GOD *of the Chriſtians*, and the pagan god carries all the advantage of the diſcuſſion.

According to the *Chriſtianity Unveiled*, which appeared under the name of Boulanger, it *is more reaſonable* to admit with Manes of *a twofold God*, than of the GOD of Chriſtianity.‡

The author of *the Doubts* or of Scepticiſm, informs the world, "That they cannot know whether a GOD really exiſts, "or whether there exiſts the ſmalleſt difference *between good* "*and evil or vice and virtue.*" Such is the drift of the whole of that work.‖

We find the ſame oppoſition to Chriſtianity in their doctrines on the ſpirituality of the SOUL. With Freret, "every thing "that is called *Spirit* or SOUL, has *no more reality* than *the* "*phantoms, the chimeras* or *the ſphinxes.*"§ On the Soul.

The Sophiſter of the pretended *Good Senſe*, heaps up arguments anew to prove, that it is the body that feels, thinks and judges, and that the SOUL *is but a chimera.*¶

Helvetius pronounces, "That we are in an error, when we "*make the Soul a ſpiritual being*; that *nothing* can be more "*abſurd*, and that the SOUL *is not a diſtinct being from the* "*body.*"**

Boulanger tells us decidedly, "That the *immortality of the* "*Soul*, ſo far from ſtimulating man to the practice of virtue, "is nothing but a *barbarous, deſperate, fatal tenet*, and con- "trary to all legiſlation."††

If from theſe fundamental tenets, eſſential to every religion, as well as to Catholicity, we paſs on to MORALITY, we ſhall find Freret teaching the people, that "all ideas *of juſtice and* "*injuſtice, of virtue and vice, of glory and infamy*, are purely "arbitrary and dependent on cuſtom."‡‡ On Morality.

Helvetius will one while tell us, that the only rule by which *virtuous actions* are diſtinguiſhed from *vicious ones*, is the law of

* Letter from Thraſybulus to Lucippus, page 164 and 254.
† No. 36 et paſſim. ‡ Page 101.
‖ Particularly No. 100 and 101.
§ Letter from Thraſybulus. ¶ No. 20 and 100.
** Of the Spirit, and of Man and his Education, No. 4 and 5.
†† Antiquity Unveiled, page 15. ‡‡ Letter of Thraſybulus.

princes, and public utility. Elſewhere he will ſay, "that *virtue*, that *honeſty*, with regard to individuals, is no more than "the *habit of actions perſonally advantageous*, and that *ſelf-intereſt* is the ſole ſcale by which the actions of man can be "meaſured." In fine, "that if the virtuous man is not happy "in this world, then will be the time to cry out, *O Virtue! thou art but an empty dream.*"*

The ſame Sophiſter alſo ſays, that "*ſublime virtue*, *enlightened wiſdom*, are only the fruits of thoſe paſſions *called folly*. "Or that ſtupidity is the neceſſary conſequence of the ceſſation of paſſion. That to moderate the paſſions, is to ruin "the ſtate.† That *conſcience* and *remorſe* are nothing but the "*foreſight* of thoſe phyſical penalties, to which crimes expoſe "us. That the man who is above the law, can commit, without remorſe, the diſhoneſt act that may ſerve his purpoſe."‡ That it *little imports* whether *men are vicious*, if they be but enlightened.‖

And the fair ſex will be taught by this author, that "MODESTY is only an *invention of refined voluptuouſneſs*: that "MORALITY has nothing to apprehend from *love*, for it is the "paſſion that *creates genius*, and *renders man virtuous*."§ He will inform children, that "the commandment of loving their "father and mother, is more the work of education than of "nature."¶ He will ſay to the married couple, that "the law "which condemns them to live together, becomes *barbarous* "*and cruel* on the day they ceaſe to love each other."**

In vain ſhould we ſeek among the other works that the chiefs of the conſpirators wiſhed to circulate a more Chriſtian MORALITY. Dumarſais, as well as Helvetius, knows no other virtue but what *is uſeful*, nor vice but that which *is hurtful* to man upon earth.†† The *Philoſophic Soldier*, thinks that ſo far from being able to offend God, *men are obliged to execute his laws*.‡‡ The author of the *Good Senſe* ſo much praiſed by the leaders, tells them that to think we can offend God, is *to think ourſelves ſtronger than God*.‖‖ He would even teach them to anſwer us, "If your God leaves to men the *liberty of damning* themſelves, "*why ſhould you meddle with it?* Are you *wiſer* than that God "whoſe rights you wiſh to avenge.§§

Boulanger, in that work ſo much admired by Frederick and Voltaire, aſſerts that the *fear of God*, ſo far from being the beginning of wiſdom, *would rather be the beginning of folly*.¶¶

It would be uſeleſs to the reader, and irkſome to us, were we to carry theſe quotations any farther. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee theſe texts and numberleſs others of the ſame kind, may peruſe the HELVIAN LETTERS. But certainly there is enough

* On the Mind. Diſcourſe 2d and 4th.
† Idem. Diſcourſe 2d and 3d, chap. 6, 7, 8 and 10.
‡ Idem. Of Man, vol. 1ſt, ſec. 2d, chap. 7.
‖ Idem. No. 9, chap. 6.
§ Of the Mind. Diſcourſe 2d, chap. 4 and 15, &c.
¶ Of Man. Chap. 8. ** Ibid. Sect. 8, &c.
†† Eſſay on Prejudices, chap. 8. ‡‡ Chap. 20.
‖‖ Sect. 67. §§ Sect. 135.
¶¶ Chriſtianity unveiled, in a note to page 163.

here to demonſtrate, that conſpirators who wiſhed to circulate ſuch works, were not levelling ſolely at the Catholic religion, much leſs at a few abuſes. No evidently every altar where Chriſt was adored, was to be overthrown, whether Anglican, Calviniſt or Proteſtant.

The baſe project of throwing into circulation four or five thouſand copies of John Meſlier's Laſt Will, would fully prove the abſolute deſign of annihilating every veſtige of Chriſtianity, ſince this Laſt Will or Teſtament is nothing but a groſs declamation againſt the doctrines of the Goſpel.

CHAP. X.

Of the Spoliations and Violences projected by the Conspirators, and concealed under the Name of Toleration.

What their toleration really was.

PERHAPS of all the arts put in practice by the conspirators, none has succeeded better with them, than that perpetual appeal in all their writings to *toleration, reason, and humanity*; of which Condorcet tells us they had made their *war hoop*.* In fact it was natural enough, that men who appeared so deeply impressed with these sentiments should gain the attention of the public: But were they real? Did the conspiring Sophisters mean to content themselves with a true toleration? As they acquired strength, did they mean to grant to others what they asked for themselves? These questions are easily solved, and it would be useless for the reader to seek the definition of each of these high-sounding words imposed upon the public, when their private and real sentiments are to be seen in their continued cry of *Crush religion*. To cast an eye on their correspondence, is sufficient to identify the plans of these conspiring Sophisters, with those of the Jacobins their successors; do not the Petions, the Condorcets, and the Robespierres, adopt their wishes and execute their plans under the same mask of toleration.

Spoliations premeditated by Voltaire.

Plunder, violence and death has been the toleration of the revolutionists. Nor were any of these means foreign to the first conspirators, whose language the latter had adopted. As to spoliations, I have already said that Voltaire, as early as the year 1743, was plotting with the King of Prussia to plunder the ecclesiastical princes and the religious orders of their possessions. In 1764, we have seen him sending a memorial to the Duke of Praslin, on the abolition of tythes, in hopes of depriving the clergy of their sustenance.† In 1770, he had not abandoned his plan when he writes to Frederick, "I wish to God that Ganganelli "had some good domain in your neighbourhood, and

* Sketch on History. Epoch 9.
† Let. from Voltaire to the Count D'Argental, 1764.

" that you were not so far from Loretto. It is noble " to scoff at these Harlequin *Bull-givers.* I like to " cover them with ridicule, but *I had rather PLUN-* " *DER them.*"*

These various letters prove to the reader, that the chief of the conspirators only anticipated the plundering decrees of the Jacobins, or even the revolutionary incursion their armies have made to Loretto.

Rejected and approved by Frederick.

Frederick, assuming the kingly tone, seems for an instant so shocked at these spoliations, as to have forgotten that he had been the first to propose them. He answers, " Were Loretto adjoining to my villa, I " should not touch it. Its treasures might tempt a " Mandrin, a Conflans, a Turpin, a Rich or " their fellows. It is not that I reverence donations " consecrated by sottish stupidity, but what the pub- " lic venerates is to be spared. When one looks upon " one's self, as gifted with superior lights, out of com- " passion for others, in commiseration for their weak- " ness, one should not shock their prejudices. It is " a pity that the pretended philosophers of our days " are not of the same way of thinking."†

But soon the Sophister prevails over the monarch, and Frederick is no longer of opinion that spoils of the church are to be left to a Mandrin: the very next year coinciding with Voltaire he writes to him, " If the " new minister of France is a man of sense, he will " neither be weak nor foolish enough to restore Avig- " non to the Pope."‡

He recurs to his means of *silently undermining the edifice*, by first plundering the religious orders, that they might then strip the bishops.§

D'Alembert's advice.

D'Alembert, on his side advised, that the clergy should be first deprived of that consequence they enjoyed in the state, before they were plundered of their possessions. In sending to Voltaire his task almost ready made, that he might speak out what he dared not utter himself, he tells him, " that he must not " forget, if it could be done delicately, to add to the " first part a little appendix, or an engaging postscript " on the danger there is both for states and kings, to " suffer the clergy to form a separate and distinct bo-

* 8th June, 1770.
† Let. 7th July 1770.
‡ Let. 29th June 1771.
§ 13th Aug. 1775.

" dy, with the privilege of holding regular aſſem-
" blies."*

As yet this doctrine was new both to king or ſtate; they had never perceived this pretended danger of letting the clergy form a diſtinct body in the nation, as did the nobility and the third order; but theſe conſpiring chiefs were anticipating the horrors of the revolution, the plunders and murders of their Jacobin ſucceſſors and diſciples.

Voltaire's wiſh for violent meaſures.

The violent and ſanguinary edicts, the decrees of deportation and of death, were not foreign to the wiſhes of the conſpiring chiefs. However frequent the words of toleration, humanity or reaſon, may be in Voltaire's mouth, it would be a great error in judgment to think, that thoſe were the only arms he wiſhed to employ againſt the Chriſtian religion. When he writes to Count Argental, " Had I but a hundred " thouſand men, I well know what I would do with " them."† Or when he wrote to Frederick, " Her-
" cules went to fight the robbers and Bellerophon chi-
" meras; I ſhould not be ſorry to behold Herculeſes
" and Bellerophons delivering the earth both from
" Catholic robbers and Catholic chimeras."‡ Doubtleſs it was not toleration that dictated thoſe wiſhes, and one is tempted to conclude, that he would not have been ſorry to behold the maſſacre of the clergy, by the Herculeſes and Bellerophons of the butchering September. Have we not ſeen him wiſhing to behold *every Jeſuit at the bottom of the ocean, each with a Janſeniſt hung to his neck?* When with the view of avenging Helvetius and philoſophiſm, he does not bluſh to aſk, *Could not the moderate and diſcreet propoſal of ſtrangling the laſt Jeſuit with the guts of the laſt Janſeniſt*, bring matters to ſome compromiſe? In reading this, could we reaſonably infer, that the humanity and toleration of Voltaire would have been greatly ſhocked at the ſight of thoſe ſhips, ſtowed with the Catholic clergy by a Lebon, as a preparatory ſtep to ſubmerging them in the ocean! ! !

Frederick's ſimilar wiſh.

Frederick ſeemed to be nearer ſimple toleration when he anſwered Voltaire: " It is not the lot of arms
" to deſtroy the wretch. It will periſh by thoſe of
" truth."§ At length he begins to think that force

* Letter 95, 1773.
† 16th Feb. 1761
‡ 3d March, 1767.
§ 25th March, 1767.

muſt ſtrike the laſt blow at religion. He is not averſe to this force, and one ſees him willing to employ it had the occaſion offered, when he wrote to Voltaire, " To " Bayle, your forerunner, and to yourſelf no doubt, " is due the honor of that revolution working in the " minds of men. But to ſpeak with truth, it is not yet " complete ; bigots have their party, and *it will never* " *be perfected but by a ſuperior force : from government* " *muſt the ſentence iſſue, that ſhall cruſh the wretch.* " Miniſters may forward it, *but the will of the ſovereign* " *muſt accede.* Without doubt this will be effectuated " in time, but neither of us can be ſpectators of that " long-wiſhed for moment."*

There can be no doubt but the long-ſought for moment was that, when impiety enthroned, ſhould caſt aſide the maſk of toleration, which it had neceſſarily diſguiſed itſelf with : Julian-like, would not Frederick alſo have had recourſe to ſuperior force at that deſired period ? would he not have ſeconded the ſophiſms of the conſpirators with that ſentence which was to iſſue from the ſovereign ? He would have ſpoken as a maſter, and under Frederick might not the reigns of a Domitian or a Julian have been renewed, when apoſtacy, exile or death, were the only alternatives left to a Chriſtian's choice. But how to reconcile this ſuperior force, this ſentence of the government, that is *to cruſh*, with what D'lembert ſays of that prince in a letter to Voltaire, is difficult : " I believe him at his " laſt ſhift, and it is a great pity. Philoſophy will not " eaſily find like him a prince, tolerant through indif- " ference, which is the true ſtyle, and an enemy to " ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm."†

The frantic wiſh of D'Alembert.

But with D'Alembert even that mode of tolerating, through indifference, did not exclude underhand perſecutions ; nor would it have been incompatible with this man's rage and phrenzy, ſo openly expreſſed in his letters to Voltaire, to ſee a whole nation deſtroyed ſolely for having ſhewn its attachment to Chriſtianity. Could toleration, through indifference, dictate the following lines ? " Apropos of the King of Pruſſia, he " has at length got a-head again. And I, as a French- " man and a thinking being, am quite of your opin- " ion, that it is a great happineſs both for France and

* Let. 95, 1775. † Letter 195, an. 1762.

" for philoſophy. Thoſe Auſtrians are a ſet of inſo-
" lent capuchines who hate and deſpiſe us, *and whom*
" *I could wiſh to ſee annihilated with the ſuperſtition they*
" *protect.*"†

It would be uſeleſs to remark in this place, that theſe very Auſtrians which D'Alembert wiſhes to ſee annihilated, were then the allies of France, at war with that very King of Pruſſia whoſe victories he celebrates. Theſe circumſtances might ſerve to ſhow, how much more philoſophiſm ſwayed the heart of the Sophiſter than the love of his country, or that toleration would not have hindered the conſpirators from betraying their king or country, could they by that have made a new attack on Chriſtianity.

We plainly ſee that all theſe inhuman wiſhes were rather dropped unawares, than the avowed object of their correſpondence. They were preparing the road for thoſe ſeditious and ferocious minds, who were to perpetrate what the Sophiſters yet could only deviſe and ſcheme. The day of rebellion and murder was not yet come, with the ſame wiſhes circumſtances had not diſtributed to them the ſame parts to act. Let us then examine what characters the firſt chiefs performed, and by what ſervices each one in particular, ſignalizing his zeal in the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy, prepared the reign of their revolutionary adepts.

† To Voltaire, 12th Jan. 1763.

CHAP. XI.

Part, Miſſion and private Means of each of the Chiefs of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy.

IN order to attain the grand object of the conſpiracy, in ſhort to cruſh the Chriſt whom they purſued with unrelenting hatred, all the general plans and means they had concerted were judged inſufficient. Each one in particular was to concur with his own means, with thoſe which his faculties, his ſituation or peculiar miſſion enabled him to exert. Voltaire was endowed with all thoſe talents which adorn the eminent writer, and no ſooner was the confederacy formed than he turned them all againſt his God. During the laſt five and twenty years of his life he declares himſelf, that *he had no other object in view than to villify the wretch.** Until that period, he had ſhared his time between poetry and impiety, but henceforward he is ſolely impious. One might have thought that he alone wiſhed to vomit forth more blaſphemies and calumnies againſt the God of Chriſtianity, than had done the whole claſs of Celſi, or Porphyrii during all ages. In the numerous collection of his works more than forty volumes in 8vo, Romances, Dictionaries, Hiſtories, Memoirs, Letters or Commentaries, flowed from his pen, imbittered with rage and the wiſh of cruſhing Chriſt.

Voltaire's ſervices:

his ardor.

In this immenſe collection it would be in vain to ſeek any particular ſyſtem of Deiſm, of Materialiſm or Scepticiſm. They all form one common maſs. We have ſeen him conjuring D'Alembert to unite all theſe diverging ſects in the common attack againſt Chriſt, and his own heart may be ſaid to have been their focus. He cared not from whence aroſe the ſtorm, or whoſe the hand that ſtruck, for the ſubverſion of the altar was his only aim. The religious authors and we ourſelves, have ſhown him fickle in his ſyſtems and daily adopting new opinions, and that from his own works ;† one beheld twenty different men in him alone, but each of them equally hateful. Rage accounts for his con-

his contradictions.

* Letter to Damilaville, 15th June 1762.

† See the Helvian Letters, and particularly letter 34 and 42.

tradictions; his hypocrisy even flows from the same source. This latter phenomenon is not sufficiently known, it must have its page in history; but let Voltaire himself speak as to the extent and original cause of so base a conduct.

Of his hypocrisy and communions.

During that inundation of Antichristian books in France, government would sometimes, though remissly, take cognizance of their authors. Voltaire himself had been prosecuted, on account of his first impious writings. When declared premier chief, he thought that more caution became his pre-eminence lest any legal proof should be acquired of his impiety. The better to attack, and the more securely to *crush Christ*, he conceals himself under his very banners; frequenting his temples, being present at his mysteries, receiving into his mouth the God he blaspheme: and if annually at Easter he received, it was but to blaspheme his God more audaciously. To so monstrous an accusation, unconteſtible proofs must be brought.

On the 15th of Jan. 1761, Voltaire sends a performance, I know not what, but which the editor of his works supposes to be an epistle to Mademoiselle Clairon a famous actress in those days, to one of his female adepts, the Countess of Argental, whom he styles his angel. Beyond a doubt it was a most scandalous production, since only the chosen of the elect are favoured with it, or rather that Voltaire *dares* send it to. In fine, whatever was the subject, it was accompanied with the following letter.

" Will you amuse yourself with the perusal of this " scrap: will you read it to Mademoiselle Clairon? " None but yourself and the Duke de Choiseul are in " possession of it: you will presently tell me that I grow " very daring and rather wicked in my old age: wick- " ed! No, I turn Minos, I judge the perverse. But " take care of yourself. There are people who do not " forgive.—I know it, and I am like them. I am now " sixty-seven years old, I go to the parochial mass. I " edify my people. I am building a church, *I receive* " *communion*, and I will be buried there, zounds, in " spite of all the hypocrites. I believe in Jesus Christ " consubstantial with God, in the Virgin Mary mother " of God.—Ye base persecutors what have you to say " to me.—But you have written the Pucelle—No, I " never did.—It is you who are the author of it, it was " you gave ears to Joan's palfrey.—I am a good Chris-

" tian, a faithful ſervant of the king, a good lord of " the pariſh and a proper tutor for a daughter. I make " curates and Jeſuits tremble. I do what I pleaſe with " my little province as big as the palm of my hand " (his eſtate extended about ſix miles;) I am a man to " diſpoſe of the Pope whenever I pleaſe.—Well, ye " raggamuffins, what have you to ſay to me.—Theſe, " my dear angels, are the anſwers, I would make to " the Fantins, Griſels, Guyons or to the little black " monkey, &c. &c."

The female adepts might laugh at the tone and ſtyle of ſuch a letter, but will the judicious reader ſee it in any other light, than as the production of an inſolent old man, who proud of his protections is nevertheleſs determined to impudently lie, and to ſet forth the moſt orthodox profeſſion of faith, ſhould the religious authors accuſe him of impiety, to combat the laws with denials or his ſacrilegious *communions;* and the infidel talks of hypocrites and baſe cowards!

Such odious artifice ſeems to have ſhocked the Count D'Argental himſelf, for on the 16th of January following, Voltaire writes to him, " That had he a hundred " thouſand men he knows what uſe he would make of " them; but as I have them not, *I will receive at Eaſ-* " *ter*, and you may call *me hypocrite as much as you pleaſe*; " yes by God I will receive the ſacrament, and that in " company with Mad. Denis and Mademoiſelle Cor- " neille, and if you ſay much, I will put the *Tantum* " *ergo* into verſe and that in croſs rhimes."

It appears that many more of the adepts were aſhamed of this meanneſs in their chief. He at length thinks himſelf bound to write to D'Alembert on the ſubject, and tells him, " I know there are people who ſpeak " ill of my Eaſter devotions. It is a penance I muſt " reſign myſelf to, in expiation of my ſins.—*Yes, I have* " *received my Eaſter communion, and what is more, I pre-* " *ſented in perſon, the hallowed bread;* after this, I could " boldly defy both Moliniſts and Janſeniſts."*

If theſe laſt words do not ſufficiently declare the motives of his hypocriſy, the following letter, again to D'Alembert, will do away all doubt. It is only three days poſterior to the laſt. " In your opinion, what are " the ſages to do when they are ſurrounded by ſenſeleſs " barbarians? There are times when *one muſt imitate*

* 27th of April 1768.

" *their diſtortions and ſpeak their language. Mutemus clypeos* (let us change our bucklers.) In fine, what I " have done this year, *I have already done ſeveral times*, " and pleaſe God I will do it again."† This is the ſame letter in which he particularly recommends that *the myſteries of Mytra ſhould not be divulged*, and concludes it with this terrible ſentence againſt Chriſtianity, *For the monſter muſt fall pierced by a hundred invincible hands; yes, let it fall beneath a thouſand repeated blows.*

With this profound diſſimulation,‡ Voltaire combined all that dark-dealing activity, which the oath of cruſhing the God of Chriſtianity could ſuggeſt to the premier chief of the Antichriſtian Sophiſters. Not content with his partial attacks, he had recourſe to whole legions of adepts from the eaſt to the weſt; he encouraged them, he preſſed and ſtimulated them in this warfare. Preſent every where by his correſpondence, he would write to one, " Prevail on all the brethren, to purſue *the wretch in their diſcourſes and in their writings*, " *without allowing him one moment's reſpite.*" To another he would ſay, " *make as much as poſſible, the moſt prudent efforts to cruſh the wretch.*" Should he obſerve any of the adepts leſs ardent than himſelf, he would extend his Phillipics to all: " *They forget* (ſays he) *that the* " *moſt material occupation ought to be to cruſh the monſter.*"§ The reader has not forgotten that monſter, wretch and

His preſſing exhortations to the adepts.

† 1ſt of May 1768.

‡ If I am to credit men who knew Voltaire in the earlier part of his literary triumphs, he was then no ſtranger to this profound hypocriſy. The following is an anecdote I learned of men who knew him well. By one of thoſe fantaſtical chances, Voltaire had a brother, an arrant Janſeniſt, profeſſing all that auſterity of manners which that ſect affected. The Abbè Arouet heir to a conſiderable fortune would not ſee his impious brother, and openly ſaid that he would not leave him a halfpenny. But his health was weak, and his life could be of no long duration, Voltaire had not given up all hopes of the inheritance; he turns Janſeniſt and acts the devotee; on a ſudden he appears in the Janſeniſtical garb, with a large ſlouched hat, he runs from church to church. He took care to chooſe the ſame hours as the Abbé Arouet, and there with a deportment as contrite and humble as Deacon Paris himſelf, kneeling in the middle of the church, or ſtanding with his arms croſſed on his breaſt, his eyes caſt on the ground, on the altar or on the Chriſtian orator, he would hearken or pray with all the compunction of the penitent ſinner reclaimed from his errors. The Abbé believed in his brother's converſion, exhorted him to perſevere and died leaving him all his fortune. But the Janſeniſt's caſh was all that Voltaire retained of his converſion.

§ See letters to Thiriot, Saurin and Damilaville.

Chriſt or religion, are ſynonimous in his mouth. Satan could not have been more ardent, when, in the war of hell againſt heaven, he fought to ſtir up his legions againſt the Word; he could not more urgently exclaim, we muſt triumph over the Word or meanly ſerve: ſhame in defeat, could not be expreſſed more forcibly by Satan than by Voltaire, when he cries out to his adepts, "*Such* "*is our poſition, that we ſhall be the execration of mankind,* "*if* (in this war againſt Chriſt) *we have not the better ſort* "*of people on our ſide;* we muſt therefore gain them "coſt what it will; *cruſh the wretch,* I tell you, *then* "*cruſh the wretch.*"*

His correſpondence.

So much zeal had made him the idol of the party. The adepts flocked from all parts to ſee him, and went away fired with his rage. Thoſe who could not approach him, conſulted him, laid their doubts before him; would crave to know whether there really was a God, if they really had a ſoul. Voltaire, who knew nothing of the matter, ſmiled at his own power, but always anſwered that the God of the Chriſtians was to be cruſhed. Such were the letters he received every week.† He wrote himſelf a prodigious number in the ſame blaſphemous ſtyle. One muſt have ſeen the collection, to believe that the heart or hatred of one ſingle man could dictate, or that his hand could pen them, and that without alluding to his many other blaſphemous works. In his den at Ferney, he would be informed of, and ſee all; he would even direct every thing that related to the conſpiracy. Kings, princes, dukes, marquiſſes, petty authors or citizens, might write to him, provided they were but impious. He would anſwer them all, ſtrengthen them, and encourage them in their impiety. In fine, to his extreme old age, his life was that of a legion of devils, whoſe ſole and continued object, was to cruſh Chriſt and overthrow his altar.

Frederick's ſervices.

Frederick the Sophiſter, though on a throne, was not leſs active, nor leſs aſtoniſhing for his activity. This man, who alone did for his ſtates all that a king could do, and more even than both king and miniſters in moſt other countries do, out-ſtripped the Sophiſters alſo, in their Antichriſtian deeds. As a chief of the conſpiracy, his part, or folly, was to ſee and protect the inferior adepts, if any of them chanced to fall Victims to what was called fanaticiſm. When the Abbé

* Let. to D'Alembert, 129.

† Voltaire's let. to Mad. du Deffant, 22d July 1761.

Desprades was obliged to fly the censures of the Sorbonne and the decrees of the parliament, the sophistical monarch presents him with a canonicate at Breslaw.* A hair-brained youth flies the vengeance of the laws, after having broken the public monuments of religion, he is received, and the colours of a regiment are entrusted to his hands.† His treasures are exhausted for his armies, but not so for the adepts. In the very height of war, their pensions, and particularly D'Alembert's, are regularly paid.

He was sometimes seen to lay aside the Sophister, and think it beneath a monarch to be connected with a set of *blackguards, coxcombs and visionary fools.*‡ But those were little sallies which the Sophisters easily overlooked; his philosophism would return, he was one of their's again, and his hatred to Christianity would once more engage his whole attention. He would then spur on Voltaire himself; he would urge and solicit him impatiently for new writings, and the more impious the work, the more he approved of it. Then with Voltaire and D'Alembert, he would demean himself even to their artifices; he would above all admire the hand that struck unseen, or as he expresses himself, that method of filliping the *wretch*, while loading him with civilities.§

Then assuming the character of base flattery, he would style Voltaire the God of Philosophy. "He "would figure him ascending Olympus, loaded and "satiated with glory, *the conqueror of the wretch*, supported by the genii of Lucretius and Sophocles, of "Virgil and Locke, seated on a car beaming with "light, and placed between Newton and Epicurus."‖ He paid homage to him for the Antichristian revolution, which he saw preparing.¶ Unable to triumph by so many titles himself, he would acquire that of being laborious, and all those impious works whether in rhyme or in prose, and published under his name, are not the only productions of the royal Sophister. Many are those which he privately ushered into circulation, and which never could have been thought to be those of a man who had the duties of the throne to fulfil. Such, for example, that extract of Bayle, more impious than Bayle himself; he only rejects the useless articles, in

* Voltaire to D'Alembert, 2 and 3. † Ibid. 211.
‡ His Dialogues of the Dead. § 16 March 1771.
‖ 25th Nov. 1766. ¶ Let. 154, anno 1767.

order to condenſe the poiſon of the reſt. His *Akakia*, and that *Diſcourſe on the Hiſtory of the Church*, ſo much extolled as well as its preface, by the abettors of impiety. In fine, ſuch were his numberleſs productions, in which Voltaire finds no other fault but the eternal repetitions (like his own,) of the ſame arguments againſt religion.*

Hence we ſee that it was not enough for Frederick to forward the conſpiracy by his counſels; to give refuge to its agents; but he would alſo, by his conſtancy and application to infect Europe with his impieties, attain to the rank of chief. If he was inferior to Voltaire, it was by his talents, and not from his hatred; but had Voltaire been deſtitute of the ſupport of a Frederick, he could not have riſen to the height he did. Poſſeſſed of the ſecret, he would willingly have initiated all kings to the myſteries of the conſpiracy, and of all, he was the king who gave it the chief ſupport. His example was ſtill more powerful than his writings, and it may be juſtly ſaid that, his reign was that of the ſceptered infidel.

Diderot's ſervices.

Placed in an humbler ſphere, Diderot and D'Alembert began their miſſion, or parts, by a game, which well characterized their apoſtleſhip. Both were already actuated by its zeal, but neither had yet acquired that reputation which they afterwards gained, more by their impiety, than by their abilities. The coffee-houſes of Paris were their firſt ſtage. There unknown, firſt in one then in another, they would begin an argument on religious matters, Diderot the aſſailant and D'Alembert the defendant. The objection was forcible and pointed, the energy and tone of Diderot was invincible. The reply was weak, but made with all the apparent candour of a Chriſtian, who wiſhed to maintain the honor and truth of his religion. The idle Pariſians, who generally reſorted to theſe places, would hearken or admire, and ſometimes take a part in the diſpute. Diderot then inſiſted, reſumed and preſſed the argument. D'Alembert in return, owned that the difficulty appeared unanſwerable, and then withdrew as if aſhamed, and regretting, that neither his divinity, nor his love for religion, could furniſh him with arguments for its defence. Soon after our two friends would meet to felicitate each other on the good ſucceſs of their ſham

* Correſpondence of Voltaire and King of Pruſſia, let. 133, 151, 159, &c. &c.

conflict, and on the impreſſion they had made upon the croud of ignorant hearers, who had been completely duped. They made a freſh appointment; the diſpute was taken up again, the hypocritical advocate for religion, makes a new diſplay of his zeal, but ſubmits to the ſuperior arguments of Atheiſm. At length the police, informed of their game, attempted to put a ſtop to it: but it was too late; theſe ſophiſms had ſpread through the different ſocieties, never more to be eradicated. Hence aroſe, in great part, that fury which ſoon became faſhionable, with all the youth of Paris, of diſputing on matters of faith, and that ſtill greater folly of looking on objections as inſuperable, which immediately diſappear when in ſearch of truth, we ſeek to know it, and follow it in ſpite of thoſe paſſions which militate againſt it. It was on this occaſion, of the coffee-houſe diſputations, that the lieutenant of the police, upbraiding Diderot with propagating Atheiſm, that madman proudly anſwered, *It is true, I am an Atheiſt, and I glory in it.* Why Sir, replied the miniſter, you would know, were you in my place, that had no God exiſted, it would be neceſſary to have invented one.

However much the brain of this Atheiſt might have been heated, the fear of the Baſtille put a period to his apoſtleſhip. The miniſter would have been more correct in his office, had he threatened him with Bedlam. We refer the reader to the Helvian Letters, where are recorded his numberleſs titles to a place there.* He was in reality the boaſting madman of the conſpiracy. They wanted a man of this caſt, who would utter all the abſurd and contradictory impieties which his brain could invent. Such are thoſe ideas with which he filled his different writings, his pretended *Philoſophic Thoughts*, his *Letter on the Blind*, his *Code* and his *Syſtem of Nature*.

This laſt work gave great offence to Frederick, who even refuted it, for reaſons we ſhall explain in the Antimonarchial Conſpiracy. And indeed D'Alembert always kept the authors name a profound ſecret. He would not even own it to Voltaire, though he was as well acquainted with it as myſelf. Diderot was not the ſole author of this famous ſyſtem. To build this chaos of nature, which deſtitute of *intelligence*, had made man intelligent, he had aſſociated with two other

* Let. 57 and 58.

Sophisters, whose names I will not hazard, for fear of error, not paying sufficient attention to them to be certain; but as to Diderot, I am sure, being previously acquainted with him. It was he who sold the manuscript, to be printed out of France, for the sum of one thousand livres. I know the fact from the man who paid them and owned it, when he had learned to better know those impious Sophisters.

Notwithstanding all these follies, Diderot, was not the less, in Voltaire's eyes, the *illustrious philosopher*, *the brave Diderot*, and one of the most useful *knights* of the conspiracy.* The conspirators proclaimed him the *Great Man*; they sent him to foreign courts as the *Admirable Man*; and when he had been guilty of some notable piece of folly, they were silent, or even disowned him. This was the case in particular, when at the court of the Empress of Russia.

Formerly at all courts, a fool was kept for their amusement; fashion had substituted a French philosopher, and little had been gained in point of common sense. But the Empress Catherine, soon perceived that much might be lost with respect to public tranquillity. She had sent for Diderot, she judged his *imagination to be inexhaustible*. She classed him *among the most extraordinary men that ever existed*.† She was correct in her judgment, for Diderot behaved himself in such an extraordinary manner, that her majesty thought it necessary to send him back to the place he came from. He comforted himself for his disgrace, with the idea that the Russians were not yet ripe for the sublimity of his philosophy. He sets off for Paris in a bannian, with a velvet cap on his head. His footman, like a king at arms preceded, and when they were to pass through any town or village, he would cry out to the gazing multitude, it is Diderot the great man that passes.‡ Such was his equipage from Petersburg to Paris. There he was, to support the character of the extraordinary man, whether writing in his study, or dealing out in divers companies, his philosophic absurdities; always the bosom friend of D'Alembert, and the admiration of the other Sophisters. He finished his apostleship by *his*

* Let. from Voltaire to Diderot, 25th of Dec. 1761, and to Damilaville, 1765, &c.

† Catherine to Voltaire, let. 134, anno. 1774.

‡ Feller's Historical Dictionary.

Life of Seneca, in which he ſees no other difference between him and his dog but that of their dreſs: and by his *New Philoſophical Thoughts*, where God is ſuppoſed to be the *Animal Prototype*, and mortals ſo many little particles flowing from this great animal, and ſucceſſively metamorphoſed into all ſorts of animals until the end of time, whence they are all to return to the divine ſubſtance, whence they had originally emanated.*

Diderot would madly utter all thoſe abſurdities, which Voltaire would impiouſly aſſert. None gained credit it is true, but religious truths were enfeebled by theſe aſſertions wrapped in frothy diſcourſe and philoſophic pomp. Men ceaſed to believe the Religion of Chriſt, ever reviled in theſe writings, and that was all the Sophiſters aimed at. Hence was the part which Diderot acted, ſo eſſential to the conſpiracy.

Who can combine this antichriſtian zeal, ever boiling ever emphatic when his imagination is heated, with that real admiration which he often expreſſed for the Goſpel. The following is an anecdote I had from Mr. Beauzet, a member of the academy. One day going to ſee Diderot, he found him explaining a chapter of the Goſpel to his daughter, as ſeriouſly and with the concern of the moſt Chriſtian parent. Mr. Beauzet expreſſed his ſurprize. "I underſtand you, ſaid Di-"derot, but in truth where could I find, or what bet-"ter leſſons could I give her?"

D'Alembert's ſervices.

D'Alembert would never have made ſuch an avowal. Though the conſtant friend of Diderot we find throughout their lives, and their philoſophic courſe, that ſame difference which marked their firſt eſſays in the apoſtleſhip. Diderot ſpoke out whatever he thought for the moment, D'Alembert never but what he wiſhed to ſay. I will defy any one to find his real opinion on *God* or on the *ſoul*, elſewhere than in his private correſpondence with the conſpirators. His works have all the darkneſs and cunning of iniquity, but he is the fox that infects and then burrows himſelf. Eaſier would it be to follow the twiſtings of the eel, or trace the windings of the ſerpent gliding through the graſs, than the tortuous courſe he follows in thoſe writings which he owns.†

* New Philoſophical Thoughts, page 17 and 18. The whole is expoſed in the Helvian Letters, No. 49.

† From the criticiſm made of his works in our Helvian Letters; the reſult is this: D'Alembert will never declare himſelf a

Nobody was ever more true to Voltaire's maxim of *ſtrike, but hide your hand.* The avowal he makes of his *bows* to religion, while he is ſtriving to pull it to pieces,* might diſpenſe the hiſtorian from ſeeking thoſe numerous proofs with which the works of this Sophiſter abound. To make himſelf amends for this perpetual reſtraint under which, from his diſſimulation, he was forced himſelf to write, by means of his pupils or in their productions he would ſpeak more daringly. When he returned them their works, he would artfully inſinuate an article or plan a preface, but ſo much the worſe for the pupil, if he underwent the puniſhment incurred by the maſter. Morellet, as yet a youth, though already a graduate among the divines of the Encyclopedia, had juſt publiſhed his firſt eſſay in philoſophiſm. This was a manual with which Voltaire was enchanted; above all he valued the Preface, *it was one of the fineſt laſhes ever given by Protagoras.* The youth was taken up and ſent to the Baſtile. The real Protagoras or D'Alembert, who had ſo well taught him the art of *laſhing* never owned the whip, as may be ſuppoſed.†

ſceptic, or whether he knows of the exiſtence of a God or not. He will even let you think that he believes in God; but will begin by attacking certain proofs of a Deity; he will tell you that through zeal for the Deity, man muſt know how to chooſe among thoſe proofs. He will end by attacking them all, with a *yes* on one object, and a *no* a little later on the ſame; he will entangle the minds of his readers, he will raiſe doubts in them, and ſmile to ſee them fallen without perceiving it, into the very ſnare he had prepared for them. He never tells you to attack religion, but he will tempt you with a ſtand of arms, or place them in your hands ready for combat. *(See his Elements of Philoſophy and our Helvian Letters, No. 37.)* He will never declaim againſt the morality of the church or the commandments of God, but he will tell you that *there does not exiſt a ſingle catechiſm on morality, fitted to the capacities of youth;* and that it is to be hoped there will at length appear a Philoſopher who will confer that gift (See Elem. of Phil. No. 12.) He will not pretend to deny the ſweets of virtue, but he will tell you, "that all philoſophers "would have better known our nature, had they been ſatisfied "with ſimply confining the happineſs of this life to the exemp-"tion from pain." *(Preface of the Encyclopedia.)* He will not offend his reader by obſcene deſcriptions, but he will tell him, Art. HAPPINESS, "Men all agree as to the nature of hap-"pineſs; they declare it to be the ſame as pleaſure, or at leaſt "that they are indebted to pleaſure for all that is moſt delicious "in it." And thus his young pupil is transformed into an Epicurean without knowing it.

* Let. to Voltaire, No. 151.

† Letter from D'Alembert to Voltaire, anno. 1760, and of Voltaire to Thiriot, 26th Jan. 1762.

On the whole, D'Alembert would have been but of little use to the conspirators, had he confined himself to his pen. In spite of his quibbling style and of his epigrams, his talent of wearying his readers left them an antidote. Voltaire, by giving him another mission suited his genius better. He had reserved to himself the ministers, dukes, princes and kings, and all those sufficiently initiated to forward the conspiracy. But charged D'Alembert, with the care of training the young adepts: "*Endeavor*," he writes expressly, "*endeavour on your part, to enlighten youth as much as you are able.*"*

Is charged with training youth.

Never was mission more actively, more zealously, nor more ably fulfilled. It is even to be remarked, that however hidden D'Alembert may have been in all the other parts he acted in the conspiracy, he was not averse to having his zeal in this particular rather observed. He was the general protector of all young men who came to Paris possessed of any talent. Had they any fortune of their own, he dazzled them with crowns, premiums, or even with the academic seats, of which he absolutely disposed, either as perpetual secretary, or as irresistible in all those petty intrigues wherein he so much excelled. The reader has already seen what a party-stroke it was for the conspirators, to have filled this tribunal of European Mandarines presiding over the empire of letters, with their adepts. But his power in this extended far beyond Paris. He writes to Voltaire, "I have just got Helvetius and the Chevalier de "Jeaucourt, admitted into the academy at Berlin."

D'Alembert was particularly attentive to such of the adepts as were intended to train others, or to fulfil the functions of private or public professors, or of tutors in private families; but particularly in the latter, when the pupil, by his rank or wealth, could hereafter be a protector of the conspirators, or more amply remunerate his teacher. This was the true method of imbibing youth with the real principles of the conspiracy. D'Alembert was perfectly aware of its importance, and judged his means so well that he succeeded in spreading such tutors and preceptors, throughout all the countries of Europe, and deserved the title of the most fortunate propagator of philosophism.

The proofs he cites of their progress, will suffice to show the choice he had made. "There is my dear

* 15th September, 1762.

" philoſopher, he exultingly writes to Voltaire, there " is what was pronounced at Caſſel on the 8th of A- " pril, in preſence of his highneſs the Landgrave of " Heſſe Caſſel, of ſix princes of the empire and of a " moſt numerous aſſembly by *a profeſſor of hiſtory which* " *I gave to his Highneſs the Landgrave.*" This was a diſcourſe full of the groſſeſt invectives againſt the church and the clergy as *obſcure fanatics, ye praters croſiered or unmitred, with or without a cowl;* and ſuch was the ſtyle of the profeſſor, ſuch the proofs adduced by D'Alembert of the victories daily gained by his adepts over religious ideas, and of the ſentiments they inſtilled into their pupils.*

It imported above all to the conſpirators to place ſuch tutors about young princes and children hereafter deſtined to govern nations. The correſpondence of Voltaire and D'Alembert lays open their intrigues on this point and what powerful ſupport they expected from it.

The court of Parma was ſeeking men worthy of preſiding over the education of the young Infant. In placing the Abbés de Condilhac and de Leire at the head of his inſtructors they flattered themſelves with having ſucceeded, as they little thought that theſe two men were to inſpire the young prince with the irreligious ideas of the Sophiſters. The Abbé de Condilhac in particular, had by no means the reputation of an Encyclopedian philoſopher. It was even late when they became ſenſible of their error, which could only be remedied by the total ſubverſion of all that theſe two tutors had done. The whole would have been foreſeen, had they known that Condilhac was the particular friend of D'Alembert, who always looked up to him as a man precious to the ſelf-created philoſophers, or had they known that the choice of theſe two men, was only the effect of an intrigue in which Voltaire glories, when he writes to D'Alembert, " It appears to me that the " Parmeſan child will be well ſurrounded. He will " have a Condilhac and a de Leire. If with all that " he is a bigot, grace muſt be powerful indeed."†

Theſe wiſhes and artifices of the ſect were ſo well handed down, that in ſpite of Louis the XVIth's attachment to religion, they ſought to place new Condilhacs about the heir to the crown; they ſucceeded in

* Letter 78, anno 1772.

† Letter from Voltaire to D'Alembert, No. 77, and from D'Alembert, No. 151.

discarding every bishop from the education of the young Dauphin, they would have willingly excluded all ecclesiastics; but despairing of so complete a success, they sought to make the choice fall on some clergyman, who, like Condilhac, would inspire the illustrious pupil with all the principles of the Sophisters. I am acquainted with one of those men whom they dared to tamper with. They offered him the place of tutor to the Dauphin, being, as they said, sure of getting it for him, and of thereby making his fortune; *but on condition* that when he taught the young prince his Catechism, he would take care to insinuate, that all religious doctrine, as well as all the mysteries of Christianity were only prejudices and popular errors, which a prince should be informed of, but never credit; and that in his private lessons he would instil, as true doctrine, all the errors of philosophism. Fortunately this priest answered, that he knew not how to sacrifice his duty to his fortune; more fortunately still Louis XVI. was not a man to encourage such intrigues. The Duke D'Harcourt, named to preside at the education of the Dauphin, took the advice of some bishops, and chose, to read lectures on religion to his pupil, a clergyman perfectly competent to the task, as he was then superior of the College of La Fleche. Alas! why must we felicitate this tender youth on his death though premature. When the Sophisters of incredulity could not yet flatter themselves with the subversion of the throne of his ancestors, were they not infusing their poisons to transform him at least into an impious king. And when the throne was overturned, would he, more than his young brother, have escaped the hands of the Sophisters of rebellion.

Many other adepts, with the same zeal to enthrone philosophism and to prepare the way for the Antichristian Revolution, in diversother courts, showed the same activity. At Petersburg they had beset the Empress; they had persuaded her that some Sophister, and that of the first class, ought to be entrusted with the education of her son. D'Alembert was named, and the Count Schouvallow is ordered by his sovereign to make the proposal in her name. D'Alembert simply received the offer as a proof *that Voltaire had no reason to be displeased with his mission, and that philosophy was sensibly reaching the throne.** Whatever advantages he might

* Let. 106 and 107, anno 1762.

have expected to reap from such a commission, he prudently declined; he preferred the petty empire he swayed in Paris, as chief of the adepts, to the precarious favor of courts, and of that in particular whose distance from the center of the conspiracy, could not have permitted him to act the same part in it.

King of the young adepts, he did not confine his protection to those of Paris alone, but to the romotest parts of Russia would he extend his paternal care; he would follow their progress, their destiny, or protect them in adversity. When he found his power insufficient, he would have recourse to Voltaire's credit; he would write, for instance: "The poor Bertrand is not "lucky. He had petitioned fair Kate (the Empress of "Russia) to restore to liberty five or six giddy-headed "Velches. He had conjured her, in the name of phi-"losophy; he had drawn up, under that sacred name, "the most eloquent pleading that from memory of mon-"key was ever made, and Kate pretends not to under-"stand it."* This was as much as to say to Voltaire, try in your turn whether you can succeed better, and do for them what you have so often done for other adepts whose misfortunes I have made known to you.

How he serves Voltaire as a spy.

This understanting equally subsisted in all that regarded the conspiracy; little satisfied with pointing out works that were to be refuted, or with giving the sketch of some new impious work, he would also be the spy over every religious author. It has often been an object of surprise, to see Voltaire, so familiar with the anecdotes of the private lives of those whose works he pretended to refute, though generally they are slanderous, sometimes ridiculous, but always foreign to the question. He was indebted to D'Alembert for them. Whether true or false, the latter always chose such as could attach ridicule to the person of the authors, knowing how well Voltaire could substitute ridicule for proof, or for sound argument. Those who doubt of this fact, may consult D'Alembert's letters on the Pere Bertier, or the Abbé Guenèe, whom Voltaire, himself, could not but admire, or in those concerning Messrs. le Franc, Caveirac or Sabbatier, and on many others whom Voltaire hardly ever combats, but with the weapons D'Alembert had furnished him with.

His petty societies and clubs.

On his side Voltaire spared nothing which could raise the consideration of D'Alembert. He would recom-

* Letter 88, anno 1773.

mend him to all his friends; he would introduce him into every little ſociety, or petty philoſophic club, for theſe were already forming in Paris, to be one day abſorbed by the great club of the Jacobins. Some indeed would have been ſtyled ariſtocratical, as they were the weekly meetings of *counts, marquiſſes or chevaliers*, perſonages already too conſequential to bend their knee before the altar of their God. Here would they debate on prejudices, ſuperſtition or fanaticiſm. They would ſcoff at I. C. and his prieſts, or ſmile at the ſimplicity of the adoring populace. They alſo thought of ſhaking off the yoke of religion, leaving indeed, juſt what was neceſſary to keep the rabble in awe. The female adept, the Counteſs du Deffant held the chair, and continued her philoſophic education under the particular direction of Voltaire, by whoſe orders ſhe ſtudies Rabelais, Polymbrock, Hume, the Tale of the Tub, and ſuch like romances.*

D'Alembert was far from being at his eaſe in theſe ariſtocratical clubs, he even diſliked this female adept. Voltaire on the contrary, knowing what advantages were to be drawn from them, wiſhed him to belong to them all, and would introduce him by his letters. His introduction was leſs difficult into ſome other clubs, and particularly into that where Mad. Necker preſided, when ſhe had ſnatched the ſceptre of philoſophy from the hands of all the other adepts of her ſex.†

His plan for rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem.

Our two chiefs, mutually helped each other by imparting their plans for drawing off the people from their religion. One, in particular, moſt certainly cannot be omitted in theſe memoirs, it denotes too well, the intentions of the conſpirators, it ſhows how far their views extended. It is true, that it was not the invention of D'Alembert, but he was aware of the advantages philoſophiſm would derive from it, and however ſtrange the plan, he flattered himſelf with the execution of it.

It is well known what ſtrength the Chriſtian religion draws from the fulfilling of the prophecies, and particularly from thoſe of Daniel and of Chriſt himſelf, on the fate of the Jews and of their temple. Julian

* Letters of Voltaire to Mad. Deffant, particularly 13th Oct. 1759.

† See the correſpondence of D'Alembert, let. 77, and following of Voltaire to Mad. Fontaine, 8th Feb. 1762, to D'Alembert, No. 31, anno 1770.

the apoſtate, in order to give the lie to Chriſt and to the prophet Daniel, had ſought to rebuild the temple. It is alſo known that flames, burſting forth from the earth, at divers times and devouring the workmen, had obliged him to deſiſt from the undertaking. D'Alembert was not ignorant of this act of the divine vengeance, having been aſcertained by a multitude of eye witneſſes. He had undoubtedly ſeen it recorded in Ammianus Marcellinus; an author of unqueſtionable authority, for he was a friend of Julian, and a Pagan like him. But this did not hinder him from writing to Voltaire, "You probably know, that at this preſent time, "there is at Berlin, one of the circumciſed, who ex- "pecting Mahomet's paradiſe, is in the mean time, "gone to wait on your former diſciple, in the name of "the Sultan Muſtapha. In writing to that country "the other day, I mentioned, that if the king would "but juſt ſay a word, it would be a fine opportunity "to have the temple of Jeruſalem rebuilt."*

That word was not ſaid by the former diſciple, and D'Alembert gives the following reaſon to Voltaire. "I have no doubt but that we ſhould have ſucceeded "in our negociation on the re-edification of the tem- "ple of the Jews, if your former diſciple had not been "afraid of loſing ſome circumciſed worthies, who "would have carried away thirty or forty millions with "them."† Thus in ſpite of all their inclination to give the lie to the God of the Chriſtians, even to the ſordid intereſt of the conſpirators, was to add a new proof to his doctrines.

Eighteen years after Voltaire had not given up the plan, nor loſt all hopes of accompliſhing it. Seeing that D'Alembert had not ſucceeded with Frederick, he endeavoured to prevail with the Empreſs of Ruſſia. He writes to her, "If your Majeſty is in a regular cor- "reſpondence with Aly Bey, I implore your protec- "tion with him; I have a little favor to aſk of him, it "is to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, to recal the "Jews, who will pay him a large tribute, and thereby "make a mighty lord of him."‡

Voltaire was nearly eighty when he ſtill perſiſted in this plan, by which he was to prove to the people, that Chriſt and his prophets, were impoſters. Frederick

* 18th Dec. 1763. † 29th Dec. 1763. ‡ 6th July 1771.

and D'Alembert, were alſo far advanced in their career, and the time was not far off, when they were to appear before that very God whom they had daringly ſtyled wretch, and againſt whom they had never ceaſed to conſpire.

I have now laid before my readers, the means, the conſtancy with which they ſought to overturn the altars, to annihilate the dominion of the faith, to deſtroy the prieſts of that God, and to ſubſtitute the hatred and ignominy of him whom the Chriſtians adore, to his religion. I had promiſed not ſo much the hiſtory, as the real demonſtration of the conſpiracy; and whether as to its object, its extent, or its means, I have not reſorted to hereſay or vague report, for proof. My proofs are their own; the compariſon of their letters, of their mutual communications, carries conviction. My readers may henceforth reconcile this conſpiracy, and its means, with that revolution operated by the Jacobins. They may already perceive, that the latter, in deſtroying the altars of Chriſt, only execute the plots of the Sophiſters, their fore-runners and maſters.

Was there a temple to be overthrown, a depredatory decree againſt the church, to be paſſed by the Jacobins, of which we have not already ſeen the plan! Are not the Marats and the Robeſpierres, figured by Voltaire in his Hercules and Bellerophon? Or where whole nations are to be cruſhed in hatred to Chriſtianity, have we not ſeen the wiſh formally expreſſed by D'Alembert? Every thing teaches us, the hatred of the father gaining ſtrength in the breaſt of the ſon, and the plots propagating, that when force ſhall coaleſce with impiety they can only generate a race brutal and ferocious.

But this force to be acquired by the conſpirators ſuppoſes a ſucceſſive progreſs. Before it could throw off the maſk, it was requiſite that the number of the adepts ſhould be augmented, and that the arms of the multitude ſhould be ſecured to them. I am about to ſhow their ſucceſſes under the reign of corruption, in the divers orders of ſociety, during the lives of the chiefs. Hence hiſtory will hereafter more eaſily conceive and explain what they were during the reign of terror and devaſtation.

CHAP. XII.

Progreſs of the Conſpiracy under Voltaire.—Firſt Claſs of Protectors.—Crowned Adepts.

VOLTAIRE's grand object, as we have ſeen, was to hurry away that whole claſs of men, ſtyled by the conſpirators the better ſort, and inſtil into their minds his hatred for Chriſt and his religion: to have left his goſpel to none but the rabble, and to them only, in caſe they could not efface it from their minds. Under this denomination of better ſort, they comprehended all who were illuſtrious, either by power, rank or riches; and, after them, all people of education or inſtruction and honeſt citizens, ranking above what Voltaire calls rabble, footmen, cooks, &c. It is an obſervation worthy the hiſtorian, that the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy firſt makes its progreſs in the moſt illuſtrious part of this claſs; among princes, kings, emperors, miniſters and courts; in fine, among thoſe who may be ſtyled the Great. That the hiſtorian muſt be true.

If a writer dares not utter truths like theſe, let him throw aſide his pen; he is unworthy of treating ſuch important ſubjects of hiſtory. He who has not the courage to tell kings, that they were the firſt to league in the conſpiracy againſt Chriſt and his religion, and that it is the ſame God who has permitted the conſpirators, firſt to threaten, ſhake and ſilently undermine their thrones; then openly to ſcoff at their authority. The man, I ſay, who dares not hold ſuch language is only abandoning the powers of the earth to their fatal blindneſs. They would continue to hearken to the impious, to protect impiety, and ſupport its dominion, to let it circulate and ſpread from the palace to the city, from the towns to the country, from the maſter to the ſervant; in fine, from the lords to the people. And would not ſuch crimes call down vengeance from heaven? Will not heaven have too numerous crimes to avenge upon nations, not to curſe them with luxury and diſcord, with ambition and conſpiracies, or with all thoſe ſcourges which portend the downfall of na-

tions. Had the monarch alone, throughout his empire, raiſed his head againſt his God, who has told us that the crimes of the chief ſhall not be avenged upon his people. Once more let the hiſtorian be ſilent, if he dares not utter the truth. Should he ſeek the cauſes of a revolution in its agents, he would meet a Necker, a Brienne, a Philippe D'Orleans, Mirabeaux, and Robeſpierres; a confuſion in the finances, factions among the great, inſubordination in the armies, the people agitated and diſquieted, in fine ſeduced. Will he, for that, know from whence theſe Neckers, Mirabeaux, or Robeſpierres, have ariſen; whence this confuſion in finance, this ſpirit of faction, this inſubordination of the armies, or the ſeduction of the divers claſſes of the ſtate? He will have ſeized but the laſt thread of the conſpiracy. He will have ſeen empires in their agony, but he will have overlooked that ſlow fever which conſumes them, whilſt the violence of the fit is reſerved to that laſt criſis which precedes diſſolution. He will deſcribe the calamities which every one has ſeen, but will he be the nearer the remedy. Let the hiſtorian reveal the ſecrets of the maſters of the earth, to ward from them the conſpiracy which ſhall fall back upon them; and we, what ſecrets do we reveal, ſecrets publicly printed for theſe ten years paſt, in their own correſpondence with the chief of the conſpiracy. It is too late to attack us on that point. Thoſe letters were printed, to the great ſcandal of the public, to diſcover the favor of the impious man with the ſovereigns of the earth; and when we ſhow this protection avenged upon the ſovereigns, it is not their ſhame we are ſeeking to divulge, it is their misfortunes and thoſe of their people that we make known; the remedy then ſpontaneouſly manifeſting itſelf, may avert or prevent, much greater evils. Such a motive is more than an equivalent, to all that could induce us to be ſilent.

In the correſpondence of the conſpirators there is more than one letter which depoſes againſt the Emperor Joſeph II. with all the poſſible evidence of ſuch teſtimony, that he was initiated and had been admitted into all the myſteries of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy by Frederick.

Joſeph II.

In the firſt of theſe letters, Voltaire announced his victory in theſe terms: "You have afforded me great "pleaſure by reducing the infinite to its real value. "But here is a thing far more intereſting: *Grimm af-*

" *fures us, that the Emperor is one of ours. That is lucky,* " for the Dutcheſs of Parma, his ſiſter, is againſt us."*

In another letter, Voltaire exulting in ſo important a conqueſt, writes to Frederick, " A Bohemian of " great wit and philoſophy, called Grimm, has infor- " med me that you had initiated the Emperor into our " holy myſteries."† In a third in fine, Voltaire, after enumerating the princes and princeſſes whom he reckoned among the adepts, adds theſe words: " You " have alſo flattered me with the Emperor's being in " the way of perdition; *that would be a good harveſt for* " *philoſophy.*"‡ This alludes to a letter written by Frederick to Voltaire a few months before, in which he ſays, " I am ſetting off for Sileſia, and ſhall meet " the Emperor, who has invited me to his camp in " Moravia; not to fight as formerly, but to live as " good neighbours. He is an amiable prince and full " of merit. *He likes your works and reads them as much* " *as he can.* He is the *very reverſe of being ſuperſtitious.* " In fine, he is an Emperor ſuch as Germany has not " ſeen long ſince. We neither of us like the ignorant " and barbarous, but that is not a reaſon for extermi- " nating them."§

Now that we are acquainted with Frederick's idea of a prince, *The very reverſe of being ſuperſtitious* and *who reads Voltaire's works as much as he is able*, his encomiums are eaſily underſtood. They truly point out an Emperor ſuch as Germany had not long ſince beheld, in fine, an Emperor as irreligious as Frederick himſelf. Both the date and laſt words, *But that is not a reaſon for exterminating them*, recalls to mind a time when Frederick, thinking the Sophiſters too daring and haſty, ſought himſelf to repreſs their imprudence, leſt it might overthrow the whole political ſyſtem of governments. It was not yet time to employ *ſuperior force* or to paſs the *laſt ſentence.* The war then reſolved on between Frederick and Joſeph againſt Chriſt was not to be a war of Neros and Diocleſians; it was to ſilently undermine. Such was that which Joſeph waged, as ſoon as the death of Maria Tereſa left him at liberty to act. He carried it on with hypocriſy, for Joſeph, as unbelieving as Frederick, wiſhed to be looked upon as a very religious prince, and would proteſt that the ſlighteſt attack on Chriſtianity was the moſt diſtant from his ideas.

* 28th of Oct. 1769. † No. 162, Nov. 1769.
‡ Let. No. 181, 21ſt of Nov. 1770. § 18th of Auguſt 1770.

During his travels through Europe he continued to approach the ſacraments, and perform his Eaſter devotions at Vienna and Naples, with that exterior piety, which could not ſeem to coincide with the hypocriſy of thoſe of Voltaire at Ferney. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that in paſſing through France, he refuſed to call at Ferney, though very near and expected there by Voltaire. It is even ſaid, that in turning away he affectedly ſaid, *That he could not bear to ſee a man, who, by calumniating religion had given the ſevereſt blow to humanity;* what credit is to be given to theſe words, I will not pretend to decide, but certain it is, that the philoſophers did not the leſs look upon Joſeph as one of theirs. This ſlight of Voltaire was ſoon pardoned; they ſpread every where, that his admiration had not diminiſhed for the premier in impiety; that he would have willingly viſited him, but that he had refrained through regard for his mother, *who at the ſolicitations of the prieſts, had made him promiſe that he would not ſee him during his journey.**

Notwithſtanding his reſerve and his diſſimulation, the war which Joſeph waged, ſoon became one of authority and oppreſſion, of rapine and violence, and was well nigh ending in the extermination of his own ſubjects. He began by the ſuppreſſion of a large number of monaſteries; this we have ſeen was a leading feature in Frederick's plan; he ſeized on a great part of the eccleſiaſtical property; ſo would Voltiare have done, when he exclaims, *But I had rather plunder them;* Joſeph II. tore from their cells and cloiſters, even to thoſe Carmelite nuns, whoſe extreme poverty could afford no bait to avarice and whoſe angelic fervor left no room for reform. He was the firſt who gave to his age the public ſhow of holy virgins reduced to wander into diſtant countries, even as far as Portugal, to ſeek an aſylum for their piety. Innovating at pleaſure in the church, he only anticipated that famous conſtitution of the clergy, called *civil* by the Jacobin legiſlators, and which prepared the way to the butchery at the Carmes. The ſovereign pontiff thought it incumbent on him to leave Rome and paſs into Auſtria, and in the capacity of common father of the faithful, perſonally to repreſent to the emperor the laws and rights of the church. Joſeph II. receives him with reſpect, and permits all

* See note to the letter of the Count de Touraille, 6th of Aug. 1777, General Correſpondence of Voltaire.

that homage and public veneration ſhould be ſhown to Pius VI. which both his virtues and dignity equally commanded. He did not for that ceaſe to continue his war of oppreſſion. He did not expel the biſhops, but he gave them much trouble; for conſtituting himſelf in ſome ſort the ſuperior of a ſeminary, he would permit no lectures to be read but by thoſe profeſſors he had choſen, and whoſe doctrine like that of *Camus* tended only to forward the grand apoſtacy; at length theſe ſecret perſecutions and depredations gave riſe to murmurs. The wearied Brabanters revolted. Since that, we have ſeen them call in thoſe Jacobins who promiſing them the free exerciſe of their religion, and more artful than Joſeph, are now conſummating his work. Had they been leſs tormented by Frederick's adept in matters of faith, the Brabanters would have been leſs impatient under the yoke of Auſtria: had they been penetrated with a greater zeal and affection for the Emperor Joſeph, they would have better ſeconded, and have had more confidence in the virtues of Francis II. They would with greater force have oppoſed that invaſion which we have ſeen extend to the very banks of the Danube. Should hiſtory lay the blame on Joſeph, let it look back to that day, when by Frederick, he is initiated into the myſteries of Voltaire. It is the emperor *adept*, that ſhall be found guilty of this war of extermination, which has threatened even to his throne.

In the ſequel of this work we ſhall ſee Joſeph repenting of the war he had waged againſt Chriſt, when he beheld philoſophiſm attacking both himſelf and his throne. He will then attempt but too late to repair his fault. He will fall a melancholy victim.

Many other ſovereigns are mentioned in the correſpondence of the conſpirators, as having imprudently engaged in theſe plots. D'Alembert complaining to Voltaire of the obſtacles he ſometimes encountered, and which he terms *perſecutions*, from the public authorities, at length conſoles himſelf by adding, "But we "have on our ſide, the Empreſs Catherine, the King "of Pruſſia, the King of Denmark, the Queen of "Sweden and her ſon, many princes of the empire and "all England."* Much about the ſame time, Voltaire writes to the king of Pruſſia, "I know not what Muſ- "tapha thinks (on the immortality of the ſoul;) my

* 28th of Nov. 1770.

" opinion is, that he does not think at all. As for the " *Empreſs of Ruſſia, the Queen of Sweden, your ſiſter,* " *the King of Poland, and Prince Guſtavus* ſon of the " Queen of Sweden, I imagine that I know what they " think."†

Voltaire effectually knew it. The letters of theſe ſovereigns could not leave him in the dark; but had we not thoſe letters to adduce in proof, we now ſee an Emperor, an Empreſs, a Queen and four Kings who had already enliſted under the banners of the conſpirators.

False conſequences to be avoided in ſpeaking of the royal adepts.

In baring to the light this horrid conſpiracy, let not the hiſtorian abandon himſelf to falſe declamation nor draw inferences ſtill more deceitful. Let him not pretend to ſay to the people, your kings have ſhaken off the yoke of Chriſt, it is but juſt, that you ſhould throw off that of their dominion; ſuch reaſoning would be to blaſpheme Chriſt, his doctrines and his examples. The arm of vengeance is reſerved to God alone. For the happineſs of ſubjects, to preſerve them from revolutions and all the horrors of rebellion, he alone can ſmite the apoſtate on the throne. Let not the Chriſtian apoſtatize, but let him be ſubject to his lawful prince. To join revolt to impiety is not averting the ſcourge of heaven; that would be only adding anarchy, the moſt terrible of political ſcourges; that would not be a bar againſt the Sophiſter of impiety, but the conſummation of the conſpiracy of the Sophiſters of ſedition, againſt the throne and all the laws of civil ſociety. Such was the fate of the unfortunate Brabanters when in rebellion againſt the Emperor Joſeph. They pretended to the right of rejecting their lawful ſovereign, and they are become the prey of Jacobins; they called inſurrection to the aid of religion, and that religion proſcribes inſurrection againſt all lawful authority. At the time that I am now writing, the fulminating reports made to the Convention, forbode thoſe dreadful decrees which levelling the religious worſhip, the privileges and the churches of the Brabanters to the ſtandard of the French revolution, ſhall puniſh them for their error. When therefore the hiſtorian ſhall report the names of thoſe ſovereigns, who unfortunately were initiated and conſpired againſt their God, let his intention be to recal them to their religion, let him not be led away into

† 21ſt of Nov. 1770.

falſe conſequences, ſo contrary to the peace of nations. Then let him inſiſt on the duties which religion impoſes on the people; let him teach them what they owe to Cæſar and to every public authority.

Among the royal protectors all are not to be claſſed with Voltaire, Frederick or Joſeph. All had taſted of the impious cup of incredulity, but all did not equally wiſh to imbibe their people with its poiſon. Catherine II. Empreſs of Ruſſia.

Immenſe was the diſtance between Frederick and this Empreſs, in whom the conſpirators placed ſo much confidence. Seduced by the talents and homage of their premier chief, Catherine may have been indebted to him for her firſt taſte for literature; ſhe almoſt devoured thoſe works, which ſhe had miſtaken for maſter-pieces, whether in hiſtory or philoſophy, totally ignorant of their being diſguiſed ſolely to forward the ends of impiety. On the fallacious encomiums of the Sophiſters, ſhe boldly pronounced, *That all the miracles in the world could never efface the* pretended *blot of having hindered the printing of the Encyclopedia.** But we never ſee her, like Frederick, to obtain the fulſome flattery of the Sophiſters, pay to impiety that degrading court. Catherine would read their works, Frederick would circulate them, compoſe himſelf and wiſhed to ſee them devoured by the people. Frederick would propoſe plans for the deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion, Catherine rejected all thoſe propoſed to her by Voltaire. She was tolerant by nature, Frederick only from neceſſity. He would have been no longer ſo, had his policy permitted him, in following the dictates of his hatred, to call in *a ſuperior force* to effect the overthrow of Chriſtianity.†

* Her correſpondence with Voltaire, letter 1, 2, 3 and 8.

† Thoſe who, as men of literature, ſhall criticiſe the correſpondence of this Empreſs, will find an amazing difference between hers and that of the King of Pruſſia. The former is that of a woman of wit, who often plays upon Voltaire in the moſt agreeable manner. With her light ſtyle and full of taſte, ſhe never forgets her dignity; ſhe at leaſt will not be ſeen to degrade herſelf to that groſs dialect of abuſe and blaſphemy; while Frederick in his, truly the pedantic Sophiſter, will be as void of ſhame in his impiety, as he is of dignity in his encomiums. When Voltaire wrote to Catherine, "We are three, Diderot, D'Alembert and myſelf, who raiſe altars to you." She anſwers, "Pray leave me, if you pleaſe on earth, there I ſhall be more at hand to receive your letters and thoſe of your friends." Nothing ſo perfectly French can be found in Frederick's, we only have

Nevertheleſs, Catherine is alſo a royal adept, ſhe has the ſecret of Voltaire, ſhe applauds the moſt famous of our infidels.* She is even willing to entruſt the heir of her crown into the hands of D'Alembert; her name conſtanly appears among the protecting adepts in the writings of the Sophiſters, nor can the hiſtorian hide it.

Chriſtiern VII. King of Denmark.

The claims of Chriſtiern VII. King of Denmark, to the title of adept, are alſo founded on his correſpondence with Voltaire. Among the numerous ſervices rendered by D'Alembert, I ſhould not have omitted the pains he had taken to prevail on different powers and great perſonages, to ſubſcribe to the erection of a ſtatue in honor of Voltaire. I could have ſhewn the Sophiſter of Ferney, modeſtly preſſing D'Alembert to get theſe ſubſcriptions, and that in particular from the King of Pruſſia, who hardly waited their ſolicitations. This triumph of their chief was too deſirable for the conſpirators; Chriſtiern VII. eagerly contributed. A firſt letter, with a few compliments, could not conſtitute an adept, but we have Voltaire's own word for it. He mentions him, and beſides, among theſe compliments we find one ſo much in the ſtyle of Frederick, "You "are now occupied in delivering a conſiderable num- "ber of men from *the yoke of the clergy, the hardeſt of all* "*others*, for the duties of ſociety are only imprinted in "their heads, *and never felt in their hearts. This is well* "*worth being revenged of the barbarians.*"† Unfortunate monarchs! Such was the language held to Mary Antoinette, in the days of her proſperity, by thoſe corruptors. But in her misfortunes, when ſhe witneſſed the loyalty and the ſenſibility of thoſe *barbarians*, at the Thuleries, ſhe exclaimed, "Oh! how we have been "deceived! We now plainly ſee how much the clergy "diſtinguiſh themſelves among the faithful ſubjects of "the king."‡ May the king that is led away by philoſophiſm never be reduced to the ſame experiment; may

to regret, that it was addreſſed to a ſet of infidels. Catherine wrote Voltaire's own language in perfect purity, while Frederick could have had little pretenſions to the hero, had he not handled his ſword better than his pen.

* 26th Dec. 1773, and No. 134, anno 1774.

† Let. to Voltaire, 1770.

‡ I heard this anecdote in the midſt of the revolution, and ſuch expreſſions were neceſſary to ſhew, that ſhe was recovered from thoſe prejudices ſhe had imbibed againſt the clergy, and which appeared to have redoubled, after the ſecond journey which her brother made to Verſailles.

he learn at leaſt from one revolution, that there is a yoke more *hard* and terrible than that of the clergy, which Voltaire his maſter had taught him to calumniate.

It is our duty to add, that with regard to this prince, as well as to many others who were ſeduced by the Sophiſters, the conſpirators had taken advantage of their youth. At that period of life, the writings of Voltaire could eaſily make impreſſion on men, who for being kings, were not better verſed than other people, in what they had not learned, nor were they able to diſcriminate truth from error, in objects where the want of knowledge is more to be dreaded, than inclination or the paſſions.

At the time of his journey into France, Chriſtiern was but ſeventeen years of age, and already, to uſe D'Alembert's expreſſion, he had *the courage to ſay at Fontainbleau*, that Voltaire *had taught him to think*.* Men of a different way of thinking, about the court of Lewis XV. wiſhed to hinder his young majeſty from learning ſtill more to think like Voltaire, and from ſeeing in Paris, the adepts or moſt celebrated of his diſciples. Theſe however, obtained admiſſion, and to judge how well they underſtood improving their opportunity, we need only hear D'Alembert writing to Voltaire, "I had ſeen that prince at his own apartments, "together with ſeveral of your friends. He ſpoke "much about you, *of the ſervices your works had ren-* "*dered, of the prejudices you had rooted out*, of the ene- "mies your *liberty in thinking* had made you. You "eaſily gueſs what my anſwers were."† D'Alembert has a ſecond interview, and again writes, "The King "of Denmark ſcarce ſpoke to me but of you.—I can "aſſure you, he had rather have ſeen you at Paris, "than all the entertainments with which they have "ſurfeited him." This converſation had been but of ſhort duration; but D'Alembert made amends in a diſcourſe which he pronounced at the academy on philoſophy, in preſence of the young monarch. Numerous were the adepts preſent, and they applauded; the youthful monarch joins in the applauſe.‡ In fine, ſuch is the opinion he carries away of that pretended philoſophy, thanks to D'Alembert's new lectures, that no ſooner is he informed of a ſtatue to be erected to the premier chief of the conſpirators, than he ſends a very

* Letter of 12th Nov. 1768.
† 6th Dec. 1768. ‡ Let. 17th Dec. 1768.

handſome ſubſcription, for which Voltaire acknowledges himſelf to be indebted to the leſſons of the academical adept.‖ How much theſe leſſons have ſince been forgotten by Chriſtiern VII. I cannot pretend to ſay. Sufficient events have taken place ſince his Daniſh majeſty had learned *to think* from Voltaire, to have given him a very different opinion of the *ſervices* that the WORKS of his maſter have rendered to empires.

Guſtavus III. King of Sweden.

Similar artifices were made uſe of with regard to Guſtavus King of Sweden. That prince alſo came to Paris, to receive the homage and leſſons of the ſelf-created philoſophy. He was as yet but Prince Royal, when already extolling him as one whoſe protection was inſured to the ſect, D'Alembert writes to Voltaire, "You love REASON AND LIBERTY, my dear brother, "and one can hardly love one without the other. "Well then, here is a *worthy republican philoſopher* that "I preſent you, who will talk PHILOSOPHY and LIB-"ERTY with you. This is Mr. Jennings, chamberlain "to the King of Sweden.—He has beſides compliments "to pay you from the *Queen of Sweden and the Prince "Royal, who in the North PROTECT that philoſophy* ſo ill "received by the princes in the South. Mr. Jennings "will inform you of the *progreſs REASON is making in "Sweden* under thoſe happy auſpices."§

At the time that D'Alembert was writing this letter, Guſtavus, who was ſoon to reſtore royalty to the rights it had loſt long ſince in Sweden, was no doubt ignorant that thoſe great men, which he ſo much protected, were *philoſophers* ſuperlatively *republican*. He was equally ignorant what would one day be for him, the laſt fruit of this conſpiring philoſophy, when on his acceſſion to the throne he writes to their premier chief, "I "daily pray the Being of beings, that he may prolong "your days, ſo precious to humanity and ſo neceſſary "to the progreſs of REASON and TRUE PHILOSOPHY."¶

The prayer of Guſtavus was heard, the days of Voltaire were prolonged, but he who was to ſuddenly ſhorten the days of Guſtavus was born; he, graſping the dagger, was ſoon to ſally forth from the occult ſchool of Voltaire. For the inſtruction of kings, let the hiſtorian compare the gradual ſteps of this unfortunate prince and thoſe of the adept and his aſſaſſin.

‖ Letter from Voltaire to D'Alembert, 5th Nov. 1770.
§ 19th Jan. 1769. ¶ 10th Jan. 1772.

Ulrica of Brandenbourg had been initiated into the myſteries of the Sophiſters by Voltaire himſelf. So far from rejecting his principles, ſhe did not even feel herſelf outraged at the declaration of a paſſion, which he was daring enough to expreſs.* When Queen of Sweden, ſhe more than once preſſed the Sophiſter to come and end his days near her perſon.† She knew no means of giving a ſtronger proof of her ſtaunchneſs in the principles ſhe had received, than during Voltaire's firſt reſidence at Berlin, to make the infant king imbibe them with his milk. She initiated Guſtavus, and wiſhed to be the mother of the Sophiſter as well as of the king; and indeed we conſtantly ſee both the mother and the ſon ranking together among the adepts, of whom the Sophiſters thought themſelves the moſt ſecure. Such then was the gradation of the unfortunate Guſtavus. Voltaire initiated Ulrica, and Ulrica initiates her ſon.

On the other ſide, Voltaire initiated Condorcet, and Condorcet, ſeated in the club of the Jacobins, initiated Ankeſtron. A pupil of Voltaire, Ulrica, teaches her ſon to ridicule the myſteries and ſcoff at the altars of Chriſt. Condorcet alſo, a diſciple of Voltaire, teaches Ankeſtron to ſcoff at the throne and ſport with the lives of kings.

When public report announced that Guſtavus III. was to command in chief the confederate armies againſt the French revolution, Condorcet and Ankeſtron were members of the great club; and the great club reſounded with the cry of, Deliver the earth from kings! Guſtavus was doomed for the firſt victim, and Ankeſtron offers himſelf for the firſt executioner. He leaves Paris, and Guſtavus falls beneath his blows.‡

The Jacobins had juſt celebrated the apotheoſis of Voltaire, they alſo celebrate that of Ankeſtron.

Voltaire had taught the Jacobins that *the firſt of kings was a ſucceſsful ſoldier;* and they teach Ankeſtron that the firſt hero was the aſſaſſin of kings; and they placed his buſt beſide that of Brutus.

Kings had ſubſcribed to the erection of a ſtatue to Voltaire, the Jacobins erect one to Ankeſtron.

* It was for this princeſs that Voltaire compoſed the Madrigal *Souvent un peu de Vérité.*

† Her letters to Voltaire, anno 1743 and 1751.

‡ Journal of Fontenai.

Poniatowski, King of Poland.

Laſtly, Voltaire's correſpondence ſhows Poniatowſki, King of Poland, to have been of the number of the protecting adepts. That king had known our philoſophers in Paris, who was one day to fall a victim to philoſophiſm! He had done homage to their chief, and written to him, "Mr. de Voltaire, every contemporary "of a man like you, that knows how to read, who has "travelled, and has not been acquainted with you, "muſt feel himſelf unhappy; you might be allowed "to ſay, *Nations ſhall pray that kings may read me.*"* At this day, when the king has ſeen men, who, like himſelf, had read and cried up the works of Voltaire, attempting in Poland the revolution they had wrought in France; at this day, when victim of that revolution, he has ſeen his ſceptre vaniſh from his hand, how different muſt be his prayer? Does he not repent that nations have known Voltaire, or that kings had ever read his works? But thoſe days that D'Alembert had foretold, and which he longed to ſee, are at length come, and that without being foreſeen by the royal adepts. When the misfortunes of religion ſhall fall back upon them, let them read the prayer which D'Alembert expreſſes in his ſtyle, often low and ignoble, to Voltaire, "Your illuſtrious and former protector "(the King of Pruſſia) began the dance, the King of "Sweden led it on, Catherine imitates them, and bids "fair to outdo them both. How I ſhould laugh to ſee "the ſtring run off in my time." And indeed the ſtring has begun to run with a vengeance. Guſtavus, King of Sweden, dies by the dagger: Lewis XVI. King of France, on the ſcaffold: Lewis the XVII. by poiſon. Poniatowſki is dethroned; the Stadtholder is driven from his country, and the adepts, diſciples of D'Alembert and his ſchool, laugh as he would have done himſelf, at thoſe ſovereigns, who protecting the impious in their conſpiracy againſt the altar, had not been able to foreſee that the diſciples of thoſe ſame conſpirators would conſpire againſt their thrones.

Theſe reflections anticipate, againſt my will, what I have to unfold in this ſecond conſpiracy; but ſuch is the union of the Sophiſter of impiety with the Sophiſter of rebellion, that it is hard to ſeparate the progreſs of one from the ravages of the other. It is the intimacy of this union, which has forced us to lay before

* 21ſt of February 1767.

the eyes of the protecting monarchs, one of the most important lessons that history could produce.

I cannot finish this chapter without remarking, that among the kings of the North, in whose protection the Sophisters so often exult, the name of his Britannic Majesty is not so much as mentioned. This silence of the conspirators, is above all the encomiums they could bestow. Had they sought a king beloved by his subjects, and deservedly so; had they sought I say, a king good, just, compassionate, beneficent, jealous of maintaining the liberty of the laws and the happiness of his empire, then George III. might have been extolled as the Solomon of the North, he would have been their Marcus Aurelius, or Antoninus. They found him too wise to coalesce with vile conspirators, who knew no merit but impiety, and hence the true cause of their silence. It is noble for a prince to be nul in their records, whilst, in this terrible revolution, he has been so conspicuous by his activity in stopping its progress, by his greatness and compassionate generosity in relieving its victims.

It is also a justice, which the historian owes to the kings of the South, to say, that the conspirators, so far from ranking them among their adepts, complained that they had not yet attained to the height of their sophisticated philosophy.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Adept Princes and Princeſſes.

IN the ſecond claſs of protecting adepts, I ſhall comprehend thoſe perſons, who, without being on the throne, enjoy a power over the people, nearly equal to that of kings, and whoſe authority and example, adding to the means of the conſpirators, gave them reaſon to hope that they had not ſworn in vain, the deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion.

Frederick Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

In this claſs of protectors, Voltaire particularly mentions the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. The care, with which D'Alembert had choſen the profeſſor of hiſtory we have already mentioned, ſhows how much the Sophiſter abuſed his confidence. He was much impoſed upon when he confided in the philoſophy and the lights of Voltaire; he permitted him in ſome ſort, to direct his ſtudies, and it was difficult to fall into the hands of a more perfidious tutor. A letter, in date of the 25th Aug. 1766, will ſuffice to ſhow in what ſources the auguſt pupil was directed to ſeek leſſons of wiſdom: "Your Serene Highneſs has ſhown, the corruptor "writes, a deſire of ſeeing ſome new productions wor- "thy your attention. There is one which has juſt made "its appearance, entitled *The neceſſary Collection*. You "will find there, in particular, a work of Lord Bo- "lingbroke's, which appears to me one of the moſt "forcible things ever written againſt ſuperſtition. I "believe it is to be found at Frankfort; but I have a "copy of it ſewed, which I will ſend to your High- "neſs, if agreeable."

For a prince, who really was deſirous of inſtruction, what leſſons he was to find in this collection! The name of Bolingbroke does not ſufficiently denote, how far they intended to pervert his religion; but we know that Voltaire often publiſhed, under that name, works far more impious than thoſe of the Engliſh philoſopher; and that he was the author of ſeveral of thoſe, which he particularly recommended in that collection.

Left to himſelf for the ſolution of doubts, nouriſhed by ſuch readings, and unfortunately prejudiced againſt thoſe who might have ſolved them, he threw himſelf

headlong into thoſe ſtudies, which he had miſtaken for thoſe of truth, and of the moſt tranſcendent philoſophy. When he could receive theſe leſſons from Voltaire himſelf, the illuſion was ſo great, that his Highneſs would flatter himſelf, and really believe that he had found a means of ſoaring far above the vulgar. He would lament the abſence which deprived him of the leſſons of his maſter, and thinking himſelf under real obligations, he would ſay to him, "I left Ferney with the "greateſt regret.—I am delighted to find you approve "of my way of thinking: I try as much as poſſible to "diveſt myſelf of all prejudices, and if in that, I differ "in opinion from the vulgar, it is to my converſation "with you, and to your works, that I am ſolely in-"debted for it."*

That he might adduce ſome proof of his proficiency in the ſchool of philoſophiſm, the illuſtrious adept was wont to impart to his maſter, the new diſcoveries he had made, and which he looked upon as unanſwerable objections againſt the ſacred writ. "I have been ma-"king, would he write to his hero, for this ſome time "paſt, reflections on Moſes, and on ſome of the hiſ-"torians of the New Teſtament, to me apparently juſt; "might not Moſes be a natural child of Pharoah's "daughter, whom that princeſs cauſed to be brought "up? It is not credible that the daughter of a king, "ſhould have taken ſuch care of an Hebrew child, "whoſe nation was ſo much abhorred by the Egyp-"tians."† Voltaire could eaſily have ſolved ſuch a doubt, by making his pupil obſerve that he was gratuitouſly ſlandering the fair ſex, whoſe benevolence and tenderneſs would readily lead them to take compaſſion on a child, expoſed to ſuch a danger. Many would naturally do what Pharoah's daughter did, and would preciſely ſhow it greater care and attention, was the child expoſed to national enmities. Had Voltaire wiſhed to give his illuſtrious pupil the rules of ſound criticiſm, he would have hinted, that to deſtroy a fact both ſimple and natural, his Highneſs ſuppoſed one truly incredible. A princeſs who wiſhes to give her child a brilliant education, and begins by expoſing it to be drowned, for the pleaſure of going to ſeek it on the banks of the Nile, at a given time. An Egyptian princeſs, who, loving

* 9th Sept. 1766. † Let. 66.

her child, and knowing how much the Egyptians hated the Iſraelites, cauſes this child to be ſuckled by an Iſraelite, leaves it to believe, that it was born of that nation, which its mother deteſts, and afterwards to render this child odious to the Egyptians, perſuades them of the ſame. A myſtery, ſtill more ſingular, is that the birth of an infant, who became the man, the moſt tremendous to the Egyptians, has always remained a ſecret. That the whole court of Pharoah, obſtinately believed him to be an Iſraelite, and that at a time when, to have declared Moſes an Egyptian, would have ſufficed to deſtroy his power with the Iſraelites and to have ſaved Egypt. Such arguments might have been made uſe of by Voltaire, to make his Highneſs ſenſible of the impropriety in ſound criticiſm, of combating a fact both ſimple and natural, by ſuppoſitions the moſt diſtant from probability. But ſuch ſuppoſitions were conſonant with that hatred which Voltaire bore to Moſes and the Sacred writ; he was better pleaſed to ſee his diſciples ignorantly launching into incredulity, than to ſhow them the rules of ſound criticiſm.

Voltaire again applauded his adept, when his Highneſs pretends that the *brazen ſerpent*, iſolated on the mountain, *did not a little reſemble the god Eſculapius*, in the temple of Epidaurus, holding a ſtick in one hand and a ſerpent in the other, with a dog at his feet. That the cherubims, diſplaying their wings over the ark, *were not unlike the ſphinx* with the woman's head, and the four claws, body, and tail of a lion. That *the twelve oxen ſtanding under the brazen ſea*, and bearing that enormous veſſel, twelve cubits in breadth and five in height, filled with water for the ablutions of the Iſraelites, bore a ſtrong reſemblance to the god Apis, or to the ox elevated on the altar and beholding all Egypt at its feet.*

His Highneſs concludes, that Moſes appeared to have introduced among the Jews, many ceremonies which he had taken from the Egyptians.† The hiſtorian will at leaſt remark, that it would have been eaſy for the conſpirators to have undeceived an adept who ſought only to be inſtructed. While we lament his Highneſs having been the dupe of ſuch maſters, in juſtice we are obliged to ſhow how frankly he ſought the truth, when he continues, to Voltaire, "As to what regards the

* Let. 66. † Ibid.

" New Teſtament, there are ſtories in it, which *I* " *ſhould wiſh to be better informed of.* I cannot under- " ſtand the maſſacre of the innocents. How could " King Herod have ordered all thoſe infants to be ſlain, " he not having had the power of life and death, as we " ſee in the hiſtory of the Paſſion, and that it was Pon- " tius Pilate, governor for the Romans, who condem- " ned Jeſus Chriſt to death."*

Had he recurred to the proper ſources of hiſtory, had he conſulted any other but that profeſſor of hiſtory which D'Alembert had given him, or any other maſters than thoſe vain Sophiſters, this prince, who wiſhed for and deſerved better information, would have ſeen this ſlight difficulty vaniſh from before his eyes. He would have learned, that Herod of *Aſcalon*, ſurnamed the *Great*, and who might have been more properly called the ferocious, he who ordered the maſſacre of the Innocents, was king of all Judea and of Jeruſalem, and is not the perſon mentioned in the Paſſion. He would, moreover, have learned that the latter was Herod *Antipas*, who had only been able to obtain of the Romans one third part of his father's dominions, and being ſimply Tetrarch of Galilea, he had not the ſame power over the other provinces. Hence there can be little room for ſurpriſe at his not exerciſing the power of life and death in Jeruſalem, though we ſee Pilate inviting him to exerciſe that right, by ſending Jeſus Chriſt before him, as he had before judged and cauſed to be beheaded St. John the Baptiſt.

As to the ferocious Herod of *Aſcalon*, his Highneſs would have learned, that this prototype of Nero, had cauſed the infants at Bethlehem to be ſlain, by the ſame power with which he had murdered Ariſtobulus and Hircanus, the one the brother, the other an octagenarian and grand-father to the queen; by the ſame power did he put to death Marianne his queen and her two children; Sohemus his confidant and numbers of his friends and nobles of his court, who had had the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. On reading of theſe numerous murders, of ſuch unheard-of tyranny, and particularly when he learned that this Herod of *Aſcalon*, on the point of death and fearing leſt the day of his deceaſe ſhould prove a day of public rejoicing, had cauſed all the chiefs of the Jews to be ſhut up in the Circus, commading they ſhould be maſſacred at the moment he

* Letter 66.

himself expired; such lectures, I say, could have left little doubt in the mind of the illustrious adept, whether this Herod exercised the right of life and death. He then would never have suspected the Evangelists of forging a fact like that of the massacre of the innocents, a fact so recent, that many Jews then living had been witnesses to it. He would have reflected that impostors would not expose themselves to be so easily discovered and that in so public a manner; and all his objections against this massacre of the innocents, would not have availed against his faith in the Gospel.

But he was nurtured in the same objections with his master, he studied the sacred writ through the same medium; and Voltaire, who had fallen into thousands of the grossest errors on those sacred writings, carefully avoided referring his disciples to those answers which he had received from the religious writers.*

Though we blend these slight discussions with our memoirs, we will not add to the bitterness with which so many princes, who have been seduced by these impious chiefs of the Sophisters, now reproach themselves. We will not say to them, "With what strange "blindness were you smitten. It was your duty to "study the sacred writings, to learn how to become "better, and to render your subjects more happy, "and you have debased yourselves to entering the lists "with the conspirators, that like them you may dis-"pute against Christ and his prophets. If doubts arise "on religion, why appeal to those who have sworn its "ruin. The day will come when the God of the "Christians shall raise doubts on your rights, and will "refer your subjects to the Jacobins for their solution. "They are in your dominions, seated in your palaces "ready to applaud, as Voltaire did, at your objections "against Christ and his prophets. Answer to their "sword, the objections they make to your laws." Let us forbear these reflections, let us simply remark, as history must, how very unfortunate these princes must have been, who seeking instruction had applied to men, whose sole object was to make them efficient to the destruction of the altar, as the first step towards the overthrow of their thrones.

Duke of Brunswick.

In the number of the protecting adepts history will find itself necessitated to insert the names of many

* See the errors of Voltaire in the Letters of some Portuguese Jews.

princes, whose states at this present moment feel the sweets of this new philosophy. In the account given by D'Alembert to Voltaire of those foreign princes who would not travel through France, without doing homage to the conspiring Sophisters, we see him extol the *Duke of Brunswick* as deserving *the kindest welcome*, and particularly so, when put in competition with the *Prince of Deux Ponts*, who only protects *Frerons and such like rabble*, that is to say religious authors.† The Jacobin army at this day proves which of those two princes was most mistaken in his protection. It will be still better seen when in these memoirs, we shall treat of the last and deepest conspiracy of the Jacobins.

Louis Eugene, Duke, and Louis Prince of Wirtemberg.

To this prince we must add Louis Eugene Duke of Wirtemberg, and Louis Prince of Wirtemberg: both equally gloried in the lessons they received from Voltaire. The former writes to him, "When at Ferney I think "myself a greater philosopher than Socrates himself."‡ The latter, not content with encomiums on the premier chief, petitions for the most licentious and the most impious work Voltaire had ever penned, I mean the poem of Joan D'Arc or the Maid of Orleans.

Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine.

Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, would one while solicit the impious Sophister for the same master-piece of obscenity, or for philosophic lectures; at another time he would press and conjure him to repair to Manheim, that he might there receive his lectures anew.‖

The Princess Anhalt-Zerbst.

Even those adepts who through modesty, should have shrunk back at the very name of such a production, even the Princess Anhalt-Zerbst, sends thanks to the author, who had been impudent enough to send her a present more worthy the Aretino.§

The historian cannot but remark the eagerness of these mighty adepts for so profligate a work. This is an awful example of what charms depravity of morals gave to the productions of the Sophisters; the empire of the conspirators will cause less surprise when we reflect how prevalent their sophisms became over the mind, when they had once tainted and perverted the heart. This is a reflection we reluctantly make, but it is too apposite to the history of Philosophism, and to the cause and progress of the Antichristian Conspiracy, to be suppressed. We know the reverence due to great

† 23d June, 1766. ‡ 1st February, 1766.
‖ Letters of the 1st May, 1754, and No. 38 anno 1762.
§ Letters of the Princess Anhalt-Zerbst, 9th and 39th.

names, but we cannot, on that conſideration, hide the truth. Let thoſe look to it, whoſe miſconduct is expoſed to view; for to conceal it longer would be to betray at once their own intereſt, and that of their people, the ſafety of their thrones, and that of the altar.

Her Highneſs Wilhelmina, Margravine of Barieth, ranking among the protecting adepts, affords to the hiſtorian the opportunity of laying open a new cauſe of the progreſs of the Antichriſtian Sophiſters, of the weight they acquired from the vanity of their ſchool, and from their pretenſions to a ſuperiority of light above the vulgar.

It is far from being the lot of all men to argue with equal ſucceſs on religious or philoſophical topics. Without being wanting in the reſpect due to that precious half of mankind, we may obſerve in general, I think, that women are not born with a mind ſo congenial with philoſophy, metaphyſics, or divinity, as men. Nature has compenſated this want of reſearch and meditation, by the gift of embelliſhing virtue, by that ſweetneſs and vivacity of ſentiment, which often proves a ſurer guide than all our reaſonings. They do the good peculiarly allotted to them, better than we do. Their homes, their children, are their real empires, that of their leſſons lies in the charm of example, more efficacious than all our ſyllogiſms. But the philoſophic woman, philoſophizing like a man, is either a prodigy or a monſter, and the prodigies are not common. The daughter of Necker, the wife of Roland, as well as Meſdames du Deffant, D'Eſpinaſſe, Geofrin, and ſuch like Pariſian adepts, in ſpite of all their pretenſions to wit, can lay no claim to the exception. If the reader is indignant when he finds the name of the Margravine of Barieth on the ſame line, let his indignation turn againſt the man who inſpired her with ſuch pretenſions. Let an opinion be formed of the maſters, by the tone ſhe aſſumed with them to inſure their approbation. Here is a ſpecimen of the ſtyle of this illuſtrious adept, aping the principles and the jeſts of Voltaire, in order to captivate his approbation, at the expence of St. Paul.

" Siſter Guillemetta to Brother Voltaire, greeting. " I received your conſoling epiſtle. I can ſwear by my " favorite oath, that it has edified me infinitely more " than that of St. Paul to Dame Elect. The latter " threw me into a certain drowſineſs that had the effect " of opium, and hindered me from perceiving the

" beauties of it. Yours had a contrary effect ; it drew " me from my lethargy, and put all my vital ſpirits in " motion again."*

We have no knowledge of any Epiſtle of St. Paul to Dame Elect ; but ſiſter Guillemetta, like Voltaire, burleſquing what ſhe had, as well as what ſhe had not read, means no doubt to ſpeak of St. John's Epiſtle to Electa. This contains no other compliment but that of an apoſtle applauding the piety of a mother, who rears her children in the way of life, exhorting her to charity, and guarding her againſt the diſcourſe and ſchools of ſeducers. It is rather unfortunate that ſuch leſſons ſhould have been opium for the illuſtrious adept. It is probable that Voltaire would have found a doſe in the following letter, had it come from any other hand but that of Siſter Guillemetta. We will however copy it, as making an epoch in the annals of philoſophiſm. We ſhall there ſee the female adept attempting to give leſſons to Voltaire himſelf, anticipating Helvetius by mere dint of genius, and without perceiving it copying Epicurus. Before ſhe commences, Siſter Guillemetta aſſures Voltaire of the friendſhip of the Margrave, and had carefully invoked the *Genius of Bayle*.† One day ſhe thought herſelf inſpired with the whole of it, and immediately writes *to brother Voltaire*, " God, you ſay " (in the Poem of the Law of nature,) has beſtowed " on all men juſtice and conſcience to warn them, as he " has given them all what is needful. As God has " beſtowed on man juſtice and conſcience, theſe two " virtues muſt be innate in man, and become an at- " tribute of his exiſtence. Hence it neceſſarily fol- " lows, that man muſt act in conſequence, and that he " cannot be juſt or unjuſt, or without remorſe, being " unable to combat an inſtinct annexed to his eſſence. " Experience proves the contrary. If juſtice was an " attribute of our being, chicane would be baniſhed. " Your counſellors in parliament would not looſe their " time as they do, in diſturbing all France about a mor- " ſel of bread given or not. The Jeſuits and the Jan- " ſeniſts, would equally confeſs their ignorance in point " of doctrine—Virtue is barely accidental—Averſion " to pain and love of pleaſure, have induced men to " become juſt—Diſorder can beget nothing but pain— " Quiet is the parent of pleaſure, I have made the hu-

* 25th Dec. 1755. † 19th July, 1752.

" man heart my particular ſtudy, and I draw my con-
" cluſions on what has been, from what I ſee."*

There is extant a play intitled, *Divinity dwindled into a Diſtaff*. This letter of her Highneſs the Margravine of Bareith, dwindled into Siſter Guillemetta, may perhaps furniſh the ſame idea, for philoſophy. But handing over the female Socrates to the Molieres of the day, the hiſtorian will draw from the errors of this female adept, a more ſerious leſſon on the progreſs of the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy. He will behold a new cauſe in the mortifying limits of the human intellect, and the vanity of its pretenſions, which in certain adepts ſeem preciſely to expand itſelf, in as much as nature had from the weakneſs of their underſtanding, ſeemed naturally to inſinuate modeſty and humility.

Siſter Guillemetta fears for liberty, if it be true that God has given to man a conſcience, the neceſſary ſenſe of right and wrong. She was then ignorant that man, with the eyes that God has given him to ſee and know his road, is nevertheleſs free to go where he pleaſes. She has made a particular ſtudy of the human heart, and ſhe has not yet learned, that man often ſees what is beſt, but will do the worſt! She thinks herſelf in the ſchool of Socrates, and with Epicurus, ſhe only ſees the *averſion of pain and the love of pleaſure*, as the principle of juſtice and virtue. She tell us, in fine, probably without even perceiving it, that if chicane is not baniſhed, it is becauſe our attornies have not a ſufficient averſion to indigence; that if our veſtals are not all chaſte, it is becauſe they do not ſufficiently love pleaſure; and after that, in preſence of her Highneſs, Parliaments, Jeſuits, Janſeniſts, and undoubtedly the whole Sorbonne, with the whole faculty of divinity, muſt confeſs their ignorance *in point of doctrine*.

Frederick William, Prince of Pruſſia.

With more genius but leſs confidence in his own lights, Frederick William, Prince Royal of Pruſſia, preſents us with quite another ſpecies of adept. Indefatigable in the field of victory, he dares not anſwer for himſelf: he knows what he could wiſh to believe, but not what he ought to believe; he fears to loſe himſelf in reaſoning. His ſoul repeats that he muſt be immortal, he fears her voice miſleads him, and Voltaire is to decide for him; when in the field of Mars, he has the confidence and activity of a hero; but when he

* 1ſt Nov. 1759.

is to reflect on futurity, he has all the modesty and the humility of a disciple, almost the unconcern of a sceptic. The authority of his master is to save him the trouble of research, and his master again is Voltaire. "Since I have taken the liberty of conversing with you, "he respectfully writes, suffer me to ask for my own "instruction only, whether as you advance in years, "you find no alteration to make in your ideas on the "nature of the soul. I don't like to bewilder myself "in metaphysical reasonings, but I could wish not to "die entirely, and that such a genius as yours were not "annihilated."*

Like a man who can assume every tone, Voltaire answered, "The King of Prussia's family is much in the "right, not to consent to the annihilation of his soul.— "It is true that it is not well known what a soul is, as "nobody has ever seen one. All that we know is, "that the eternal Master of nature has endowed us with "the faculty of feeling and knowing virtue. That "this faculty survives us after our death, is not demon- "strated; but then the contrary is not better proved. "There are none but quacks who are certain, we know "nothing of the first principles—Doubt is not an a- "greeable state, but certainty is a ridiculous one."†

I know not what effect this letter had on the serene and respectful disciple, but we see the premier chief varying his means of power over his princely adepts, as much as he did over the citizens of Harlem. When the King, Frederick, wrote to him in so resolute a tone, *man once dead there is nothing left*; he takes care not to reply, that certainty is *a ridiculous state*, that *quacks only are certain*. No, Frederick, King of Prussia, is always the first of philosophic kings.‡ And a week after, Frederick, Prince Royal, only wishes to be confirmed on the immortality of his soul, then it is, that notwithstanding all the troubles and disquietudes of scepticism, the doubts of the sceptic is the only rational state for the true philosopher. Such a state will suffice, as he then beholds his adepts no longer belonging to the religion of Christ, and that is sufficient for his plans. He will lead the king materialist, and resolute in his opinions, notwithstanding his own irresolution and uncertainty, by encomiums and admiration. He leaves

* 12th Nov. 1770. † 28th Nov. 1770.
‡ See their letters, 30th Oct. and 21st Nov. 1770.

Eugene of Wirtemberg in aſtoniſhment at the maſter he coincides with in opinion. Wilhelmina of Bareith, more daring than her maſter, is permitted to argue. He cuts ſhort, and threatens with ridicule and quackery, the humble adept who ſeeks to reclaim and allay the ire of his maſter. To one he dictates his principles; to another he peremptorily declares that man is condemned to the total ignorance of the *firſt principles*. He is not the leſs the idol of the aſtoniſhed princes. He does not the leſs transform them into the protectors of his ſchool and of the conſpirators; and ſuch is the ſucceſs with which he flatters himſelf, that writing to his dear Count D'Argental, he ſays, "At preſent there is "not a German prince who is not a philoſopher."*—That is to ſay, the philoſophiſt of impiety! There are certainly exceptions to be made from ſuch an aſſertion, but it will prove at leaſt how much theſe abettors of impiety flattered themſelves with the progreſs they were making among ſovereigns and princes,—and to whom impiety was one day to prove ſo fatal!

* 26th Sept. 1766.

CHAP. XIV.

Third Claſs of protecting Adepts.—Miniſters, Noblemen and Magiſtrates.

IT was in France that philoſophiſm had taken all the forms of a true conſpiracy; and it was in France alſo, that it had made its greateſt ravages among the rich and powerful. It had not gained the throne of Bourbon as it had many of the northern thrones, but it would be vain for hiſtory to diſſimulate, that Lewis XV. without being of the conſpiracy, powerfully helped the Antichriſtian conſpirators. He never had the misfortune of loſing his faith, he even loved religion; but during the laſt thirty-five years of his life, he ſo little practiſed it, the diſſoluteneſs of his morals and public triumph of his courtezans anſwered ſo little to the title of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he might nearly as well have been a diſciple of Mahomet. Errors of Louis XV.

Sovereigns are not ſufficiently aware of the evils they draw on themſelves by ſwerving from morality. Some have ſupported religion only as a curb on their ſubjects; but woe be to him who only views it in that light. In vain ſhall they preſerve its tenets in their hearts, it is their example that muſt uphold it. Next to the example of the clergy, that of kings is the moſt neceſſary to reſtrain the people. When religion is uſed only as a policy, the vileſt of the populace will ſoon perceive it; they will look upon it as a weapon uſed againſt them, and ſooner or later they will break it, and your power vaniſhes. If without morals you pretend to religion, the people will alſo think themſelves religious in their profligacy; and how often has it been repeated, that laws without morals are but a mere phantom. But the day will come when the people, thinking themſelves more conſequential, will throw aſide both morals and tenets, and then where ſhall be your curb.

Such were the diſcourſes often held by the Chriſtian orators in preſence of Lewis XV. He without morals was ſoon ſurrounded by miniſters deſtitute of faith, who could have ſeldomer deceived him, had his love for religion been ſtimulated by practice. After the death of the Cardinal de Fleury ſome are to be found, the

Marechal de Belleiſle and Mr. de Bertin for example, who are not to be confounded in that claſs of adepts; but then we ſucceſſively find near his perſon Mr. Amelot in the foreign department, Mr. D'Argenſon in the ſame; the Duke de Choiſeul, de Praſlin and Mr. de Maleſherbes, alſo the Marquiſe de Pompadour as long as ſhe lived, and all theſe were initiated and intimately connected with Voltiare and his conſpiracy. We have ſeen him make application to Mr. Amelot on the deſtruction of the clergy. This miniſter had ſufficient confidence in Voltaire to intruſt him with a ſecret and important miſſion to the King of Pruſſia, and Voltaire in return, does not conceal from him the uſe he had made of his miſſion againſt the church. He confided no leſs in that *Duke de Praſlin*, to whom he had ſent his memorial on the tythes, in hopes of depriving the clergy of the greateſt part of their ſuſtenance.* This confidence from the premier chief ſufficiently denotes the ſentiments of thoſe men to whom he ſent his plans for execution.

Mr. Amelot.

Duke de Praſlin.

A miniſter whoſe aſſiduity in correſponding with Voltaire, indicates more clearly their perfect coincidence with each other, was the Marquis D'Argenſon, whom we have already noticed, tracing the plan for the deſtruction of the religious orders. It was he who firſt protected Voltaire at court and with the Marquiſe de Pompadour; he was alſo one of the moſt impious of his diſciples, and to him it is, that Voltaire writes conſtantly, as to one of the adepts with whom he was moſt intimate. If any thing, he appears more reſolute in his antireligious opinions than his maſter, his philoſophiſm coincided more with that of the King of Pruſſia's, for he was alſo convinced that he was not twofold, and that he had nothing to fear or hope for, when once his body ſhould reſt in eternal ſleep.†

Marquis D'Argenſon.

More zealous and more active than the Marquis D'Argenſon for the reign of impiety, the Duke de Choiſeul better knew and more powerfully ſeconded the ſecrets of Voltaire. We have already ſeen him extolling this great protector in his quarrels with the Sorbonne; we have already ſeen why this duke, adopting and preſſing the execution of D'Argenſon's plans againſt the religious orders, began by that of the Jeſuits. It

Duke de Choiſeul.

* Letter to Count D'Argental, anno 1764.

† See in the General Correſpondence, the letters of Mr. D'Argenſon.

would be uſeleſs to inſiſt on this miniſter, his impiety is too well authenticated, and leſt he might be miſtaken for a Chriſtian, he wiſhed to refuſe himſelf Chriſtian burial, and to be buried, far from any religious monument, in the midſt of his park where his cattle fed.

Malesherbes before the revolution.

Thus did this ſeries of Antichriſtian miniſters, each partially anticipate the Jacobins in the overthrow of the altar. It was to the man, who was one day to ſee that very revolution in all its horrors, and at length fall a victim to it, that theſe impious chiefs pay their greateſt homage, it was to him they were chiefly indebted. And this protector of the conſpiracy againſt his God, was Maleſherbes; this name, I am aware, will recal to mind many moral virtues, it will recal his benevolence when alleviating the rigor of the priſons, when remedying the abuſe of the *Lettres de Cachet;* but France ſhall, nevertheleſs, demand of him her temples in ruin; for it was he who above all other miniſters abuſed his authority to eſtabliſh the reign of impiety in France. D'Alembert, who knew him well, always vouches for his reluctantly executing the *ſuperior orders* iſſued in favor of religion, and for his favoring philoſophiſm whenever circumſtances would permit; and unfortunately he knew but too well how to avail himſelf of circumſtances. By his office he particularly preſided over the laws relative to the preſs, but with a ſingle word he effaced all diſtinctions in books, whether impious, religious or ſeditious, he declared them all to be *a mere object of commerce.*

Liberty of the preſs dangerous in France.

Let politicians of other nations argue on that object in conſequence of what experience has taught them in their own countries; but it is an incontrovertible fact, that France owes the misfortunes of the revolution to the great abuſe of the preſs, and to that real inundation of bad books at firſt only impious, but latterly both impious and ſeditious. There are alſo many reaſons peculiar to France which rendered the abuſe of the preſs more fatal than elſewhere.

Without pretending to raiſe the merit of the French writers, it may be obſerved, and I have often heard foreigners repeat it, that there is a certain clearneſs, proceſs and method peculiar to them, which by putting our French books more within the reach of the commonality of readers, makes them in ſome ſort more popular and thence more dangerous when bad.

Our frivolouſneſs may be a failing, but that failing made a book more ſought for in France, than would the profoundeſt meditations of an Engliſhman. Neither truth nor error could pleaſe a Frenchman when latent, he likes to ſee clearly; epigram, ſarcaſm, in fine all what may be called wit, is what he delights in. Even blaſphemy, elegantly ſpoken, will not diſpleaſe a nation, unhappily gifted with the talent of laughing on the moſt ſerious ſubjects, and who will pardon every failing in him who can divert them. It was to this unfortunate taſte that the impious writings of Voltaire owed their chief ſucceſs.

Whatever may be the reaſon, the Engliſh alſo have their books againſt the Chriſtian religion; they have their Collins, their Hobbes, their Woolſtons, and many others, where in ſubſtance is to be found, all that our French Sophiſters have only repeated after their way, that is to ſay, with that art which adapts every thing to the moſt vulgar minds. In England Hobbes and Collins are almoſt forgotten or unknown. Bolingbroke, and other authors of the ſame claſs, are little read, though of greater merit as literary men, by a people who knows how to occupy itſelf with other things. In France, from the idle marquis or counteſs unto the attorney's clerk, or even to the petty citizen, who had far other occupations, theſe impious productions, and particularly Voltaire's were not only read, but each would have his opinion and criticiſe every new publication of the ſort. The French, in general, were great readers, and every citizen would have his library. Thus in Paris a bookſeller was ſure of ſelling as many copies of the moſt pitiful performance, as are generally ſold in London of a work of no ſmall merit.

In France an author was as paſſionately cried up as a faſhion; the Engliſhman, who deigns to read his work, paſſes judgment on it and remains unconcerned. Can this ariſe from good ſenſe or indifference, or may it not be a mixture of both. Notwithſtanding all the benefactions received from the Engliſh, I will not pronounce; neither flattery nor criticiſm is within my ſphere; but an undoubted fact, and which ought to have taught Maleſherbes, is that in France, ſtill leſs than elſewhere, a book either impious or ſeditious never could be looked upon as a mere article of commerce. The greater readers, arguers, and the more volatile the French people were, the more the miniſter ſuperintend-

ing the preſs, ſhould have enforced the laws enacted to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of it, which, on the contrary, he favored with all his power. His condemnation is recorded in the encomiums of the conſpirators, it was he, they ſaid, who *broke the ſhackles of literature.**

In vain would it be objected that the miniſter left the ſame liberty to the religious writers. In the firſt place, that was not always true, it was much againſt his will that he ſuffered works, refuting the Sophiſters, to appear ;† and what a miniſter allows with reluctance, he finds abundant means of preventing. Could a miniſter be innocent, when letting a poiſon infuſe itſelf throughout the public, under pretext that he did not forbid the ſale of the antidote? Moreover, however well written a religious work may be, it has not the paſſions to ſecond it; much more talent is required to make ſuch a performance palatable. Any fool may attract the people to the theatre, but the eloquence of a Chryſoſtom is neceſſary to tear them from it. With equal talent, he who pleads for licence and impiety, will carry more weight than the moſt eloquent orator, who vindicates the rights of virtue and morality. The religious apologiſt requires a ſerious and an attentive reading, with a ſtedfaſt deſire of finding the truth, and ſuch a ſtudy fatigues, whereas, depravity requires none; in a word, it is far more eaſy to irritate, and throw the people into revolt, than to appeaſe them, when once put in motion.

Maleſherbes during the revolution.

At length Maleſherbes, ſeeing the revolution conſummated in the death of Lewis XVI. gave ſigns of a tardy repentance. His zeal, in that moment did not hinder men, who had deeply felt his fault, from exclaiming, "Officious defender, ceaſe to plead for that "king you yourſelf betrayed, it is too late. Ceaſe to "accuſe that legion of regicides, who demand his "head; Robeſpierre is not his firſt executioner; it "was you that long ſince prepared his ſcaffold, when "you ſuffered thoſe impious works, that called the "people to the deſtruction of the altar and of the "throne, to be openly ſold and diſplayed in the portiſ "cos of his palace. That unfortunate prince confided "in you, he had imparted his authority to you, to re"preſs the impious and ſeditious writers, and you per"mitted the people to inhale blaſphemy and hatred of "kings, from a Raynal, an Helvetius or a Diderot,

* Voltaire to D'Alembert, No. 128.
† Ibid. let. 22 and 24.

" and you pretexted commerce. If then, to-day, this " people, in the frantic criſis of thoſe poiſons you have " circulated in their veins, call aloud for the head of " Lewis XVI. It is too late to make a parade of his " defence, or to criminate the Jacobins."

Men of meditation and reflection, had long ſince foreſeen the reproach that hiſtory would one day make to Maleſherbes. They never paſſed the galleries of the Louvre, without exclaiming in the bitterneſs of their ſouls, *Unfortunate Lewis XVI! It is thus that you are ſold at the gates of your own palace!*

Maleſherbes, at length, leaving the miniſtry overpowered by the reclamations of the friends of religion, his ſucceſſors undertook or pretended to undertake, to enforce the former laws. But preſently, under the title of *Fables*, the Sophiſters ſought to ſpread their poiſon anew, and charmed with their ſucceſs D'Alembert writes to Voltaire, " The luck of it is, that theſe fables, far " ſuperior to Eſop's, are ſold here (at Paris) pretty " freely. I begin to think the trade (of bookſelling) " will have loſt nothing by the retreat of Mr. de Male- " ſherbes."* It in truth loſt ſo little, that the writers in defence of the altar and the throne, were the only ones thwarted in their publications.†

Meanwhile the conſpirators carefully calculated their ſucceſſes with miniſtry. At the period when Lewis XVI. aſcended the throne, they were already ſuch, that Voltaire, writing to Frederick, expreſſes his hopes in the following terms: " I know not whether our " young king will walk in your footſteps, but I know " that he has taken *philoſophers for his miniſters*, all,

* Let. 121.

† We know of ſeveral excellent works which never could gain admiſſion into France. Such was the caſe with Feller's PHILOSOPHICAL CATECHISM, becauſe it contains an excellent refutation of the ſyſtems of the day. We are acquainted with ſeveral authors, and we might cite ourſelves, to whom greater ſeverity was ſhown, than the law could countenance, whilſt it was openly tranſgreſſed in favor of the conſpirators. Mr. Lourdet, of the Royal College, the cenſor of our Helvian letters, needed all his reſolution and firmneſs to maintain his prerogative and ours, by publiſhing that work which the Sophiſters would fain have ſuppreſſed, and that before the firſt volume was half printed. The ſame cenſor reclaimed in vain the power of the laws, to ſtop the publication of Raynald's works. That ſeditious writer had daringly preſented his pretended PHILOSOPHIC HISTORY to the cenſure, and inſtead of the probate, he received the reproaches of juſt indignation. In ſpite of cenſure or laws, his work appeared the next day, and was expoſed for public ſale.

" except one, who is unfortunately a bigot. There is " Mr. Turgot, who is worthy of your Majeſty's conver- " ſation. The prieſts are in deſpair. THIS IS THE " COMMENCEMENT OF A GREAT REVOLUTION."*

Voltaire, in this, is correct to the full extent of the term. I remember, in thoſe days, to have ſeen venerable eccleſiaſtics bewailing the death of Lewis XV. while all France and myſelf among others, were in expectation of better days. They would ſay, the king we loſe, truly had many failings, but he that ſucceeds is very young, and has many dangers to encounter. They foreſaw that ſame revolution which Voltaire foretels to Frederick, and they ſhed tears over it, in the bitterneſs of their hearts. But let not the hiſtorian blame the young prince for the unhappy choice in which Voltaire ſo much exults. Lewis XVI. to ſucceed the better in this choice, had done all that diffidence in his own abilities, or that the love of his ſubjects or of religion could ſuggeſt. This we ſee by the deference he paid to the laſt advice he received from his father, from that Dauphin whoſe virtues had long been the admiration of France, and whoſe death plunged it into univerſal Mourning. This is again to be ſeen in the eagerneſs with which Lewis XVI. called to the miniſtry that man, who in Voltaire's ſtyle, was unfortunately a bigot. This was the Mareſchal De Muy. When the hiſtorian ſhall diſcover the throne ſurrounded by ſo many perfidious agents of its authority, let him remember to avenge piety and Chriſtian fervor, courage and fidelity, in fine all the virtues of a true citizen, when he ſhall treat of the memory of this Mareſchal. Mr. de Muy had been the companion and boſom friend of the Dauphin, father of Lewis XVI. and ſuch a friendſhip is more than an equivalent for the ſcurrilous abuſe of Voltaire. The Mareſchal de Saxe, was ſoliciting for one, whom he protected, the place of companion (menin) to the young prince. On being told that it was intended for Mr. de Muy, he replied, *I will not do Mr. Le Dauphin the injury of depriving him of the company of ſo virtuous a man as the Chevalier de Muy, and who may, hereafter, be of great ſervice to France.* Let poſterity appreciate ſuch a commendation, and could the Sophiſter but hear and bluſh!

The Mareſchal de Muy to be excepted.

* Letter of 3d Auguſt, 1775.

Mr. de Muy, was the man who bore the greateſt reſemblance to the Dauphin, who loved him. In him were to be found the ſame regularity and amenity of manners, the ſame beneficence, the ſame diſintereſted zeal for religion and the public welfare. It was through his means that the prince, unable viſit the provinces in perſon, was acquainted with the misfortunes and grievances of the people; he ſent him to examine their ſituations, and they were occupied together in ſeeking thoſe remedies which the prince's premature death, alas! hindered from being carried into execution. When, during the war, Mr. de Muy was called upon to give proofs of his fidelity in the victorious fields of Crevelt and Warbourg, the Dauphin would daily offer the following prayer for his ſafety: "My God, may "thy ſword defend, may thy ſhield protect the Count "Felix de Muy, to the end, that if ever thou makeſt "me bear the heavy burthen of a crown, he may ſup-"port me by his virtue, his counſels and his example."

When the God of vengeance ſtruck France with its firſt ſcourge, when the hand of death had mortally ſtruck the Dauphin, Mr. de Muy by his bedſide, bathed in the tears of friendſhip, hears the prince, in a voice that could rend the heart aſunder, pronounce theſe laſt words: "Do not abandon yourſelf to ſorrow. "Preſerve yourſelf, to ſerve my children. Your "knowledge, your virtues will be neceſſary to them. "Be for them, what you would have been for me. "Beſtow on my memory, that mark of kindneſs; but "above all, let not their youth, during which God "grant them his protection, keep you at a diſtance "from them."

Lewis XVI. aſcending the throne, recalled theſe words to Mr. de Muy, conjuring him to accept of the miniſtry. Though he had refuſed it in the preceding reign, he could not withſtand the entreaties of the ſon of his departed friend. In a court univerſally aſſaulted by impiety, he taught it that the Chriſtian hero would, in no ſituation, be aſhamed of his God.

When he commanded in Flanders, he had the honor of receiving the Duke of Glouceſter, brother to the King of England, at a time when the Catholic church commands abſtinence from meat. True to his duty, he conducted the Duke to his table, ſaying, "My re-"ligion is ſtrictly obſerved in my houſe; had I ever "the misfortune to infringe that law, I ſhould more

" carefully obſerve it, on a day when I have ſo illuſtri-
" ous a prince, for a witneſs and cenſor of my conduct.
" The Engliſh punctually follow their religion; out of
" reſpect for your Royal Highneſs, I will not exhibit
" the ſcandal of a looſe Catholic, who could dare
" violate his, in your preſence."

If ſo much religion, in the eyes of philoſophiſm, is only unfortunately being a bigot, let it look to the thouſands of unhappy creatures that religion relieved, by the hands of Mr. de Muy. Let it behold the ſoldiery, rather led by his example than by the laws of courage and diſcipline. Let it learn, that the province in which he commanded, ſtill gratefully remembers and bleſs their former governor, in ſpite of the revolution, which ſeems to have tinged the human mind with the black hue of ingratitude.*

One of the great misfortunes of Lewis XVI. was to loſe this virtuous miniſter at an early period. Maurepas was by no means the proper perſon to replace him in the confidence of the young king. His father even, who mentioned him in his will, had been miſled by the averſion this former miniſter had ſhown to the Marquiſe de Pompadour, and his long exile had not wrought the change in him, which the Dauphin had ſuppoſed. The attention, however, which the young prince paid to the counſels of his father ſhow how ardently he wiſhed to ſurround himſelf with miniſters ſeconding his views, for the good of the people. He could have made a better choice, had he known what had miſled the Dauphin. Maurepas was now old and decrepid, but had all the vices of youth. Voltaire transforms him into a philoſopher, and he coaleſced with the ſect through levity and indolence. He believed in nothing; he was without hatred againſt the altar, as without affection for the Sophiſters. He would with equal indifference, wittily laſh a biſhop or D'Alembert. He found D'Argenſon's plan for the deſtruction of the religious orders, and he followed it. He would have ſoon ſet aſide the impious miniſter, had he known him that would conſpire againſt the religion of the ſtate. An enemy to all convulſions, and without any fixed principles on Chriſtianity, he thought it at leaſt impolitic to attempt its deſtruction. He certainly was not one of thoſe men ca- Maurepas.

* See Mr. Le Tourneur de Treſſol, on this Mareſchal, alſo Feller's Hiſt. Dict.

pable of ſtopping a revolution, but he did not forward it. He rather let others do the harm, than he did it himſelf; but unfortunately that harm which he let others do, was great. Under his adminiſtration philoſophiſm made a terrible progreſs. Nothing proves it better than the choice of that Turgot, whoſe nomination is celebrated by Voltaire as the *beginning of a great revolution*.

Turgot.

The philanthropy of this man has been much extolled, but it was that of a hypocrite, as the reader will be convinced of, by the following letter from D'Alembert to Voltaire: "You will ſoon receive another viſit, which "I announce to you. It is that of Mr. de Turgot, a "maſter of Requeſts, full of philoſophy, a man of "great parts and learning, a great friend of mine, and "who wiſhes to ſee you in luck. I ſay luck for *propter* "*metum Judæorum* (for fear of the Jews;) we muſt "not brag of it too much, nor you neither."*

If at firſt ſight the ſignification of the fear of the Jews is not underſtood, D'Alembert will explain it in a ſecond portrait of his friend: "This Turgot, he writes, "is a man of wit, great inſtruction and very virtuous; "in a word, he is a worthy *Cacouac*, but has good rea- "ſons for not ſhowing it too much, for I have learned "to my coſt, that the *Cacouaquery* (philoſophiſm) is not "the road to fortune, and he deſerves to make his."†

Voltaire had an interview with Turgot, and formed ſo true a judgment of him, that he anſwers, "If you "have many licentiates of that ſtamp in your ſect, I "fear for the *wretch*, *ſhe* is loſt to good company."‡

To every man who underſtands the encomiums of Voltaire or D'Alembert, this is as much as to ſay, Turgot is a ſecret adept, he is an ambitious hypocrite and will at once be a traitor to his God, his king and his country: but with us, we call him virtuous, he is a conſpirator of the true ſtamp, neceſſary to compaſs the overthrow of Chriſtianity. Had Voltaire or D'Alembert ſpoken of an eccleſiaſtic, or a religious writer who had only the virtues of a Turgot, what a monſter we ſhould have ſeen ariſe from his pen. Let the impartial hiſtorian examine, and lay aſide theſe uſurped reputations of virtue, let him ſay with truth, that Turgot, rich and above the common run of citizens, and ſtill aiming at dignities and further fortune, cannot be called a real philoſopher. Turgot being the adept of the

* Letter 64, anno 1760. † Letter 76. ‡ Letter 77.

conſpiring Sophiſters and a maſter of requeſts, is already perjured. He will be far more ſo when he arrives at the miniſtry. For by the ſtanding laws of the ſtate, he could only enjoy theſe dignities, by affirming both by himſelf and others, his fidelity to the king, to religion and to the ſtate. He had already betrayed religion and the ſtate, he will ſoon betray his king. He belonged to that ſect of Œconomiſts who deteſted the French monarchy, and only ſuffered a king, in order to treat him as did the firſt rebels of the revolution.

At length, carried to the miniſtry, by the cabals of the ſect, he uſes all his power to inſpire the young king with his diſguſt for the monarchy, and with his principles on the authority of a throne, he had ſworn to maintain as miniſter. He would willingly have tranſformed him into a Jacobin king. He firſt inſinuates thoſe errors, which are one day to throw the ſceptre into the hands of the people, and overturn the altar and the throne; if thoſe are the virtues of a miniſter, they are thoſe of a treacherous one; if errors of the mind, they are of a mad-man. Nature had endowed him with the deſire of relieving his fellow-creatures. He heard the declamations of the Sophiſters againſt the remains of the feudal ſyſtem, under which the people ſtill labored, and what with the Sophiſters, was a mere tool of their hatred for kings, he miſtook for the cry of compaſſion. He was blind to what all the world ſaw, and that particularly on the Corvees. He would not hearken to the voice of hiſtory, which told him that the ſhackles of the feudal ſyſtem had as yet been only broken, by the wiſdom and mature deliberation of the monarch, foreſeeing the inconveniences and the means of covering the loſſes of the ſuppreſſion. But he would be haſty and he ruined every thing. The Sophiſters thought his diſmiſſion too early, but alas! it was not early enough; for he had already tainted the throne with thoſe revolutionary ideas on the ſovereignty of the people; he had then forgotten that this was making all power depending on their caprice; he pretended to make the people happy by placing arms in their hands, with which they deſtroyed themſelves. He thought to re-eſtabliſh the laws in all their purity, and he only taught rebellion; he miſleads the youthful monarch, too unexperinced, to unravel the ſophiſms of the ſect; the very goodneſs of his heart leads him ſtill more aſtray. In the pretended rights of the people, he only

ſees his own to be ſacrificed, and it is from Turgot, we are to trace that fatal error of his inſurmountable patience and fatal condeſcenſion for that people, whoſe ſovereignty led to the ſcaffold himſelf, his queen and his ſiſter.

Turgot is the firſt miniſter who ſhows that revolutionary ſpirit, at once antichriſtian and antimonarchial. Choiſeul and Maleſherbes were more impious than Turgot, Choiſeul perhaps was even more wicked, but never before had a miniſter been known, ſeeking to deſtroy the principles of that authority, in the mind of the king, which he imparted to them. It was reported that Turgot had repented on ſeeing the ſovereign mob threatening his perſon, on ſeeing them burſting open the magazines of corn, and throwing both corn and bread into the river and that under pretence of famine; it was then, as reported, that ſeeing his errors, he had laid open to Lewis XVI. all the plans of the Sophiſters, and that theſe latter ever after ſought to deſtroy the idol they had ſet up. This anecdote, unfortunately for the honor of Turgot, is unfounded. Before his elevation to the miniſtry, he was an idol of the conſpirators, and ſuch he remained, until his death. Condorcet has alſo been his panegyriſt and hiſtorian, and he would not have been tolerant on the repentance of an adept.

Scourges have fallen ſucceſſively on France ſince the revolution, but prior to it they had ſucceeded each other in the perſons of Lewis XVIth's miniſters. Necker appeared after Turgot, and Necker re-appears after Briennes. And his virtues were extolled by the Sophiſters nearly as much as he extols them himſelf. This is another of thoſe reputations, which the hiſtorian muſt judge by facts, not for the mere pleaſure of detecting the conſpiring hypocrite, but becauſe *theſe unmerited reputations were a means employed* for the conſummation of the conſpiracy.

Necker.

Necker, as yet a banker's clerk, was employed by ſome ſpeculators both as the confidant and agent, in a buſineſs which was ſuddenly and greatly to augment their fortunes. They had the ſecret of an approaching peace, which was conſiderably to enhance the value of the Canada Bills; one of the conditions of the future peace being, the payment of thoſe bills which had remained in England: they let Necker into the ſecret, on condition that for their common emolument, he

would write to London to have a number of these bills bought up at the low price which the war had reduced them to. Necker engaged in the association, and through the credit of his master, the bills were monopolized. His associates, returning to know the state of the bargain, he told them that the speculation had appeared so hazardous and bad, that he had desisted from and countermanded the purchase. Peace comes, and Necker is in possession of these bills in his own account alone, and these make near three millions Tournois.—Such was the virtue of Necker when a clerk!

Now rich, he calls the Sophisters to his table; his house becomes a weekly club, and the new Mecenas is well repaid for his good cheer by the encomiums and flattery of his guests. D'Alembert, and the chiefs of the conspirators, punctually attended these assemblies every Friday.* Necker hearing of nothing but philosophy, would be a philosopher, as suddenly as he became a lord, and the intrigue and encomiums of the sect would transform him into a Sully. At length Lewis XVI. hearing so much of the talents of this man in finance, called him to the ministry as Comptroller General. Among the many means of the conspirators, the most infallible was to introduce disorder in the finances. Necker succeeded completely in this plan, by those exorbitant loans which nothing could have hidden from the public, but that blind confidence, and those encomiums perpetually thrown out by the sect. But let Necker have acted from the impulse of conspirators, like an ignorant minister who knew not whither he was driven, or knowingly hollowed out the abyss, it is not his pretended virtue that is to plead his defence. Is it not probable that the man, who, when recalled for the second time to the ministry, could dare to starve the people in the midst of plenty, in order to convulse them into a revolution, could also attempt to ruin the finances to produce the same convulsive state? Such a virtue as his may be nearly classed with the blackest guilt.

At the time when Necker was recalled to replace Briennes in the ministry, at the time when his great generosity to the people was cried up, and that all France was stunned with his great feats, at that very time was he, in concert with Philippe D'Orleans, star-

* Correspondence of Voltaire and D'Alembert, Let. 31, anno 1770.

ving the people into revolt againſt their king, the nobles and the clergy. This virtuous man had bought up all the corn, had ordered it to be ſhut up in ſtore-houſes, or in barges ſent it from one place to another, forbidding the intendants to allow of the ſale of any corn, until they had received his orders. The Magazines remained ſhut. The boats wandered from port to port. The people clamorouſly called for bread, but in vain! The parliament of Rouen, concerned for the ſtate to which the province of Normandy was reduced, deſired its preſident to write to the miniſter (Necker) to demand the ſale of a great quantity of corn which they knew to be then in the province. His letter was not anſwered. The firſt preſident received a ſecond ſummons from his body, to expatiate in the moſt preſſing manner on the wants of the people; at length Necker anſwers, that he has ſent his orders to the Intendant. His orders are executed, but the Intendant is obliged, for his own juſtification, to lay them before the parliament, and ſo far were they from what was expected, that they were barely an inſtruction to put off the ſale, and to invent divers pretexts and excuſes to elude the demands of the magiſtrates, and to rid him of their applications. Meanwhile the veſſels laden with corn, proceeded from the ports to the ocean, from the ocean to the rivers, or ſimply to the interior of the provinces. At the period when Necker was driven from the miniſtry for the ſecond time, the people were deſtitute of bread. The parliament had then obtained proof that the ſame boats, laden with the ſame corn, had been from Rouen to Paris, and from Paris back again; then embarked at Rouen for the Havre, and thence returned again half rotten. The *Attorney General* profited of this ſecond diſmiſſion to ſend circular orders to ſtop theſe preceedings, and to give the people the liberty of buying this corn. At the expulſion of this miniſter, the populace of Paris, ſtupidly ſovereign, run to arms, and demand their Necker, carying his buſt through the ſtreets with that of Phillippe D'Orleans, and never were two aſſaſſins better coupled in their triumph. The populace would have its executioner, which it ſtupidly ſtiled its father; and Necker, on his return, ſtarves it anew. Scarce had he heard of the orders which the *Attorney General* of the Parliament of Normandy had given, when the revolutionary agents are ſent from Paris, the people are ſtirred up againſt the magiſtrate, his manſion is forced and

pillaged, and a price is put upon his head !—Such were the virtues of the adept Necker, when miniſter and protector of the conſpirators.

For the authenticity of theſe facts, the hiſtorian will appeal to the chief magiſtrates of the parliament of Rouen. If to ſhew the chief agent of ſuch horrid deeds, I have been obliged to anticipate on the ſecond part of this work; it is becauſe Necker had conſpired againſt the throne, equally as againſt the altar. It was through him the Sophiſters were to draw the Calviniſts into their party, but pretending to the faith of Geneva he was really a Deiſt. Had not the Calviniſts been blind to conviction, they could have ſeen it in his writings or in his univerſal connections with the impious. For this empty and vain man aimed at every thing. From a Clerk he became Comptroller-General; next a protecting Sophiſter, and hence concluded he was a divine. He publiſhed his ideas on RELIGIOUS OPINIONS, and this work was nothing leſs than deiſm, and that is not judging ſeverely a work, which does not look upon the exiſtence of God as proved; for what can the religion of that man be, who doubts of the exiſtence of a God? This work obtained for its author an academic crown, as being the beſt production of the day; that is to ſay, that could inſinuate the moſt impiety the leaſt perceived.

After what has been ſaid of the miniſter Briennes, the intimate friend of D'Alembert, after the wickedneſs of this man has been ſo public, I ſhould not mention him had I not to diſcover a plot, the like of which hiſtory would bluſh to ſhow, and none but the annals of the modern Sophiſters could produce. Under the name of Œconomiſts, the conſpirators held ſecret meetings (which later we ſhall lay open to the public,) and impatiently waited the death of Mr. de Beaumont, Archbiſhop of Paris, to give him a ſucceſſor, who entering into their views, and, under the pretext of humanity, kindneſs and toleration, was as patiently to endure with Philoſophiſm, Janſeniſm and all other ſects, as Mr. de Beaumont had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them. He was to be particularly indulgent as to the diſcipline of the pariſh clergy, even to let it decay in a few years. On tenets he was to be equally patient. He was to repreſs the zeal of thoſe who appeared too active; to interdict them, even to diſplace them as men too ardent or even Briennes.

turbulent. He was carefully to receive all accuſations of this ſort, and replace the over-zealous by men whom the Sophiſters had prepared and would recommend, particularly for dignitaries. By this plan the pariſh churches, as yet adminiſtered by a moſt edifying clergy, were ſoon to be overrun by the moſt ſcandalous. Sermons and catechiſtical lectures becoming daily leſs frequent; in fine, all inſtructions running in the philoſophic ſtrain, bad books daily multiplying; the people ſeeing in their pariſhes none but a clergy ſcandalous in their morals, and little zealous in their doctrine, were naturally to abandon the churches and their religion. The apoſtacy of the capital was to carry with it that of the moſt eſſential dioceſe; and hence the evil was to ſpread far around. Thus without violence, *without being perceived*, by the ſole connivance of its chief paſtor, religion was to be cruſhed in the capital; not but what Briennes might have given ſome exterior ſigns of zeal, had the circumſtances required.*

Nothing but the ambition of a Briennes, and the wickedneſs of his heart, could have made him accept the archbiſhopric on ſuch conditions. The agreement made, the Sophiſters put all their agents in motion. The court is beſet; an artful man, of the name of Vermon, who had been made reader to the queen by Choiſeul, on the recommendation of Briennes, ſeized on this opportunity to make ſome return to his protector. The queen recommended the protector of Vermon, and ſhe thought ſhe was doing well; the king thought he did ſtill better in nominating the man, whoſe moderation, whoſe prudence and whoſe genius, were ſo perpetual a topic, to the Archbiſhopric of Paris: and during one day Briennes was really named. But no ſooner was it known either at court or in Paris, than every Chriſtian ſhuddered at the news. The king's aunts and the Princeſs de Marſan in particular, immediately foreſaw the ſcandal with which France was threatened, and the king prevailed upon by their prayers, annulled what he had already done. The archbiſhopric was given to a man whoſe modeſty, zeal and impartiality, would form the ſtrongeſt contraſt, with the vices of Briennes. Unfortunately for France neither the king nor particularly the queen were ſufficiently convinced, to loſe all confidence in the pretended virtues of this man, nor did the

* See hereafter the declaration of Mr. le Roi.

conſpirators lay all hopes aſide of hereafter raiſing him to a more exalted ſtation.

Like to the thunder-bolt hidden in the clouds, blackened by the tempeſt and waiting the convulſion of the heavens to break forth, ſo did Briennes, from the dark cloud which threatened France, convulſed during the ſitting of the Notables, called by Calonne, burſt forth prime miniſter. To ſhow his ſubſerviency to the Sophiſters, he began by that famous edict which Voltaire had ſolicited twenty years before in behalf of the Huguenots, though he had looked upon them as *mad* and *raving mad*;* by that edict ſo long wiſhed for by D'Alembert, as a means of *duping* the Proteſtants, and of *cruſhing* Chriſtianity, without its *even being perceived*.† Offspring of the tempeſt, he is at length overpowered by thoſe billows which carried Necker to the helm, and which Necker holds ſolely to immerſe his king, the nobility and the clergy into that ſea of impious ſophiſtry and frantic rage, which the conſpirators had created.—Briennes died covered with infamy, but without remorſe or giving ſigns of repentance.

By the ſame intrigue that had carried Briennes to the prime miniſtry, Lamoignon, whoſe anceſtors had been an ornament to the magiſtracy, obtained the ſeals. He was notoriouſly like many other courtiers, an unbeliever, but he was alſo one of the conſpirators. His name is to be found in their moſt ſecret committees. On his diſgrace which ſoon followed that of Briennes, he *philoſophically* ſhot himſelf.—Two ſuch men at the head of the miniſtry! what means had they not, of countenancing and forwarding the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy! Lamoignon.

Poſterity will find it difficult to conceive that a monarch ſo religious as Lewis XVI. ſhould have been ſurrounded by ſuch a ſet of impious miniſters. Their ſurpriſe will be much leſſened, when they conſider that the conſpirators aimed moſtly at the higher orders of ſociety, and that they wiſhed to deſtroy religion in thoſe chiefly who approached the perſon of the monarch.‡ To the paſſions of this privileged claſs, let the facility of ſatisfying them be added, and we ſhall eaſily conceive with what facility Voltaire could attack a religion Why ſo many impious miniſters.

* Letter to Marmontel, 21ſt Auguſt 1767.

† Letter 4th of May 1762.

‡ Voltaire to Diderot, 25th December 1762, to D'Alembert and Damilaville.

which so much militated against those passions. Without doubt, eminent virtues and the most distinguished piety were to be found among the nobility and grandees of the court: for instance, Madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, Mesdames de France the king's aunts, the Princesses de Conti, Louise de Condé, de Marsan, the Duc de Penthievre, the Mareschal de Mouchi, de Broglie, and many other distinguished personages who would have done honor to the brightest ages of Christianity. Among the ministers themselves, history will except Mr. de Vergennes and Mr. de St. Germain, and perhaps some others who could not be challenged by impiety; throughout the whole class of the nobility these exceptions may be more frequent than might be supposed, but nevertheless it is unfortunately true to say, that Voltaire had made surprising progress among the great, and that will easily account for the most unhappy choices Lewis XVI. had made; virtue seeks obscurity and is little jealous of elevation. None but the ambitious were foremost on the ranks, and the Sophisters would stun the ill-fated monarch with the praises of those whom they thought would best second their views, and who had been initiated in their mysteries. Not only the throne, but the public itself was to be overpowered by the praises which they lavished on the adept they wished to elevate to the ministry. Their intrigues were more secret and surpassed the art of courtiers themselves; besides, acting under the influence of public opinion, how could they not direct the choice of a young prince whose greatest failing was diffidence in his own judgment. By such arts were the Turgots, the Neckers, the Lamoignons, the Briennes successively forced into the councils of Lewis XVI. passing over in silence those subaltern ministers and first clerks, importantly great, whose services the conspiring Sophisters carefully secured.

Thus protected, impiety soared above the laws nearly silenced. It was in vain for the clergy to reclaim the hand of power, for it connived at the conspirators; their writings were circulated and their persons secure. Voltaire even writes to D'Alembert, "Thanks to a priest "about the court, I should have been undone had it not "been for *the Chancellor*, who at all times has shown "me the greatest kindness."* This shows how little

* Letter 133, anno 1774.

any reclamations of the clergy could avail even againſt the chief of the conſpirators. This letter diſcovers a new protector of the Sophiſters in the perſon of Mr. de Meaupou; his ambition and his connection with the chief of the conſpirators had always been hidden under the maſk of religion. M. Meaupou.

In a letter written alſo to D'Alembert, we ſee what immenſe uſe ſuch protections were of, not only to Voltaire but alſo to the other adepts. He ſpeaks of Choiſeul. "I have the greateſt obligations to him. "It is to him alone that I owe all the privileges I have "on my eſtate. Every favor that I have aſked *for my* "*friends* he has granted."*

Some of theſe protectors alſo aimed at being authors, and without Voltaire's talents ſought to inſpire the people with the ſame principles. Of this number was the Duke D'Uſez who, to verify the expreſſion of Voltaire that he was ſtronger in mind than in body, had undertaken a work in favor of liberty and equality applied to our belief in matters of faith, without conſulting either church or paſtor. Voltaire only wiſhed to ſee it finiſhed to declare the work as uſeful to ſociety as it was to the duke himſelf.† This work never appeared, ſo we know not how to claſs the genius of the noble divine. Due D'Uſez.

In Voltaire's letters we find many other great perſonages who ſwell the liſt of adepts and protectors, many names already famous in hiſtory; ſuch was the deſcendant of a *Crillon* or a *Prince of Salme*, both worthy of better days according to Voltaire; but let not the reader miſtake them, for the age of the Bayards and of thoſe bold knights of former times; no, it is of an age worthy of *their modeſty and their philoſophic ſcience*. We ſee Voltaire placing all his hopes in the prince of Ligne for the propagation of his ſophiſticated ſcience throughout Brabant; and the Duke of Braganza, is as much extolled for the ſimilarity of his ſentiments. Other great perſonages.

Among the Marquiſſes, Counts and Chevaliers, we find the Marquis D'Argence de Derac, a brigadeer-general, zealous in the deſtruction of Chriſtianity in the province of Angoumois, and modernizing his fellow-countrymen, with his philoſophic ideas.—The Marquis de Rochefort, Colonel of a regiment, who through his philoſophiſm had gained the friendſhip of

* Letter 110, anno 1762.

† Voltaire to the Duc D'Uſez, 19th Nov. 1760.

Voltaire and D'Alembert.—The Chevalier Chattellux bold but more adroit in the war againſt Chriſtianity. In fine, were we to credit Voltaire, nearly all thoſe whom he was acquainted with in this claſs, were-what he ſtyles honeſt men in a letter to Helvetius in 1763. "Believe me, he writes, that Europe is full of men of "reaſon, who are opening their eyes to the light. "Truly the number is prodigious. I have not ſeen for "theſe ten years paſt *a ſingle honeſt man* of whatever "country or religion he may have been, *but what ab-* "*ſolutely thought as you do.*" It is probable, and it is to be hoped that Voltaire greatly exaggerated his ſucceſs. It would be impoſſible to conceive, that of the numbers of the nobility who went to contemplate the Grand Lama of the Sophiſters at Ferney, the greateſt part were not attracted by curioſity, rather than impiety. The ſureſt rule by which we may diſtinguiſh the true adepts, is by the confidence he placed in them, or whether he ſent them the productions of his own pen or thoſe of other conſpirators. At that rate even the liſt would greatly extend. Many ducheſſes and marchioneſſes would be found, as philoſophic as Siſter Guillemetta. But let them be forgotten thoſe adepts more dupes than wicked, more unfortunate are they ſtill, if they are above being pitied.

Count D'Agental.

Of theſe protectors, the Count D'Argental honorary counſellor of the parliament, is to be particularly diſtinguiſhed. Nearly of the ſame age as Voltaire, he always had been his boſom friend. All that Mr. de la Harpe ſays of the amiability of this Count, may be true, but however amiable, it will alſo be true to ſay, that both the Count and Counteſs D'Argental were the dupes of their admiration and friendſhip for Voltaire. He correſponds as regularly with theſe two adepts as he did with D'Alembert, and as confidently exhorts them to cruſh the wretch. He ſtyles them his two angels. He employed the Count as general agent for all higher protections, that he might ſtand in need of, and few agents were more devoted or more faithful, that is to ſay more impious.*

Duc de la Rochefoucault.

A name of greater importance, and that is not to be overlooked among the protecting adepts, is that of the Duc de la Rochefoucault. To him who knows how much the Duke muſt have been miſtaken in his own

* See General Correſpondence.

wit, it will be matter of little surprise to see him so seldom mentioned in Voltaire's correspondence; but facts supply the place of written proofs. The Duke had been weak enough to allow himself to be persuaded, that impiety and Philosophism could alone give him a reputation. He protected the Sophisters, and even pensioned Condorcet. It would have been happy for him had he not waited for the murderers sent by Condorcet himself, to learn what were the real principles of this Philosophism.

In foreign courts, many great personages thought to soar above the vulgar, by this same Sophistry. Voltaire could not sufficiently admire the zeal of Prince Gallitzin, in dedicating the most impious of Helvetius's works to the Empress of Russia.* He was still more delighted with Count Schouwallow, the powerful protector of the Sophisters at that Court, and with all those, by whose intrigues D'Alembert had been nominated for the education of the heir to the Imperial diadem.

In Sweden, whence the Chamberlain Jennings, under the auspices of the King and Queen, had gone to announce to the patriarch of Ferney, the great progress of Philosophism in that country,† an adept was to be found far more extolled by the conspirators. This was the Count de Creutz, ambassador in France, and afterwards in Spain. He had so well blended his embassy with the apostleship of impiety, that Voltaire, enraptured, was inconsolable at his departure from Paris. He writes to Madame Geofrin, "Had there been "an Emperor Julian on earth, the Count de Creutz "should have been sent on embassy to him, and not "to a country where Auto-da-fe's are made. The "senate of Sweden must have been mad, not to have "left such a man in France; he would have been of "use there, and it is impossible that he should do any "good in Spain."‡

But this Spain, so much despised by Voltaire, could produce a D'Aranda, whom he styles the *Favorite of Philosophy*, and who daily went to stimulate his zeal, in the company of D'Alembert, Marmontelle, and Mademoiselle D'Espinase, whose club nearly equalled the French Academy.

* Let. 117, to D'Alembert.
† Let. to D'Alembert, 19th Jan. 1769. ‡ 21st May, 1764.

Other dukes and grandees were to be found in Spain, equally admiring the French Sophiſtry. In particular the Marquis de Mora and the Duke of Villa Hermoſa.* In this ſame country, ſo much deſpiſed by the Sophiſters, we find D'Alembert diſtinguiſhing the Duke of Alba. It is of him that he writes to Voltaire, "One "of the firſt grandees of Spain, a man of great wit, "and the ſame perſon who was ambaſſador in France, "under the name of Duke of Hueſcar, has juſt ſent "me twenty guineas towards your ſtatue; condem-"ned, he ſays, ſecretly to cultivate my reaſon, I joy-"fully ſeize this opportunity of publicly teſtifying my "gratitude to the great man, who firſt pointed out the "road for me."†

It was at the ſight of ſo numerous a liſt of diſciples, that Voltaire exclaimed, "Victory declares for us on "all ſides; I do aſſure you that in a little time, noth-"ing but the rabble will follow the ſtandard of our ene-"mies."‡ He did not ſufficiently dive into futurity, or he would have ſeen that rabble miſled one day by the ſame principles, and ſacrificing its maſters on the very altar they had raiſed to impiety.

As to D'Alembert, he could not contain himſelf, when informed of the numerous admirers that flocked to Ferney. "What the devil, would he write, forty "gueſts at table, of whom two maſters of requeſts "and a counſellor of the grand chamber, without "counting the Duke of Villars and company."§ Dining at Voltaire's, to be ſure, is not an abſolute proof of the philoſophiſm of the gueſt, but it ſhews, generally, men who admired the chief of that impiety which was one day to be their ruin.

It was not by chance that D'Alembert mentions the counſellor of the grand chamber. He was fully aware of what importance it was for the conſpirators, to have protectors, or even admirers, in the higher orders of the magiſtracy. Voltaire was of the ſame opinion when he writes, "Luckily during theſe ten years paſt, "that parliament (of Thouloufe) has been recruited by "young men of great wit, who have read, and who "think like you."‖ This letter alone denotes how much the tribunals were relaxed, for many years preceding the revolution. They were veſted with all the author-

* Let. of Voltaire, 1ſt May 1768. † Let. 108, anno 1773.
‡ Let. to Damilaville. § Let. 76, anno 1760.
‖ Let. 11, anno 1769.

ity neceſſary for ſtopping the circulation of theſe impious and ſeditious works, and of taking cognizance of their authors, but they had ſo much neglected it, that in the latter times, a decree of the parliament was a means of enhancing the price, and extending the circulation of the work.

Voltaire, notwithſtanding the numerous conqueſts made in theſe temples of juſtice, often complains of ſome of thoſe reſpectable corps, as ſtill containing magiſtrates who loved religion. But in return he extols the philoſophic zeal of thoſe of the ſouth. "There (he writes to D'Alembert) you go from a *Mr.* "*Duché* to a *Mr. de Caſtillon*, Grenoble can boaſt of "a *Mr. Servan*. It is impoſſible that reaſon and tol- "eration ſhould not make the greateſt progreſs under "ſuch maſters."* This hope was the better founded, as theſe three magiſtrates, here named by Voltaire, are preciſely thoſe, who by their functions of attorney or ſolicitor generals, were obliged to oppoſe the progreſs of that reaſon, ſynonimous with impiety in the mouth of Voltaire; and to uphold the power of the law againſt thoſe daily productions and their authors.

Mr. de la Chalotaix is of all others, the ſolicitor general who ſeems to have been in the cloſeſt intimacy with Voltaire. It is in their correſpondence, that we ſee how much the conſpirators were indebted and how grateful they were to him, on account of his zeal againſt the Jeſuits, and how much the deſtruction of that order, was blended with that of all other religious, in their plans for the total overthrow of all eccleſiaſtical authority.†

But in ſpite of all this Philoſophiſm, which had crept into the body of the magiſtracy, we meet with men venerable, and whoſe virtues were the ornament of the higheſt tribunals; particularly the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris, appeared ſo oppoſite to his impiety, that he deſpaired of ever philoſophizing it. He even does it the honor of ranking it with that *populace* and *thoſe aſſemblies of the clergy*, that he deſpaired of ever rendering *reaſonable*, or rather impious.‡

* Let. of the 5th Nov. 1770.

† See their correſpondence, particularly Voltaire's letter to Mr. Chalotaix, 17th May 1762.

‡ Let. to D'Alembert, 13th Dec. 1763.

There even was a time, when he expreſſes his indignation to Helvetius in the following terms. " I believe " that the French are deſcended from the centaurs, " who were half men and *half pack-horſes*. Theſe two " halves have been ſeparated, and there remained, " *men like you and ſome others*, alſo horſes, *who have* " *bought the offices of counſellor* (in parliament,) or who " have made themſelves doctors of Sorbonne."*

It is an agreeable duty I fulfil, when I ſhow proof of this ſpite of the Sophiſters againſt the firſt corps of the French magiſtracy. It is certain that at the time of the revolution, many magiſtrates were yet to be found, who better informed of the intrigues of the Sophiſters, would willingly have given greater vigour to the laws for the ſupport of religion. But impiety had intruded even into the grand chamber. Terrey, as yet only known as a wicked miniſter, is not ſufficiently ſo as a Sophiſter.

Trait of the Abbé Terrey.

Whatever may be the blackneſs of many facts mentioned in theſe memoirs, few are of a deeper hue than the following one.

The bookſeller Le Jay was publicly ſelling one of thoſe works, the impiety of which ſometimes commanded the attention of the parliament. That ſold by Le Jay was ordered to be publicly burnt and the author and ſellers to be proſecuted. Terrey offered himſelf to make the neceſſary perquiſitions, and was to report to parliament. He ordered Le Jay before him, and I will lay before the reader the very words I heard the bookſeller make uſe of, when he gave an account of what had paſſed on the occaſion. As to the title of the work, I am not quite certain whether he mentioned it or not, but I perfectly remember what follows:—" Ordered be- " before Mr. Terrey, counſellor in parliament; I wait- " on him. He received me with an air of gravity, ſat " down on a couch, and queſtioned me as follows:— " Is it you that ſell this work comdemned by a decree of " the parliament? I anſwered, Yes, my Lord. How " can you ſell ſuch dangerous works? As many others " are ſold.—Have you ſold many of them? Yes my " Lord.—Have you many left? About ſix hundred " copies.—Do you know the author of this bad work? " Yes, my Lord.—Who is it? You, my Lord!—How " dare you ſay ſo; how do you know that? I know it,

* July 22d, 1761.

" my Lord, from the perſon of whom I bought your " manuſcript.—Since you know it all is over; go, but " be prudent."

It may be eaſily conceived that this interrogatory was not reported to the parliament, and the reader will equally underſtand what progreſs the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy made in a country, where its adepts were ſeated in the very ſanctuary of the laws.

CHAP. XV.

The Claſs.—Of Men of Letters.

THE paſſions and the facility of gratifying them, the yoke of religion once thrown off, had given the conſpirators great power among the higher claſſes of ſociety; and the empty hopes of a reputation brought over to their ſtandards all thoſe who pretended to literary fame. The great talents of Voltaire, and a ſucceſs perhaps ſuperior to his talents, proclaimed his ſway abſolute, over the claſs of men of letters. Humbly thoſe men followed his triumphant car, who above all others will proudly flatter themſelves with the perfection of their own ideas. It was only neceſſary for him to give the faſhion. Like to thoſe frivolous nations where the high-flown courtezans, by their ſole example, can introduce the moſt wanton faſhions in attire, juſt ſo does the premier chief. Scarce had he ſhown his bias towards impiety, when the men of letters would all be impious.

Rouſſeau. From that cloud of writers and adepts, a man ſhone forth who might have diſputed with him the palm of genius; and who, for celebrity, needed not to reſort to impiety. This was Jean Jaques Rouſſeau. That famous citizen of Geneva, ſublime when he pleaſes in his proſe, rivalling Milton or Corneille in his poetry, could have rivalled Boſſuet under the banners of Chriſtianity. Unfortunately for his glory, he was known to D'Alembert, Diderot and Voltaire, and for a time he leagued with them, and fought like them, the means of cruſhing Chriſt and his religion. In this ſynagogue of impiety, as in that of the Jews, teſtimonies did not agree; diviſions enſued, but though ſeparated, their attacks were bent againſt Chriſtianity. This is to be ſeen in a letter from Voltaire to D'Alembert, where he ſays, "What a pity it is that Jean Jaques, Diderot, "Helvetius and you, with other men of your ſtamp, "ſhould not have been unanimous in your attacks on "*the wretch*. My greateſt grief is, to ſee the impoſ- "tors united, and the friends of truth divided."*

* No. 156, anno 1756.

When Rouſſeau ſeceded from the Sophiſters, he did not by that forſake either his own or their errors; he ſeparately carried on the war. The admiration of the adepts was divided. In either ſchool, impiety had only varied its weapons, nor were opinions more conſtant or leſs impious.

Voltaire was the moſt active, but vigor was given to Jean Jaques. With the ſtrength of Hercules he alſo partook of his delirium. Voltaire laughed at contradiction, and his pen flew with every wind. Jean Jaques would inſiſt on the paradoxes foſtered in his brain, and brandiſhing his club on high, he would equally ſtrike at truth or falſehood. The former was the vane of opinion, the latter the Proteus of Sophiſtry. Both equally diſtant from the ſchools of wiſdom, both wiſhed to lay the foundations and firſt principles of philoſophy.

The *pro* and *con* was equally adopted by them, and both found themſelves condemned to the moſt humiliating inconſtancy. Voltaire, uncertain as to the exiſtence of a God, or of a future ſtate, applies to Sophiſters bewildered like himſelf, and remains perplexed. Jean Jaques, as yet a mere youth, ſays to himſelf, "I "am going to throw this ſtone againſt that tree oppo- "ſite to me: If I hit, a ſign of ſalvation; if I miſs, "a ſign of damnation." Jean Jaques hits, and heaven is his lot. This proof ſufficed for the philoſopher long after his youthful days: and he was far advanced in years when he ſays, "Ever after that I never doubted "of my ſalvation."*

Voltaire one day believed he could demonſtrate the exiſtence of the *Author of the Univerſe;* he then believed in an all-powerful God, who remunerated virtue.† The day after, the whole of this demonſtration is dwindled into probabilities and doubts, which it would be the ſummit of ridicule to pretend to ſolve.‡

The ſame truth is one day evident to Jean Jaques, nor does he doubt of it after having demonſtrated it himſelf. He beheld the Deity all around him, with him, and throughout nature on that day, when he exclaimed, "I am certain that God exiſts of himſelf."§ But the day following, the demonſtration was forgotten, and he writes to Voltaire, "Frankly I confeſs that

* His Confeſſions, book 6th. † Voltaire on Atheiſm.
‡ Voltaire on Atheiſm; and on the Soul by Suranus.
§ The Emile and Let. to the Archbiſhop of Paris.

" (on the existence of God,) neither the *pro* nor the " *con* appears to me demonstrated." With Jean Jaques as with Voltaire, *Theism and Atheism* could only found their doctrine on *probabilities*.* And they both believed in one only principle or *sole Mover*.† But at another time they could not deny but what there were two principles or two causes.‡

Voltaire, after having written that Atheism would people the earth with robbers, villains and monsters,§ would acquit Atheism in Spinosa, and even allow of it in a Philosopher,‖ and professed it himself when he writes to D'Alembert, " I know of none but Spinosa " who has argued well."¶ That is to say, I know of no true philosopher but he to whom all matter and this world is the sole God ; and after having tried every sect, he ends by pressing D'Alembert to unite all parties in the war against Christ. Jean Jaques had written that the Atheists deserved punishment ; that they were *disturbers of the public peace*, and as such guilty of death.** Then thinking he had fulfilled Voltaire's wish, writes to the minister Vernier, " I declare that " my sole object in the New Eloisa, was to unite the " two opposite parties (the Deists and Atheists,) by a " reciprocal esteem for each other, and to teach the " philosophers that one may believe in God without be- " ing a hypocrite, or deny him without being a raf- " cal."†† And this same man writes to Voltaire, that an Atheist cannot be guilty before God. That should the law find the Atheist guilty of death, it was the denounciator who should be burned as such.‡‡

Voltaire would blaspheme the law of Christ, retract, receive the sacrament, and press the conspirators to crush the wretch ! Jean Jaques would lay aside Christianity, or resume it again, and with Calvin will partake of the Last Supper ;§§ will write the most sublime

* Letter to Voltaire, vol. 12. Quarto edit. of Geneva.

† Voltaire on the Principle of Action.—Jean Jaques in the Emile, vol. 3, page 115, and Letter to the Archbishop of Paris.

‡ Voltaire, Quest. Encyclop. vol. 9.—Jean Jaques, Emile, vol. 3, page 61, and Let. to the Archbishop of Paris.

§ On Atheism. ‖ Axiom 3.

¶ Letter to D'Alembert, 16th June, 1773.

** Emile, vol. 4, page 68. Social Contract, chap. 8.

†† Letter to Mr. Vernier.

‡‡ Letters to Voltaire, vol. 12, and New Eloisa.

§§ D'Alembert writes to Voltaire, in speaking of Rousseau, " I pity him, and if his happiness depends on his approaching

encomiums on Chriſt that human eloquence could deviſe, and then finiſh by blaſpheming that ſame Chriſt as a fanatic.‖ If the Antichriſtian Revolution was one day to carry Voltaire triumphantly to the Pantheon, Rouſſeau had the ſame rights to the inauguration of the Sophiſters of Impiety. We ſhall ſee him gain far other claims on the Sophiſters of Rebellion. If the former ſecretly ſolicits kings to ſubſcribe to his ſtatue, the latter openly writes that at Sparta one would have been erected to him.

With ſo ſimilar a conduct, each of theſe chiefs had his diſtinctive characteriſtics. Voltaire hated the God of the Chriſtians. Jean Jaques admired but blaſphemed him, and pride wrought in the latter, all that jealouſy and hatred produced in the former; and it will long be a doubt which has been moſt fatal to Chriſtianity, the one by his atrocious ſarcaſms and impious ſatire, the other by his ſophiſtry under the cloak of reaſon.

After their ſeparation, Voltaire hated Jean Jaques, ſcoffed at him, and would have him chained as a madman.* But he could not hide his joy, when the Profeſſion of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar, written by this madman, was the book out of which youth were taught to read.† Jean Jaques would at the ſame time deteſt the chiefs of the conſpirators, expoſe them and be hated by them: he would preſerve their principles, court their friendſhip and eſteem anew, and that of the premier chief in particular.‡

If to define the Sophiſter of Ferney was a difficult taſk, is it not equally ſo, to paint the citizen of Geneva? Jean Jaques loved the ſciences and is crowned by thoſe who reviled them; he wrote againſt the theatre and compoſed operas; he ſought friends and is famous for his breaches of friendſhip. He extols the

" the Holy Table, and in calling holy a religion which he has " ſo much vilified, I own that my eſteem is greatly diminiſhed." (Let. 105, anno 1762.) He might have ſaid as much of Voltaire's communions, but he never dared. He even ſeeks to give him a plea for his hypocriſy, when he ſays, " Perhaps I am in the " wrong, for certainly you are better acquainted than I am, with " the reaſons that determined you." He does not mention his eſteem being diminiſhed; on the contrary, Voltaire is always his *dear and illuſtrious maſter!* Letter 31ſt May, 1768.

‖ His Confeſſion and Profeſſions of the Savoyard Vicar.

* Let. to Damilaville, 8th May 1761, and War of Geneva.

† Letter to the Count D'Argental, 26th Sept. 1766.

‡ See his letters, and the Life of Seneca by Diderot.

charms of virtue, and he bends the knee before the proſtitute de Varens. He declares himſelf the moſt virtuous of men and under the modeſt title of his Confeſſions, he retraces in his old age the diſſolute ſcenes of his youth. To tender mothers he gives the moſt pathetic advice in nature; and ſmothering in himſelf the cries of that ſame nature, he baniſhes his children to that hoſpital where, from the ſhame of its birth, the unfortunate babe is condemned to the perpetual ignorance of its parents. The fear of ſeeing them, makes him inexorable to the entreaties of thoſe who would have provided for their education.§ A prodigy of inconſiſtency even to his laſt moments; he wrote againſt ſuicide, and perhaps it is treating him too favorably, not to aſſert that he himſelf had prepared the poiſon, which cauſed his death.‖

However inconſiſtent, error is inculcated by the Sophiſter of Geneva, with all the powers of genius, and many have loſt their faith by his works, who would have reſiſted all other attacks. To be cradled in one's paſſions, gave empire to Voltaire; but to reſiſt Jean Jaques the acuteſt ſophiſms were to be ſeen through: youth was led away by the former, whilſt thoſe who were advanced in age fell a victim to the latter, and a prodigious number of adepts owed their fall to theſe two writers.

Buffon.

Indignantly would the manes of Buffon ſee his name claſſed, after that of Jean Jaques, among the conſpiring adepts. But difficult would it be for the hiſtorian, when ſpeaking of thoſe who have adopted the faſhion ſet by Voltaire, not to ſigh at pronouncing the name of the French Pliny. He certainly was rather the victim than the aſſociate of the conſpirators. But who can eraſe Philoſophiſm from his writings? Nature had lent her genius and why would he not content himſelf with what ſhe had placed before him. No, he would aſcend higher, he would explain thoſe myſteries reſerved to revelation alone; and ſoaring above his ſphere, he often ſhows himſelf the diſciple of Maillet and Boulanger. To give the hiſtory of nature, he deſtroys that of religion. He was the hero of thoſe men whom D'Alembert had ſent to ſplit mountains and ſeek from the depts of the earth, arguments to belie Moſes and the firſt pages of holy writ. In the praiſes of the Sophiſ-

§ See his Confeſſions.
‖ See his life by the Count Barruel de Beauvert.

ters he conſoles himſelf for the cenſures of the Sorbonne; but the puniſhment attached to the fault itſelf, for he only belied his own reputation on his knowledge of the laws of nature. They appeared to be null when he treated of the earth formed by the waters, or by fire, and of his endleſs epochs. And to falſify the ſcriptures, he makes nature as inconſiſtent as his own ſyſtems. His ſtyle elegant and noble has always been admired, but found inſufficient to ſave his works from the ſmile of the real philoſopher; and his glory, like his comet, vaniſhed in his dreams of incredulity. Happy, if in retracting his errors, he had been able to deſtroy that ſpirit of reſearch in the adepts who only ſtudied nature through the medium of Voltaire.*

And theſe two men ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed by the grandeur of their ſtyle, the remaining adepts chiefly owe their celebrity to their impiety; nevertheleſs two might have done honor to ſcience by their learning. The firſt, which is Freret, had from his immenſe memory nearly learned Bayle's Dictionary by heart. But his letters to Thraſybulus, the offspring of his Atheiſm, ſhows that his vaſt memory was more than outweighed by his want of judgment. Freret.

The ſecond was Boulanger, whoſe brain overburdened with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, had alſo adopted all the extravagancies of Atheiſm; but retracted in the latter part of his life, execrating the ſect that had miſled him. We ſhall ſoon ſee that all thoſe poſthumous works attributed to theſe writers, were never written by them. Boulanger.

Fain would the Marquis D'Argens have figured among the *learned* Sophiſters; but his *Chineſe and Cabaliſtic Letters*, and his *Philoſophy of Good Senſe*, only prove, that to Bayle's Dictionary he was indebted for his pretended reputation. He was a long while a friend of Frederick's, and his impiety entitled him to that friendſhip. It is from his brother, the Preſident D'Eguille, Marquis D'Argens.

* D'Alembert and Voltaire ridiculed all thoſe vain ſyſtems of Bailly and Buffon on the antiquity of the world and of its inhabitants. They would call theſe ſyſtems, *Nonſenſe*, *Follies*, *an Excuſe for the want of Genius*, *Shallow Ideas*, *Vain and ridiculous Quackery* (Letter to Voltaire, 6th March 1777;) but D'Alembert took care to keep his opinions ſecret on this ſubject. By diſcrediting theſe ſyſtems he feared leſt he ſhould diſcourage thoſe adepts whom he had ſent to forge new ones in the Appenines, in order to give the lie to Moſes and the ſacred writ.

that we have learned, that after ſeveral diſcuſſions on religion, with perſons better verſed in that ſcience than Frederick, he ſubmitted to the light of the Goſpel, and ardently wiſhed to atone for his paſt incredulity.

La Metrie. As to La Metrie the Doctor, if he appeared to rave, it was only from the ſincerity of his heart. His *man-machine*, or his *man-plant*, only cauſed the ſect to bluſh from the open manner in which he had ſaid, what many of them wiſhed to inſinuate.

Marmontel. Down to the firſt days of the revolution, the Sophiſters conſpiring againſt their God, thought they could glory in the talents and co-operation of Marmontel. But let us not add to the ſorrows of the man, who needed only the firſt days of the revolution, to ſhrink with horror from thoſe conſpiracies which had given it birth. Of all the Sophiſters, who have outlived Voltaire, Mr. de Marmontel is the one who moſt wiſhed to hide his former intimacy with the Antichriſtian chiefs. But alas, it is to thoſe connections that he owes his celebrity far more than to his *Incas*, his *Beliſarius* or to his *Tales*, intermingled with Philoſophiſm. We could wiſh to hide it, but Voltaire's own letters convict the repenting adept of having acted, and that during a long time, a very different part among the conſpirators. Voltaire was ſo well convinced of Mr. de Marmontel's zeal, that thinking himſelf on the point of death, he bequeathed La Harpe to him. This laſt will is worded thus, "I recommend La Harpe to you, when I am no "more; *he will be one of the pillars of our church.* You "muſt have him received of the academy. After ha- "ving gained ſo many prizes, it is but juſt that he "ſhould beſtow them in his turn."*

La Harpe. With a taſte for literature, and ſome talents, which in ſpite of his critics, diſtinguiſh him above the common rank of the writers of the day, Mr. de la Harpe might have rendered his works uſeful had he not, from his youth, been the ſpoilt child of Voltaire. At that age, it is eaſy to believe one's ſelf a philoſopher, when one diſbelieves one's catechiſm, and the young La Harpe blindly followed the inſtructions of his maſter. If he never was the pillar, he might be correctly ſtyled the trumpeter of the new church, by means of the *Mercure*, a famous French journal, which by its encomiums,

* Voltaire to Marmontel, 21ſt Aug. 1767.

or its weekly criticiſms, nearly decided the fate of all literary productions.*

The encomiums which Voltaire laviſhed on that journal, after La Harpe had undertaken the direction of it, ſhow how little governments are aware of the influence of ſuch journals over the public opinion. Above ten thouſand people ſubſcribed, and many more peruſed the *Mercure;* and influenced by its ſuggeſtions, they by degrees became as philoſophic, or rather impious, as the hebdomadary Sophiſter himſelf. The conſpirators ſaw what advantage could be reaped from this literary dominion. La Harpe ruled the ſceptre during many years, then Marmontel jointly with Champfort, as Remi who was little better, had held it before them. I one day aſked the latter, how it was poſſible, that he had inſerted in his journal, one of the wickedeſt and falſeſt accounts poſſible, of a work purely literary, and of which I had heard him ſpeak in the higheſt terms. He anſwered me, that the article alluded to had been written by a friend of D'Alembert's, and that he owed his journal, his fortune even to D'Alembert's protection. The injured author wiſhed to publiſh his defence in the ſame journal, but it was all in vain.—Let the reader judge from thence how powerfully the periodical papers contributed to the deſigns of the conſpirators, and it was by them that the public mind was chiefly directed to their deſired object.

This ſect diſpoſed of reputations by their praiſes or their critics, as it beſt ſuited them. By theſe journals they reaped the two-fold advantage of pointing out to thoſe writers, who hungered after glory or bread,† what

* We learn, by the public newſpapers, that Mr. de la Harpe was converted, when in priſon, by the Biſhop of St. Brieux. I ſhould be little ſurpriſed at it. The examples of this prelate, with the fruits of Philoſophiſm in this revolution, muſt ſtrongly impreſs the man who, with a ſound judgment, can compare them with the leſſons and promiſes of his former maſters. If the news of this converſion be true, I ſhall have ſhown him conſecrating his talents to error, and nobody will applaud him more than myſelf, in ſeeing him direct them in future towards truth alone.

† The Sophiſters were ſo well acquainted with the powers of a journal, that they muſtered up their higheſt protections againſt the religious authors who would diſpute one with them. When Voltaire was informed that Mr. Clement was to ſucceed to Mr. Freron, whoſe pen had long been conſecrated to the vindication of truth, he did not bluſh at ſending D'Alembert to the chancellor in hopes of hindering Mr. Clement from continuing Freron's journal. (Let. 12th Feb. 1773.)

ſubjects they were to inveſtigate, and of calling by means of their literary trump, the attention of the public only on thoſe works, which the ſect wiſhed to circulate, or had nothing to fear from.

By ſuch artifices, the La Harpes of the day forwarded the conſpiracy as much if not more, than the moſt active of the Sophiſters, or their moſt impious writers. The ſophiſtical author would mingle or condenſe his poiſon in his productions, whilſt the journaliſt adept would proclaim it, and infuſe it throughout the capital, or into all parts of the empire. The man, who would have remained ignorant of the very exiſtence of an impious or a ſeditious work, the man, who would have neither ſpent his time nor his money, on ſuch productions, imbibed the whole of their poiſon from the perfidious extracts made by the ſophiſtical journaliſt.

Condorcet. Above all the adepts, far more than Voltaire himſelf, did a fiend called Condorcet, hate the ſon of his God. At the very name of the Deity, the monſter raged, and it appeared as if he wiſhed to revenge on heaven, the heart it had given him. Cruel and ungrateful, the cool aſſaſſin of friendſhip and of his benefactors, he would willingly have directed the dagger againſt his God, as he did againſt La Rochefoucault. Atheiſm was but folly in La Metrie, madneſs in Diderot, but in Condorcet, it was the phrenzy of hatred and the offspring of pride. It was impoſſible to convince Condorcet, that any thing but a fool could believe in God. Voltaire, who had ſeen him when a youth, little foreſaw what ſervices he was to render to the conſpiracy, even when he wrote, "My great conſolation in dying is, that you ſupport "the honor of our poor Velches, in which you will be "well ſeconded by Condorcet!"*

It could not have been on the talents of this man, that the premier reſted his hopes. Condorcet had learned as much geometry as D'Alembert could teach him; but as to the Belles Lettres, he was not even of the ſecond claſs. His ſtyle was that of a man who did not know his own language, and his writings, like his ſophiſms, required much ſtudy to be underſtood. But hatred did for him what nature has done for others. Perpetually plodding at his blaſphemies, he at laſt ſucceeded in expreſſing them more clearly; for the amazing difference which is obſervable between his former

* Let. to D'Alembert, No. 101, anno 1773.

and his latter works, can only be explained after that manner. It is more remarkable in his poſthumous work on the human mind, where his pen can hardly be traced, excepting in a few paſſages, though his genius haunts every page. There he is to be ſeen, as during his life time, in his ſtudies, in his writings or converſation, directing every thing towards Atheiſm, ſeeking no other object in this work, than to inſpire his readers with his own frantic hatred againſt his God. Long ſince had he waited for the downfal of the altar, as the only ſight his heart could enjoy. He beheld it, but was ſoon to fall himſelf. His end was that of the impious man, a vagabond and wanderer, ſinking under pain, miſery and the dread of Robeſpierre, without acknowledging the hand of God, that ſtruck him by that of the ferocious dictator. Alas, if he died as he lived, will not the firſt inſtants of his conviction and repentance be thoſe, when he ſhall hear that God, whom he blaſphemed and denied, confeſſed by the mouths of thoſe awful victims of eternal vengeance ! !

During his lifetime, ſo great was his hatred, that adopting error, in order to rid men of that fear of an immortal God in heaven, he did not heſitate in hoping that his philoſophiſm would one day render men immortal upon earth. To belie Moſes and the prophets, he became himſelf the prophet of madneſs. Moſes had ſhown the days of man decreaſing unto the age at which God had fixed them, and the royal prophet had declared the days of man to extend from ſixty to ſeventy, and at the moſt to eighty years, after which all was trouble and pain. And to the oracles of the Holy Ghoſt, Condorcet would oppoſe his ! When he calculates his philoſophic revolution, which begins by dragging ſo many to their graves, he adds to the creed of his impiety, that of his extravagancies; and without heſitation he pronounces that, " *we are to believe that* " *the life of man muſt perpetually encreaſe*, if phyſical " revolutions do not obſtruct it. That we are ignorant " of the extreme term, which it is never to exceed. " We do not even know, *whether nature in its general* " *laws* has fixed that extreme term !" Thus in his pretended *Philoſophic Sketch of the Progreſs of the human Mind*,* after having built his entire hiſtory on the hatred of Chriſt, and left no hopes to man but in Atheiſm,

* Epoch 10th, page 382.

we see this Sophister of falsehood, setting up for a prophet, and foreseeing all the fruits of his triumphant philosophy. It is in the very moment of the overthrow of the altar, that he tells us, that henceforth the days of man shall be lengthened, and that in lieu of an eternal God in heaven, man may become immortal on earth, as if at the very moment of its triumph, Philosophism, and the pride of the whole sect, were to be humbled through the extravagancies of the most impious and dearest of its adepts. A life wholly spent in blasphemy, could never have but frenzy for its end.

This name of Condorcet, will appear again in these memoirs, and we shall see him hating kings nearly as much as he did his God. Helvetius, and many others before him, had fallen a victim to this double hatred, though their hearts seemed capable of neither.

Helvetius.

The unfortunate Helvetius, the child of a virtuous father, followed his steps till beyond his early youth. An exemplary piety had been the fruits of a good education, when he became acquainted with Voltaire. He at first sought him as a master, and his love for poetry had inspired him with admiration for him. Such was the origin of their intimacy, and never was connection more perfidious. In lieu of poetry, impiety constituted his lectures, and in the space of one year, Voltaire transforms his pupil into a more impious and determined Atheist than he was himself. Helvetius was rich, and is at once actor and protector. Laying aside the Gospel, like the generality of the Sophisters, who while they pretend to superior understanding, in crediting the mysteries of Revelation not only believe in all the absurdities of Atheism, but are the sport of their own puerile credulity in all that can be turned against religion. Helvetius's work on the *Spirit*, and which Voltaire calls *Matter*, is filled with ridiculous stories, and fables which he gives for truths, and which are all beneath criticism. This is nevertheless the work of a man who pretends to reform the universe, but who equally disgusts his readers by the licentiousness and obscenity of his morals, and by the absurdity of his materialism.

Helvetius also wrote on *Happiness*, but appears himself to have been a perfect stranger to it. In spite of all his philosophy, he was so tender to the best-founded censure, that he lost his rest, went a travelling, and only returned to brood over the hatred he had vowed to

kings and the church. Naturally of a good and gentle diſpoſition, his work *on Man and his Education*, proves how much Philoſophiſm had altered that diſpoſition. There he gives full ſcope to the groſſeſt calumny and abuſe, and denies daily facts, the moſt publicly atteſted.*

I have already ſpoken of RAYNALD; it is not worth our while to call DESLISLE from the oblivion which both he and his work on the *Philoſophy of Nature*, have ſo long been buried in. Still leſs that ROBINET and his book *of Nature*, which is only remembered on account of his ſtrange explanations of the intellect by *oval fibres*; of memory by *undulated or ſpiral fibres*; of will by *fretted fibres*; pleaſure and pain by *bundles of ſenſibility*, and learning by *humps in the underſtanding*, and a thouſand ſuch like vagaries, ſtill more ridiculous if poſſible.†

I ſhall mention TOUSSAINT, as this man ſhows to what a height Atheiſm raged among the conſpirators. He had undertaken the part of the corruption of morals. Under the maſk of moderation, he ſucceeds by telling youth, that *nothing was to be feared from love*, this paſſion *only perfecting them*.‡ That between man and woman *that* was a ſufficient claim on each other without matrimony.§ *That children are not more beholden to their fathers for their birth, than for the champagne they had drunk, or the minuet they had been pleaſed to dance.*‖ That vengeance being incompatible with God, the wicked

* I would willingly have acquitted Helvetius of this poſthumous work, by ſaying, that it might have been an offſpring of that ſame committee, which had fathered ſo many other impious works on the dead. But then Voltaire could not have mentioned that work to his brethren at Paris, as one that they muſt be acquainted with. In three ſucceſſive letters, he attributes it to Helvetius. He cenſures him on hiſtory, as we have done, and D'Alembert, who could not be ignorant of its author, does not undeceive him. The ſhame then of this work, muſt attach to Helvetius. This man writes, in a city where its archbiſhop, and its paſtors were remarkable for their care and charity to the poor, that the clergy were ſo hard-hearted that the poor were never ſeen to beg an alms of them; and it was in that ſame city where the rectors were perpetually ſeen ſurrounded by, and alleviating the diſtreſſes of thoſe ſame poor. (See his work on Man, &c.) Such were the calumnies his hatred invented, though contradicted by daily facts. He might have ſaid, with more truth, that many applied for alms, to eccleſiaſtics and religious houſes, when they dared not aſk them elſewhere.

† Of Nature, vol. the 1ſt, book 4th, chap. 2, &c. &c.

‡ On Morals, part 2 and 3.

§ Ibid. part 2 and 3. ‖ Ibid, part 3, article 4.

had nothing to fear from the punishments of another world.* Notwithstanding all this doctrine, the conspirators looked upon him as a timed adept, because he owned a God in heaven, and a soul in man; and to punish him they styled him the *Capuchin Philosopher*. Happily for him he took a better way of punishing them, by abandoning their cause and recanting from his errors.†

In vain should I name a croud of other writers of the sect. Voltaire had so perfectly brought these Antichristian productions into fashion, that this species of literature was the resource and livelihood of those miserable scribblers, who fed upon their traffic in blasphemy. Holland in particular, that miry bog, where the demon of avarice, enthroned under the auspices of a few booksellers, for a doit would have made over every soul, every religion to impiety, was the grand asylum of these starving infidels. Marc Michel appears to have been the bookseller, who bought their blasphemies at the highest price. He kept in his pay one Laurent, a monk, who had taken refuge at Amsterdam, and is the author of the *portable divinity*, and so many other impious works recommended by Voltaire, in short, of the *compere Mathieu*. This monk had other co-operators, whom Marc Michel paid by the sheet. It is Voltaire himself who gives us this account, and these are the works he perpetually recommends the circulation of, as those of a philosophy which diffused a new light to the universe.‡

We shall soon see the presses of the secret confraternity vying with those of Holland, in the deluging of Europe, with these vile productions. Their immense number brought them into such repute, that many years before the revolution, there was not a petty poet, not a novel writer, but must needs pay his tribute to the Philosophism of impiety; one would have thought that the whole art of writing and of getting readers, consisted in epigrams and sarcasms against religion, that all sciences, even the most foreign to religion, had equally conspired against the God of Christianity.

The history of mankind was transformed into the art of distorting facts, and of directing them against

* On Morals, part 2, sec. 2.

† See his Expostulations on the Book OF MORALS.

‡ Let. to the Count D'Argental, 26th Sept. 1761. To D'Alembert, 13th Jan. 1768. To Mr. Desbordes 4th April 1768.

Chriſtianity and Revelation; Phyſics or the hiſtory of Nature, anti-Moſaic ſyſtems. Medicine had its atheiſm, and Petit taught it at the ſchools of ſurgery. La Lande and Dupui imbibed their lectures on aſtronomy with it, while others introduced it even into grammar; and Condorcet, proclaiming this progreſs of Philoſophiſm, exults in ſeeing it *deſcend from the northern thrones into the univerſities.** The young men walking in the footſteps of their maſters, carried to the bar all thoſe principles, which our romancing lawyers, were to diſplay in the Conſtituent Aſſembly. On leaving the college, the attorneys clerks, or thoſe of a counting-houſe, only ſeemed to have learned their letters in order to articulate the blaſphemies of Voltaire or Jean Jaques. Such was the riſing generation, who ſince the expulſion of their former maſters, were to be found prepared for the grand revolution. Hence aroſe the Mirabeaux and Briſſots, the Caras and Garats, the Merciers and Cheniers. Hence in a word, all that claſs of French literators, who appear to have been univerſally carried away by the torrent of the French Revolution.

An apoſtacy ſo univerſal does not prove that literature and ſcience are prejudicial in themſelves, but it ſhews that men of letters, deſtitute of religion, are the moſt dangerous ſubjects in the ſtate. It is not abſolutely in that claſs that a Robeſpierre and a Jourdan is found; but it can afford a Petion or a Marat. It can afford principles, ſophiſms, and a morality, which terminate in Robeſpierres or in Jourdans; and if theſe latter murder a Bailly, terrify a Marmontel, and impriſon a La Harpe, they only terrify, murder, or impriſon their progenitors.

* See his artful edition of Paſcal, Advertiſement, page 5.

CHAP. XVI.

Conduct of the Clergy towards the Antichriſtian Conſpirators.

WHILST apoſtacy bore ſway in the palaces of the great, in the Schools of ſcience, and that all the higher claſſes of citizens were led away from the worſhip of their religion, ſome by example, others by the artful ſophiſms of the conſpirators, the duties of the clergy could not be doubtful. It was they who were to oppoſe a bank to the fetid torrent of impiety, and ſave the multitude from being ſwept away by its waters. Far more than its honor or its intereſt, its very name called on the clergy by the moſt ſacred ties of duty and of conſcience, to guard the altar againſt the attacks of the conſpirators. The leaſt backwardneſs in the combat would have added treaſon to apoſtacy. Let the hiſtorian who dared ſpeak the truth on kings, be true on the merits of his own body, and whether it redounds to the honor or diſgrace of his brethren, let him ſpeak the truth. Hence the future clergy will learn the line of conduct they are to follow, from what has been done. The conſpiracy againſt Chriſt is not extinct, it may be hidden ; but ſhould it burſt forth anew, muſt not the paſtor know how far his conduct may influence or retard its progreſs ?

If under the name of Clergy, were comprehended all thoſe who in France wore the half-livery of the church, all that claſs of men who in Paris, and ſome of the great towns, ſtyled themſelves Abbés, hiſtory might reproach the clergy with traitors and apoſtates, from the firſt dawn of the conſpiracy. We find the Abbé de Prades the firſt apoſtate, and happily firſt to repent. The Abbé Morellet, whoſe diſgrace is recorded in the repeated praiſes of Voltaire and D'Alembert.* The Abbé Condilhac, who was to ſophiſticate the morals of his royal pupil, and particularly that Abbé Raynald, whoſe name alone is tantamount to twenty demoniacs of the ſect.

Sophiſters under title of Abbés.

* Letter to D'Alembert, No. 65, anno 1760. To Thiriot, 26th Jan. 1762.

Paris ſwarmed with thoſe Abbés; we ſtill ſay, the Abbé Barthelemi, the Abbé Beaudeau, again the Abbé Noel, the Abbé Syeyes. But the people on the whole, did not confound them with the clergy. They knew them to be the offſpring of avarice, ſeeking the livings but laying the duties of the church aſide, or through œconomy adopting the dreſs while they diſhonored it by their profligacy and irreligious writings. The numbers of theſe amphibious animals, and particularly in the metropolis, may be one of the ſevereſt reproaches againſt the clergy. However great the diſtinctions made between theſe and the latter may have been, the repeated ſcandals of the former, powerfully helped the conſpiracy, by their laying themſelves open to ſatire, which retorted upon the whole body, and affected the real miniſters of the altar. Many of theſe Abbés who did not believe in God, had obtained livings through means of the Sophiſters, who by ſoliciting dignities for their adepts, ſought to introduce their principles, and diſhonor the clergy by their immorality. It was the plague they ſpread in the enemy's camp, and not daring to face them in the field, they ſought to poiſon their ſprings.

Conduct of the true clergy, and what may be objected againſt them.

If under the title of Clergy we only comprehend thoſe who really ſerved at the altar, the conſpirators never prevailed againſt them. I have ſearched their records, I have examined whether among the biſhops and functionary clergy, any of theſe adepts were to be found, who could be claſſed with the conſpiring Sophiſters. Antecedent to the Perigords, D'Autuns, or the apoſtacy of the Gobets, Gregoires, and other conſtitutionaliſts, I only meet with the name of Briennes, and one Judas ſeated in the College of the Apoſtles during the ſpace of thirty years ſhould ſuffice.† That Meſſier,

† It is true that Voltaire in his correſpondence, ſometimes flatters himſelf with the protection of the Cardinal de Bernis, who was then but the youthful favorite of the Marquiſe de Pompadour, or the ſlender poet of the Graces. The miſtakes of a young man are not ſufficient to prove his concert with conſpirators, whom he never after ſupported unleſs in the expulſion of the Jeſuits. But could not what D'Alembert ſaid of the parliaments apply to him, "Forgive them, Lord, for they know not "what they do, nor whoſe commands they obey." D'Alembert writes in a quite other ſtyle, when he ſpeaks of Briennes; he ſhews him acting the moſt reſolute part of a traitor, in ſupport of the conſpiracy, and ſimply hiding his game from the clergy. (See particularly letter of the 4th and 21ſt Dec. 1770.)

I found ſome few letters alſo, mentioning the Prince Lewis de

rector of Etrépigny in Champagne might be added, were it certain that his impious *Laſt Will and Teſtament*, was not a forgery of the Sophiſters, attributed to him after his death.

In the times when the revolution drew near Philoſophiſm attached itſelf to the convents of men and ſoon produced Dom Gerles and his confederates, but this belonged to a different claſs of conſpirators, who are to be the future object of our Memoirs. At all times the body of the clergy preſerved the purity of its faith, a diſtinction might have been made between the zealous edifying eccleſiaſtics, and the lax not to ſay ſcandalous ones; but that of believing and unbelieving could never ſtand. Never could the conſpirators exult in this latter diſtinction. Would they not have availed themſelves of their decreaſing faith, as they did of the incredulity of the miniſters of Geneva.* On the contrary, nothing but the moſt ſcurrilous abuſe is uttered againſt the clergy for their zeal in ſupport of Chriſtianity, and the ſatire of the Sophiſters redounds to their immortal honor.

The purity of faith alone was not ſufficient in the clergy; examples far more powerful than leſſons, were neceſſary to oppoſe the torrent of impiety. It is true that in the greater part of their paſtors the people beheld it in an eminent degree, but the majority will not ſuffice. Thoſe who are acquainted with the powers of impreſſion, know but too well, that one bad eccleſiaſtic does more harm than a hundred of the moſt virtuous can do good. All ſhould have been zealous but many were lax. There were among thoſe who ſerved the altars men unworthy of the ſanctuary. Theſe were ambitious men, who owing good example to their dioceſſes preferred the intrigues and pomp of the capital. It is true that ſuch a conduct could not have conſtituted vice in the worldling, but what may be light in the world, is often monſtrous in the church. The So-

Rohan, ſeconding their intrigues on the reception of Marmontel at the academy, condeſcending, as D'Alembert ſays, *from Coadjutor of a Catholic Church*, to become *the Coadjutor of Philoſophy*. (Let. 8th Dec. 1763.) If ſuch an error in a prince, naturally noble and generous, proves that he was miſtaken in thinking that he barely protected literature, in the perſon of an adept, it does not for that prove him to have been initiated into the ſecrets of thoſe who abuſed his protection, and ended by ſporting with his perſon.

* See the Encyclopedia, article GENEVA; and letter of Voltaire to Mr. Vernes.

phiſters in particular with their morals, were not authoriſed to reprobate thoſe of the delinquent clergy. Where is the wonder that ſome few unworthy members ſhould have intruded on the ſanctuary, when the enemies of the church had poſſeſſed themſelves of its avenues, in order to bar the preferment of thoſe, whoſe virtues or learning they dreaded; how could it be otherwiſe, when the biſhops wiſhing to repel an unworthy member, Choiſeul anſwered, "Such are the "men we want and will have:" or when the irreligious nobleman only beheld in the riches of the church, the inheritance of a ſon not leſs vicious than his father.

The clergy might certainly have thus replied to their enemies. And true it is, that if any thing could aſtoniſh hiſtory, it is not, that with all theſe intrigues and ambition, ſome few bad paſtors had been intruded on the church, but rather that ſo many good ones, worthy of their titles, yet remained. But the crimes of the firſt inſtigators, does not excuſe the ſcandals of thoſe paſtors who gave it. Let the future clergy find this avowal recorded, let thoſe men be acquainted with whatever influenced the progreſs of the Antichriſtian Revolution, whoſe duty eſſentially militates againſt that progreſs, and renders the leaſt pretext given, criminal in them.

Their reſiſtance to impiety.

But hiſtory muſt alſo declare, that if the remiſſneſs of ſome few may have been a pretence for the conſpirators, that the majority made a noble ſtand againſt them, and though ſome few ſpots could be found, the body was nevertheleſs ſplendent with the light of its virtues, which ſhone forth with redoubled luſtre, when impiety at length, ſtrong in its progreſs, threw off the maſk. Then riſing above its powers the clergy are not to be intimidated by death, or the rigors of a long exile, and the Sophiſter unwillingly bluſhed at the calumnies he had ſpread, when he repreſented thoſe men as more attached to the riches than to the faith of the church. Their riches remained in the hands of the banditti, while that faith crowns the archbiſhops, biſhops and eccleſiaſtics butchered at the Carmes, or conſoles thoſe who have found a refuge in foreign countries, from the armies and bloody decrees of the Jacobins. Every where poor, and living on the beneficence of thoſe countries, but powerfully rich in the purity of their faith and teſtimony of their conſciences.

But the clergy had not waited these awful days to oppose the principles of the conspirators. From the first days of the conspiracy we can trace their opposition; scarce had impiety raised its voice when the clergy sought to confound it: the Encyclopedia was not half printed when it was proscribed in their assemblies; nor has a single one been held for these fifty years past, which has not warned the throne and the magistracy of the progress of Philosophism.*

At the head of the prelates who opposed it, we find Mr. de Beaumont archbishop of Paris, whose name history could not pass over without injustice; generous as an Ambrose, he was fired with his zeal and steadiness against the enemies of the faith. The Jansenists obtained his exile, and the Antichristians would willingly have sent him to the scaffold; but there would he have braved their poignards, as he did the Jansenists; when returning from his exile, he might be said to have acquired new vigor to oppose them both.

Many other bishops following his example, to the most unblemished morals, added their pastoral instructions. Mr. de Pompignan then Bishop of Puy refuted the errors of Voltaire and Jean Jaques; the Cardinal de Luynes warned his flock against the *System of Nature;* the Bishops of Boulogne, Amiens, Auch and many others, more powerfully edified their dioceses by their example even than by their writings, nor did there pass a single year, but what some bishop combated the increasing progress of the impious conspirators.

If the sophistry of the sect continued its ravages, it was not the fault of the bishops or the religious writers. The Sorbonne exposed it in their censures. The Abbè Bergier victoriously pursues Deism in its very last retrenchments, and makes it blush at its own contradictions. To the sophisticated learning of the conspirators, he opposed a more loyal application and a truer knowledge of antiquity and of the weapons it furnished to religion.† The Abbè Guènèe with all that urbanity and attic salt which he was master of, obliges Voltaire to humble himself at the sight of his own ignorance and false criticism of sacred writ.‡ The Abbè Gerard had found a method of sanctifying novels themselves. Under the most engaging forms, he reclaims

* See the acts of the clergy since the year 1750.
† His Deism refuted, and his Answer to Freret.
‡ Letters of some Portuguese Jews.

youth from vice and its tortuous ways, and reſtores hiſtory to its primitive truth. The Abbè Pey had ſearched all the monuments of the church to reinſtate it in its real rights, and under the ſimple form of a catechiſm, we ſee the Abbè Feller, or Flexier Dureval, uniting every thing that reaſon, truth or ſcience can oppoſe againſt the Sophiſters.

Prior to all theſe champions of the faith, the Abbé Duguet had victoriouſly vindicated the principles of Chriſtianity, and the Abbè Hauteville had demonſtrated the truth of it from hiſtory. From the firſt dawn of the conſpiracy, the Pere Berthier and aſſociates had, in the Journal de Trevoix, particularly expoſed the errors of the Encyclopediſts. In fine if the Celſi and Porphirii were numerous, religion had not loſt its Juſtins or its Origens. In theſe latter times as in the primitive days of Chriſtianity, he who ſincerely ſought after truth muſt have found it in the victorious arguments of the religious authors, oppoſed to the ſophiſms of the conſpirators. And it may be ſaid that many points of religion had been placed in a clearer light, than they had been before, by theſe modern apologiſts.

The Chriſtian orators ſeconded their biſhops and perpetually called the attention of the people to their danger. The refutation of Philoſophiſm was become the object of their public diſcourſes. The Pere Neuville, and after him Mr. de Senez, in fine, the Pere Beauregard in particular, ſeem to have been fired by that holy zeal. That ſudden inſpiration with which he appeared to be ſeized in the Cathedral Church of Paris, is not yet forgotten; when thirteen years before the revolution, expounding the different maxims and expoſing the plans of modern Philoſophiſm, he makes the vaults of the temple reſound with words too ſhamefully verified by the revolution, and exclaims in a prophetic ſtrain:

" Yes it is at the king—at the king and at religion " the philoſophers aim their blows. They have graſ- " ped the hatchet and the hammer, they only wait the " favorable moment to overturn the altar and the throne. " —Yes, my God, thy temples will be plundered and " deſtroyed; thy feſtivals aboliſhed; thy ſacred name " blaſphemed; thy worſhip proſcribed.—But what " ſounds, Great God, do I hear, what do I behold! " to the ſacred canticles which cauſed the vaults of this " temple to reſound to thy praiſes, ſucceed wanton and " prophane ſongs! And thou infamous Deity of Pa-

" ganiſm, impure Venus, thou durſt advance hither
" even, and audaciouſly in the place of the living God,
" ſeat thyſelf on the throne of the Holy of Holies,
" and there receive the guilty incenſe of thy new
" adorers."

This diſcourſe was heard by a numerous audience, carried by their own piety or attracted by the eloquence of the orator; by adepts themſelves, who attended in hopes of carping at his expreſſions; by doctors of the laws whom we were acquainted with, and who often repeated them to us, long before we had ſeen them printed in various publications. The adepts cried out, ſedition and fanaticiſm. The doctors of the law only retracted the ſeverity of their cenſures after they had ſeen the prediction completely accompliſhed.

Such ſtrong cautions from the clergy, and the means they oppoſed, retarded the progreſs of the Sophiſters, but could not triumph over the conſpiracy. It was too deep, the black arts of ſeduction had been too well planned in the hidden dens of the conſpirators. I have ſtill to unfold ſome of their dark myſteries, and when light ſhall have ſhone upon them, with ſurpriſe ſhall the reader aſk, not how it was poſſible, with ſo much zeal on the part of the clergy, that the altar was overthrown, but on the contrary, how the fall of the temple had been ſo long delayed?

CHAP. XVII.

New and deeper Means of the Conſpirators, to ſeduce even the loweſt Claſſes of the People.

WHEN Voltaire had ſworn to annihilate Chriſtianity, he little flattered himſelf with drawing the generality of nations into his apoſtacy. His pride is often ſatisfied with the progreſs Philoſophiſm had made among thoſe *who governed, or were made to govern*, and among *men of letters*;* for a long time he does not appear to envy Chriſtianity, the inferior claſſes of ſociety, which he does not comprehend under the appellation of the *better ſort*. The facts, we are about to lay before the reader, will ſhow to what new extent, the conſpirators ſought to carry their impious zeal, and by what artifices Chriſt was to be deprived of all worſhip, even from the loweſt populace.

Origin of the Œconomiſts.

A doctor, known in France by the name of Duqueſnai, had ſo well inſinuated himſelf into the favor of Lewis XV. that the king uſed to call him his *thinker*. He really appeared to have deeply meditated on the happineſs of the ſubject, and he may have ſincerely wiſhed it; nevertheleſs he was but a ſyſtem-maker, and the founder of that ſect of Sophiſters called Œconomiſts, becauſe the œconomy and order to be introduced into the finances, and other means of alleviating the diſtreſſes of the people, were perpetually in their mouths. If ſome few of theſe Œconomiſts, ſought nothing further in their ſpeculations, it is at leaſt certain, that their writers, little hid their hatred for the Chriſtian religion. Their works abound in paſſages which ſhow their wiſh of ſubſtituting natural religion, at leaſt to the Chriſtian religion and revelation.† Their affectation of ſolely ſpeaking of agriculture, adminiſtration and œconomy, render them leſs liable to ſuſpicion, than thoſe conſpirators perpetually forwarding their impiety.

* Letter to D'Alembert, 13th Dec. 1763.

† See the analyſis of thoſe works, by Mr. Le Gros, Prevoſt of St. Louis du Louvre.

Their plan for free ſchools.

Duquefnai and his adepts, had more eſpecially undertaken to perſuade their readers, that the country people, and mechanics in towns, were entirely deſtitute of that inſtruction neceſſary for their profeſſions. That men of this claſs, unable to acquire knowledge by reading, pined away in an ignorance equally fatal to themſelves and to the ſtate. That it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh free ſchools, and particularly throughout the country, where children could be brought up to different trades, and inſtructed in the principles of agriculture.

The conſpirators ſupport the plan.

D'Alembert, and the Voltarian adepts, ſoon perceived what advantages they could reap from theſe eſtabliſhments. In union with the Œconomiſts, they preſented various memorials to Lewis XV. in which, not only the temporal but even the ſpiritual advantages of ſuch eſtabliſhments, for the people are ſtrongly urged. The king, who really loved the people, embraced the project with warmth. He opened his mind, on the ſubject, to Mr. Bertin, whom he honored with his confidence, and had entruſted with his privy purſe. It was from frequent converſations with this miniſter, that the memorial from which we extract the following account was drawn up. It is Mr. Bertin himſelf that ſpeaks.

" Lewis XV. ſaid that miniſter, having entruſted " me with the care of his privy purſe, it was natural " that he ſhould mention to me an eſtabliſhment, of " which his Majeſty was to defray the expence. I had " long ſince cloſely obſerved the different ſects of our " philoſophers; and though I had much to reproach " myſelf as to the practice, I had at leaſt preſerved the " principles of my religion. I had little doubt of the " efforts of the Philoſophers to deſtroy it. I was ſen- " ſible that they wiſhed to have the direction of theſe " ſchools themſelves, and by that means, ſeizing on " the education of the people, under pretence that " the biſhops and eccleſiaſtics, who had hitherto ſu- " perintended them and their teachers, could not be " competent judges in ſubjects ſo little ſuited to cler- " gymen. I apprehended that their object was not ſo " much to give leſſons on agriculture, to the children " of huſbandmen and trades-people, as to withdraw " them from their habitual inſtructions on their cate- " chiſm, or on their religion.

" I did not heſitate to declare to the king, that the " intentions of the Philoſophers were very different

" from his. I know thoſe conſpirators, I ſaid, and " beware, Sire, of ſeconding them. Your kingdom " is not deficient in free ſchools, or nearly free; they " are to be found in every little town, and nearly in " every village, and perhaps they are already but too " numerous. It is not books that form mechanics and " plowmen. The books and maſters, ſent by theſe " philoſophers, will rather infuſe ſyſtem than induſtry, " into the country people. I tremble leſt they render " them idle, vain, jealous, and ſhortly diſcontented, " ſeditious, and at length rebellious. I fear, leſt the " whole fruit of the expence, they ſeek to put your " Majeſty to, will be to gradually obliterate, in the hearts " of the people, its love for their religion and their " ſovereign.

" To theſe arguments, I added whatever my mind " could ſuggeſt, to diſſuade his Majeſty. I adviſed " him, in place of paying and ſending thoſe maſters, " which the Philoſophers had choſen, to employ the " ſame ſums, for multiplying the catechiſts, and in " ſearching for good and patient men, whom his Ma- " jeſty, in concert with the biſhops, ſhould ſupport, in " order to teach the poor peaſantry the principles of " religion, and to teach it them by rote, as the rectors " and curates do to thoſe children who do not know " how to read.

" Lewis XV. ſeemed to reliſh my arguments, but " the philoſophers renewed their attacks. They had " people about his perſon, who never ceaſed to urge " him, and the king could not perſuade himſelf, that " his *thinker*, Duqueſnai, and the other Philoſophers, " were capable of ſuch deteſtable views. He was ſo " conſtantly beſet by thoſe men, that during the laſt " twenty years of his reign, in the daily converſations " which he honored me with, I was perpetually em- " ployed in combating the falſe ideas he had imbibed, " on the Œconomiſts and their aſſociates.

" At length determined to give the king proof poſi- " tive that they impoſed upon him, I ſought to gain the " confidence of thoſe pedlars who travel through the " country, and expoſe their goods to ſale in the vil- " lages, and at the gates of country ſeats. I ſuſpect- " ed thoſe in particular who dealt in books, to be noth- " ing leſs than the agents of Philoſophiſm with the " good country folks. In my excurſions into the coun- " try, I above all fixed my attention on the latter.

He diſcovers the means of the conſpirators.

" When they offered me a book to buy, I queſtioned " them what might be the books they had? Probably " Catechiſms or Prayer-books? Few others are read in " the villages? At theſe words I have ſeen many ſmile. " No, they anſwered, thoſe are not our works; we " make much more money of Voltaire, Diderot, or " other philoſophic writings. What! ſays I, the " country people buy Voltaire and Diderot? Where " do they find the money for ſuch dear works? Their " conſtant anſwer was, We have them at a much " cheaper rate than Prayer-books; we may ſell them at " ten ſols (5d.) a volume, and have a pretty profit into " the bargain. Queſtioning ſome of them ſtill farther, " many of them owned, that thoſe books coſt them " nothing; that they received whole bales of them, " without knowing whence they came, ſimply deſired " to ſell them in their journeys at the loweſt price."

Such was the account given by Mr. Bertin, and particularly during his retreat at Aix la Chapelle. All that he ſaid of thoſe pedlars perfectly coincides with what I have heard many rectors of ſmall towns and villages complain of. They looked upon theſe hawking bookſellers as the peſts of their pariſhes, and as the agents of the pretended philoſophers in the circulation of their impiety.

Lewis XV. warned by the diſcovery made by his miniſter, at length was ſatisfied that the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſchools ſo much promoted by the conſpirators, would only be a new mean of ſeduction in their hands. He abandoned the plan, but perpetually harraſſed by the protecting Sophiſters, he did not ſtrike at the root of the evil, and but feebly impeded its progreſs. The pedlars continued to ſerve the meaſures of the conſpirators, but this was but one of the inferior means employed to ſupply the delay of their free ſchools, as a new diſcovery brought one far more fatal to light.

The ſchool-maſters in the villages.

Many years prior to the French Revolution, a rector of the dioceſe of Embrun, had had frequent conteſts with the ſchool-maſter of the village, charging him with corrupting the morals of his pupils, and with diſtributing moſt irreligious books among them. The lord of the village, one of the protecting adepts, ſupported the ſchool-maſter; the good rector applied to his archbiſhop. Mr. Salabert D'Anguin, Vicar-general, deſired to ſee the library of the maſter. It was filled with theſe ſort of works: but the delinquent, ſo far from

denying the uſe he made of them, with a pretended ſimplicity, ſaid he had always heard thoſe works ſpoken of in the higheſt terms; and, like the hawkers, declared that he was not at the trouble of buying them, as they were ſent to him free of all coſts.

At about a league from Liege, and in the adjacent villages, maſters ſtill more perfidious, carried their means of corruption to a far greater extent. Theſe would aſſemble a certain number of trades-people and poor country fellows, who had not learned to read, on certain days, at particular hours. In theſe meetings, one of the pupils of the profeſſor would read in an audible voice, a chapter in ſome work with which he himſelf had already been perverted. For example one of Voltaire's romances, then the *Sermon of the Fifty*, the pretended *Good Senſe*, or other works of the ſect furniſhed by the maſter. Thoſe that abounded in calumny and abuſe againſt the clergy, were particularly read. Theſe meetings, the fore-runners of the Liege revolution, were only diſcovered when an honeſt and religious carpenter, who worked for a canon of that cathedral, declared the ſorrow he had conceived in finding his two ſons at one of theſe meetings reading ſuch lectures to about a dozen of country fellows. On this diſcovery, a proper ſearch was made in the adjacent country, and many ſchool-maſters were found guilty of the ſame perfidy; and, terrible to ſay, by the exterior practice of their religion, theſe men had done away all ſuſpicion of ſuch infernal dealings. The reſearches were carried ſtill further, and the plots were traced up to D'Alembert; the following was the reſult of this new diſcovery. It is the very perſon to whom the honeſt carpenter opened his mind, and who made the neceſſary perquiſitions on ſo important an object, who gave me the following information.

D'Alembert's committee of education.

In ſeeking what men had been the promoters of theſe corrupters of youth, they were found to be protected by men whoſe connexions with the Sophiſters of the day, were no ſecret. At length they were traced to D'Alembert himſelf, and his office for tutors. It was to this office that all thoſe heretofore mentioned addreſſed themſelves, who wanted the recommendation of the Sophiſters to obtain a place of preceptor or tutor in the houſes of the great or wealthy. But at this period, private education was not the ſole object of D'Alembert. He now had eſtabliſhed a correſpondence through-

out the provinces and beyond the kingdom. Not a place of profeſſor in a college, or of a ſimple ſchool-maſter in a village became vacant, but what he or his coadjutors were immediately informed of it by his agents. Alſo of the perſons who petitioned for theſe places, of thoſe who ſhould be accepted or rejected, and of the means neceſſary to be employed, or perſons to be applied to, to obtain the nomination of an adept competitor, or of thoſe who were to be ſent from Paris; in ſhort, of the proper inſtructions to be given to the elected with regard to local circumſtances, or the more or leſs progreſs Philoſophiſm had made around them. Hence the impudence of the ſchool-maſter in the dioceſe of Embrun, and that hypocriſy in thoſe of the principality of Liege, where a government totally eccleſiaſtical was to be feared, and where infidelity had not yet made the ſame ravages it had in France.

It is thus that D'Alembert, faithful to the miſſion Voltaire had given him, *to enlighten youth as much as lay in his power*,* had extended his means of ſeducing them. Voltaire no longer regretted the colony of Cleves. That *manufacture* of impiety which was to have been its chief object, the philoſophic *confraternity*, like to *that of the Free-maſons*, the SECRET ACADEMY, more zealous in cruſhing Chriſt and his religion, than any other ever had been in the propagation of ſcience or learning, were now eſtabliſhed in Paris. And it was in the capital of the Moſt Chriſtian empire, that theſe aſſociations were held, the parents of the revolution that was to bring deva ſtation on France, and deſtruction on Chriſtianity throughout the world. This was the laſt *myſtery of Mytra*; this was the deepeſt intrigue of the conſpirators; nor do I know that it has been laid open by any writer. In the correſpondence of the Sophiſters, no trace can be diſcovered of this intrigue, at leaſt in what the adepts have publiſhed. They had their reaſons for ſuppreſſing ſuch letters, for even in the firſt days of the revolution, would not the people have been indignant on hearing of ſuch means to wreſt their religion from them, and never would ſuch a myſtery of iniquity have emerged from the darkneſs in which it had been conceived, if Providence had not ordained that the unfortunate adept we are about to ſpeak of, tortured with remorſe, ſhould make an avowal of it.

* Letter 15th of Sept. 1762.

Before we publiſh his declaration ourſelves, it is incumbent on us to ſay by what means we became acquainted with it, and what precautions we have taken to aſcertain the authenticity of it. The honor and probity of the perſon who gave us the account, placed its veracity beyond all doubt, nevertheleſs we requeſted to have it under his ſignature. Still further, ſeeing that a great nobleman was mentioned as a witneſs, and even as the ſecond actor in the ſcene, we did not heſitate in applying directly to him. This nobleman, of diſtinguiſhed honor, virtue and courage, bears the firſt diſtinction of French knighthood, and is in London at this preſent time. We attended to the recital he was pleaſed to make, and found it perfectly conſonant with the ſigned memorial we had carried with us. If his name is omitted, it is only becauſe he was loath to ſee it appear in a fact that criminates the memory of a friend, whoſe error was rather owing to the ſeduction of the Sophiſters than to his own heart, and whoſe repentance in ſome ſort atoned for the crime he had been guilty of. The following is the fact, which will complete the proofs, as yet only drawn from the letters of the conſpirators themſelves.

Diſcovery of the ſecret academy, and of its means.

About the middle of the Month of September, 1789, that is a little more than a fortnight antecedent to the atrocious 5th and 6th of October, at a time when the conduct of the National Aſſembly, having thrown the people into all the horrors of a revolution, indicated that they would ſet no bounds to their pretenſions, Mr. Le Roy, Lieutenant of the King's Hunt, and an Academician, was at dinner at Mr. D'Angevillier's, Intendant of the Buildings of his Majeſty, the converſation turned on the diſaſters of the revolution, and on thoſe that were too clearly to be foreſeen. Dinner over, the nobleman abovementioned, a friend of Le Roy, but hurt at having ſeen him ſo great an admirer of the Sophiſters, reproached him with it in the following expreſſive words. *Well, this however is the work of* PHILOSOPHY! Thunder-ſtruck at theſe words,—Alas! cried the Academician, *to whom do you ſay ſo? I know it but too well, and I ſhall die of grief and remorſe!* At the word *remorſe*, the ſame nobleman queſtioned him whether he had ſo greatly contributed towards the revolution, as to upbraid himſelf with it in that violent manner? "Yes, anſwered he, I have contributed to "it, and far more than I was aware of. I was ſecre-

Avowal and ſorrow of its ſecretary.

" tary to the committee to which you are indebted for
" it, but I call heaven to witneſs, that I never thought
" it would come to ſuch lengths. You have ſeen me
" in the king's ſervice, and you know that I love his
" perſon. I little thought of bringing his ſubjects to
" this pitch, *and I ſhall die of grief and remorſe!*"

Preſſed to explain what he meant by this committee, this ſecret ſociety, entirely new to the whole company, the Academician reſumed: " This ſociety was a ſort
" of club that we had formed among us philoſophers,
" and only admitted into it perſons on whom we could
" perfectly rely. Our ſittings were regularly held at the
" Baron D'Holbach's. Leſt our object ſhould be ſur-
" miſed, we called ourſelves Œconomiſts. We created
" Voltaire, though abſent, our honorary and perpetual
" preſident. Our principal members were D'Alembert,
" Turgot, Condorcet, Diderot, La Harpe, and that La-
" moignon Keeper of the Seals who, on his diſmiſſion,
" ſhot himſelf in his park."

The whole of this declaration was accompanied with tears and ſighs, when the adept, deeply penitent, continued: " The following were our occupations; the
Their object. " moſt of thoſe works which have appeared for this
" long time paſt againſt religion, morals and govern-
" ment, were ours, or thoſe of authors devoted to us.
" They were all compoſed by the members or by the
" orders of the ſociety. Before they were ſent to the
" preſs, they were delivered in at our office. There
" we reviſed and corrected them; added to or curtailed
" them according as circumſtances required. When
" our philoſophy was too glaring for the times, or for
" the object of the work, we brought it to a lower
" tint, and when we thought that we might be more
" daring than the author, we ſpoke more openly. In
" a word, we made our writers ſay exactly what we
" pleaſed. Then the work was publiſhed under the
" title or name we had choſen, the better to hide the
" hand whence it came. Many ſuppoſed to have been
" poſthumous works, ſuch as *Chriſtianity Unmaſked*,
" and divers others, attributed to Freret and Boulan-
" ger, after their deaths, were iſſued from our ſociety.

" When we had approved of thoſe works, we be-
" gan by printing them on fine or ordinary paper, in
" ſufficient number to pay our expences, and then an
" immenſe number on the commoneſt paper. Theſe
" latter we ſent to hawkers and bookſellers free of coſts,

" or nearly ſo, who were to circulate them among the " people at the loweſt rate. Theſe were the means " uſed to pervert the people and bring them to the " preſent ſtate you ſee them in. I ſhall not ſee them " long, *for I ſhall die of grief and remorſe!*"

This recital had made the company ſhudder, nevertheleſs they could not but be ſtruck at the remorſe and horrid ſituation in which they beheld the ſpeaker. Their indignation for Philoſophiſm was carried ſtill further, when Le Roy explained the meaning of ECR : L'INF (ècraſez l'infame, *cruſh the wretch,*) with which Voltaire concludes ſo many of his letters. The reader will perceive, that in the whole of theſe Memoirs we had uniformly given the ſame explanation ; and indeed the context of the letters makes the ſenſe evident ; but he revealed what we ſhould not have dared aſſert on our own authority, that all thoſe to whom Voltaire wrote under that horrid formula, were members or initiated into the myſteries of this ſecret committee. He alſo declared what we have already ſaid on the plan of elevating Briennes to the archbiſhopric of Paris, and many other particulars, which he related, and that would have been precious for hiſtory, but have eſcaped the memory of thoſe preſent. None of them could give me any information as to the exact time when this ſecret academy was formed ; but it appears from the diſcovery made by Mr. Bertins, that it muſt have exiſted long before the death of Lewis XV.

I think it neceſſary, on this occaſion, to lay before my reader a letter of March 1763, which Voltaire writes to Helvetius. " Why, ſays he to his zealous " brother, do the worſhippers of reaſon live in ſilence " and fear ? They are not ſufficiently acquainted with " their own ſtrength. *What ſhould hinder them from " having a little preſs of their own,* and from publiſhing " ſmall works, ſhort *and uſeful, and which ſhould only " be confided to their friends.* This was the method fol- " lowed by thoſe who printed the laſt will of the good " and honeſt curate (Meſlier,) his teſtimony is certainly " of great weight. It is further *certain, that you and " your friends could, with the greateſt facility, pen the beſt " works poſſible, and throw them into circulation without " expoſing yourſelves in the leaſt.*"

There alſo exiſts another letter, in which Voltaire, under the name of *Jean Patourel*, heretofore a Jeſuit,

and in his ironic ſtyle, ſeeming to felicitate Helvetius on his pretended converſion, deſcribes the method employed for the circulation of thoſe works, among the lower claſſes. " In oppoſition to the *Chriſtian pedagogue*, and the *Think well on it*, books formerly ſo " much famed for the converſions they had wrought; " pretty little philoſophic works are *cleverly* circulated; " theſe little books rapidly ſucceed each other. *They* " *are not ſold, they are given to people who can be relied* " *on, who in their turn diſtribute them, to women and* " *young people.* At one time it is the *Sermon of the fifty*, " attributed to the King of Pruſſia; at another *an ex-* " *tract from the will*, of the unfortunate curate Jean " Meſlier, who, on his death-bed, implored forgive- " neſs of his God, for having taught Chriſtianity, or " laſtly, *the Catechiſm of the honeſt man*, written by a " certain Abbè Durand, (that is Voltiare himſelf."*)

Theſe two letters may throw great light on the ſubject. Firſt, we ſee Voltaire giving the plan of a ſecret ſociety, which perfectly coincides with the one deſcribed by Le Roi; ſecondly, that one of a ſimilar nature exiſted at Ferney; thirdly, that it had not taken place, at the period when theſe letters were written, as he preſſes the eſtabliſhment of it. But on the other ſide, the pretended poſthumous works of Freret and Boulanger, which the adept Le Roy declares to have been iſſued from this ſecret academy, holding its ſittings at the Baron D'Holbach's, were publiſhed in 1756 and 1757.† It therefore appears that this ſecret committee was eſtabliſhed at Paris, between the years 1763 and 1766. That is to ſay, that for three and twenty years preceding the revolution, they had been inceſſantly attempting to ſeduce the people by thoſe artifices and intrigues, the ſhame of which, drew the above avowal from its repenting ſecretary. Such would have been the manufacture of Voltaire's colony.

When eſtabliſhed.

It was with truth, that this unhappy adept repeated, *I ſhall die of grief and remorſe;* for he did not ſurvive his avowal three months. When he mentioned the principal members, he added that all thoſe to whom Voltaire wrote under the abominable formula of *Cruſh the Wretch*, were either members, or initiated into the myſteries of this ſecret academy.

Other adepts of the academy.

* Letter to Helvetius, 25th Auguſt, 1763.

† See L'Antiquité devoilée, Amſterdam, anno 1766, and l'Examen des Apologiſtes du Chriſtianiſme, anno 1767.

In following this rule the first of these adepts will certainly be Damilaville, who exulted so much on hearing that none but the rabble were left to worship Christ; for it is to him in particular, that Voltaire always ends his letters by, crush the wretch. This man was himself very little above that rabble he so much despised. He had made a small fortune by being one of the clerks in the office for the tax called the Vingtiemes, and had a salary of about 180l. per ann. His philosophy had not taught him the spirit of poverty, as we see Voltaire excusing himself, on his not having been able to procure him a more lucrative employment.* Damilaville.

The distinctive character, which Voltaire gives him in one of his letters, is that of *hating God;* could that have given rise to their great intimacy? It was through his means, that he transmitted his most impious productions or particular secrets to the conspirators. We should have remained in the dark, as to his literary talents, had it not been for a letter from Voltaire to the Marquis de Villevieille, which so perfectly describes the meanness of the Sophisters, and how distant they were from the true Philosopher, ready to sacrifice every thing in the cause of truth. "No, my dear friend "(says Voltaire to the Marquis,) the modern Socrateses "will not drink hemlock. The Athenian Socrates, "with respect to us, was a very imprudent man, an "eternal quibbler, and who foolishly set his judges at "defiance."

"Our philosophers of these days, are wiser than "that. They are not possessed with that foolish vanity "of putting their names to their works. They are in-"visible hands, who, from one end of Europe to the "other, pierce fanaticism with the shafts of truth. "Damilaville is just dead, he was the author of *Chris-"tianity unmasked* (which he had published as a posthu-"mous work of Boulanger's) and of many other wri-"tings. *It was never known, and his friends kept his se-"cret with a fidelity worthy of Philosophy.*"†

Such then is the author of that famous work, which the Sophisters had given us, as flowing from the pen of one of their most learned adepts. Damilaville, under the name of Boulanger, from his publican-office, sallies forth the phœnix of modern Philosophism, and with the courage of a Sophister, shrinks from his own

* Gen. Cor. let. to Damilaville, 2d Dec. 1757.
† 20th Dec. 1768.

works, leſt they coſt him dearly, if ever called upon to ſupport his principles before the tribunals. He alſo would have ſhrunk from the hemlock potion, in the infamy and eternal ſhame, that ſuch abominable calumnies as he had vomited forth againſt Chriſtianity, muſt have overpowered him with.

This adept, ſo worthy of Voltaire's and D'Alembert's friendſhip, died a bankrupt clerk in office, and had been parted from his wife, for the laſt twelve years. Voltaire is his panegyriſt when he ſays, "I ſhall always "regret Damilaville, I loved the intrepidity of his ſoul, "he was enthuſiaſtic like St. Paul, he was a neceſſary "man."* Decency forbids us to quote the remainder of the panegyric.

Count D'Argental.

Next to this Sophiſter, whoſe chief merits appear to have been his enthuſiaſtic Atheiſm, we find the Count D'Argental. I have already ſpoken of his intimacy with Voltaire, and only mention him, as one of thoſe initiated in the ſecret myſteries of the ſecret academy; being one of thoſe correſpondents with whom Voltaire expreſſes himſelf in the moſt unreſerved manner on his plan of cruſhing Chriſt.†

Thiriot.

On the ſame claim a ſort of ſcribbler called Thiriot is to be aggregated to the academy. Neither more elevated than Damilaville in rank or fortune; he for a longer time ſubſiſted on Voltaire's benefactions, who firſt made him his diſciple and then his agent. Brother Thiriot added ingratitude to his impiety, and Voltaire complained bitterly of him. But Thiriot notwithſtanding his ingratitude, always remained impious, which reconciled him to Voltaire and preſerved him within the fraternal embrace of the conſpirators.‡

Saurin.

It is with concern that Mr. Saurin is ſeen a member of this academy. Certainly it is not his literary works which raiſe this ſentiment, for were it not for his Tragedy of Spartacus, both his proſe and verſe, would equally, be forgotten; but we are told that it was rather to his want of fortune, than to his diſpoſition, that he owed his connexions with the Sophiſters. He is even ſaid to have been a man of great probity, but that he was drawn into that ſociety, for the conſideration of a penſion of a thouſand crowns which Helvetius paid

* 23d December 1769, 13th of January, &c.

† See numbers of letters in the General Correſpondence.

‡ See Correſpondence and Letters to D'Alembert, and letters from the Marchioneſs of Chatellet to the King of Pruſſia.

him. What an excuſe! And where is the probity of the man who will ſacrifice his religion to his intereſt; and for a penſion coaleſce with thoſe who conſpire againſt his God? We ſee Voltaire writing to Saurin himſelf, and placing him on the ſame line with Helvetius and the initiated brethren, entruſting him with the ſame ſecrets, and exhorting him to the ſame warfare againſt Chriſt. As we have never ſeen him diſclaim the connexion, the ſhame of it muſt attach to him.*

A Swiſs Baron of the name of Grimm muſt neceſſarily find his place here. He was the worthy friend and co-operator of Diderot, like him travelling to Peterſburg to form adepts, then returning to Paris, he alſo joins in his abſurdities, repeats after him, that *between a man and his dog there is no other difference but their dreſs*, and exults in being able to apprize Voltaire, that the Emperor Joſeph II. was initiated into his myſteries. Grimm.

We will terminate our liſt by the German Baron D'Holbach, who deſtitute of abilities lends his houſe. He had acquired at Paris, the reputation of a lover and protector of the arts, nor did the Sophiſters contribute a little to it. This was a cloak to their meetings at his houſe. Unable to vie with the poet he wiſhes to be the Mecenas. Nor is he the only perſon who has owed his reputation to his purſe, and to his having diſpoſed of it in favor of the Sophiſters. In ſpite of theſe pretences, ſought for coloring the frequent meetings of the adepts, the public repute of thoſe who reſorted to his houſe, had thrown ſuch an odium on him, that it was openly ſaid, that to gain admittance at his houſe, it was neceſſary, as in Japan, to trample on the croſs. Baron D'Holbach.

Such then were the members of this famous academy, whoſe ſole object was to corrupt the minds of the people and prepare the way to univerſal apoſtacy, under the pretext of their happineſs, public œconomy, or the love and advancement of the arts. Here are fifteen of its members whom we have mentioned, Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Turgot, Condorcet, La Harpe, the keeper of the ſeals Lamoignon, Damilaville, Thiriot, Saurin, the Count D'Argental, Grimm, the Baron D'Holbach, and the unfortunate Le Roy, who died conſumed with grief and remorſe, for having been the ſecretary to ſo monſtrous an academy.

* Voltaire to Mr. Saurin, anno 1761; and to Damilaville, 28th December 1762.

If at present we ascend back to the real founder of this academy, to Voltaire's letter to Helvetius, already quoted, the following one to D'Alembert should be added: "Let the Philosophers unite in *a brotherhood like* "*the Free-Masons*, let them assemble and support each "other; let them be faithful to the association. Then "I would let myself be burnt for them. This SECRET "ACADEMY will be far superior to that of Athens, and "to all those of Paris. But every one thinks only "for himself, and forgets that his most sacred duty is "to *crush the wretch*." This letter is dated 20th of April 1761. Confronting it with the declaration of Le Roy, we see how faithfully the Parisian adepts had followed the plans of the premier chief. Often did he lament his inability of presiding over their toils but at a distance; and it was difficult to persuade him, that the capital of the most Christian empire, was a proper seat for so licentious an establishment. It was for that reason we see him pursuing his favorite plan of the philosophic colony, even after the establishment of the secret academy. But the time came when the direful success of the latter more than compensated the loss of the former. Triumphant in Paris and surrounded by the adepts, he was one day to reap the fruits of such unrelenting constancy in the warfare he waged during the last half century against his God.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the General Progreſs of the Conſpiracy throughout Europe.—Triumph and Death of the Chiefs.

Hopes of the conſpirators.

AS the conſpirators advanced in their arts of ſeduction, their hopes are daily heightened by ſome new ſucceſs. They were already ſuch, that a few years after the Encyclopedia had firſt appeared, we find D'Alembert confidently writing to Voltaire, "Let "Philoſophy alone, and in twenty years the Sorbonne, "however much Sorbonne it may be, will outſtrip Lau- "ſanne itſelf." That is to ſay, that in twenty years time (and this was written 21ſt July 1757,) the Sorbonne would be as incredulous and Antichriſtian as a certain miniſter of Lauſanne (Voltaire himſelf) who furniſhed the moſt impious articles that are to be found in the Encyclopedia.

Soon after, Voltaire improving on D'Alembert, ſays, twenty years more, *and God will be in a pretty plight!** That is to ſay, twenty years more, and not an altar of the God of the Chriſtians ſhall remain.

Their progreſs.

Every thing indeed ſeemed to forbode the univerſal reign of impiety throughout Europe. The diſtrict which had fallen in particular to Voltaire, was making ſuch an awful progreſs, that eight years after he writes, that *not a ſingle Chriſtian was to be found from Geneva to Berne.*† Every where elſe, to uſe his expreſſions, the *world was acquiring wit apace*, and even ſo faſt, *that a general revolution in ideas threatened all around.*

In Switzerland.

In Germany.

Germany in particular, gave him great hopes.‡ Frederick, who as carefully watched it, as Voltaire did Switzerland, writes, that "philoſophy was beginning to pen- "etrate even into ſuperſtitious Bohemia, and into "Auſtria, the former abode of ſuperſtition."§

In Ruſſia.

In Ruſſia the adepts gave if any thing, ſtill greater hopes. This protection of the *Scythians*, is what conſoles Voltaire for the perſecutions which befel the ſect elſewhere.‖ He could not contain himſelf for joy, when he wrote to D'Alembert how much the brethren

* 25th Feb. 1758. † 8th Feb. 1766. ‡ 2d Feb. 1765.
§ Letter to Voltaire, 143, anno 1766.
‖ Letter to Diderot, 25th Dec. 1762.

were protected at Peterſburg and informed him, that during a journey made by that court, the Scythian protectors had each one, for his amuſement, undertaken to tranſlate a chapter of Beliſarius into their language: that the Empreſs had undertaken one herſelf, and had even been at the trouble of reviſing the tranſlation of this work, which in France had been cenſured by the Sorbonne.*

In Spain. D'Alembert wrote, that in Spain Philoſophiſm was *undermining* the Inquiſition,† and according to Voltaire, a great *revolution was operating in ideas* there, as well as

In Italy. *in Italy*.‡ A few years after we find this Italy ſwarming with men thinking like Voltaire and D'Alembert, and that their ſole intereſt prevented them from openly declaring for impiety.‖

In England. As to England they made but little doubt of its falling an eaſy prey. To hear them ſpeak, it was overrun with Socinians who ſcoffed at and hated Chriſt, as Julian the apoſtate hated and deſpiſed him, and who only differed in name from the philoſophers §

Finally, according to their calculations, Bavaria and Auſtria alone (this was during the life-time of the Empreſs Queen) continued to ſupport the divines and defenders of religion. The Empreſs of Ruſſia *was driving them on glorioufly*, and they were at *their laſt gaſp in Poland*, thanks to the King Poniatowſki. They were *already overthrown in Pruſſia*, through the care of Frederick, and *in the north of Germany* the ſect daily gained ground, thanks to the Landgraves, Margraves, Dukes and Princes, adepts and protectors.¶

In France. Far otherwiſe did matters ſtand in France. We often ſee the two chiefs complaining of the obſtacles they had to encounter in this empire, the favorite object of their conſpiracy.

The perpetual appeals of the clergy, the decrees of the parliaments, the very acts of authority which the miniſters, though friendly to the conſpirators, were obliged to exert in order to hide their predeliction, were not totally ineffectual. The bulk of the nation ſtill remained attached to its faith. That numerous claſs called the people, in ſpite of all the intrigues of

* Voltaire to D'Alembert, July 1767. † 3d May, 1773.
‡ Letter to Mr. Riche, 1ſt March 1768.
‖ Voltaire to D'Alembert, 16th June 1773.
§ Letter to the King of Pruſſia, 15th Nov. 1773.
¶ Voltaire to D'Alembert, 1ſt Sept. 1767.

the ſecret academy, ſtill flocked to the altar on days of ſolemnity. In the higher claſſes, numerous were the exceptions to be made of thoſe who ſtill loved religion. Indignant at ſo many obſtacles, Voltaire would perpetually ſtimulate his countrymen, whom he contemptuouſly calls his *poor Velches*. Sometimes however he was better pleaſed with them, and would write to his dear Marquis Villevieille, "*The people are mighty fooliſh, nevertheleſs Philoſophiſm makes its way down to them.* Be "well aſſured for inſtance, that there are not twenty "people in Geneva who would not abjure Calvin as "ſoon as they would the Pope, and that many philoſ-"ophers are to be found in Paris behind the counter."* But generally ſpeaking, his complaints about France predominate in his correſpondence with the conſpirators; ſometimes he would deſpair of ever ſeeing Philoſophy triumph there. D'Alembert, on the ſpot, judged of matters very differently, and though every thing did not anſwer his wiſhes, nevertheleſs he thought himſelf authoriſed to flatter Voltaire, that though *philoſophy might receive a temporary check, it never could be got the better of.*†

About the period when D'Alembert writes this, it was but too true that Philoſophiſm could flatter itſelf with the hopes of triumphing over the attachment of the French nation to their religion. During the laſt ten or twelve years, impiety had made a dreadful progreſs, the colleges had ſent forth a new generation educated by new maſters, and they were nearly void of all knowledge, and particularly deſtitute of religion or piety. It perfectly coincided with Condorcet's expreſſion, that Philoſophiſm *had deſcended from the thrones of the North into the very univerſities.*‡ The religious generation was nearly extinct, and the revealed truths were obliged to give place to the empty ſounds of reaſon, philoſophy, prejudices, and ſuch like. In the higher claſſes impiety made large ſtrides, whether at court or in the tribunals; from the capital it gained the provinces, and the maſter ſhows the example to the ſervant. Every body would be a Philoſopher, whether miniſter or magiſtrate, ſoldier or author. He that wiſhed to follow his religion, was expoſed to all the ſarcaſtic irony of the Sophiſters, and that particularly

* 20th Dec. 1768. † 25th Jan. 1776.
‡ See his Preface to his edition of Paſchal's Thoughts.

among the great, where it required as much courage to profeſs one's religion, ſince the conſpiracy, as it did audacity and raſhneſs to declare one's ſelf an Atheiſt before.

Triumph of Voltaire.

Voltaire was at that time in his eighty-fourth year. After ſo long an abſence, and always under the power and laſh of the law, he ſhould only have appeared publicly in Paris, to controvert thoſe impieties, which had brought the animadverſion of the parliament on him. D'Alembert and his academy reſolve to overcome that obſtacle. In ſpite of religion they eaſily ſucceed, and miniſters, chiefly adepts, abuſing the clemency of Lewis XVI. obtain the recal of this premier chief, under pretence that this aged man had been ſufficiently puniſhed by his long exile, and that in favor of his literary trophies, his failings might be overlooked. It was agreed that the laws ſhould be ſilent with regard to him on his approach to Paris; the magiſtrates ſeemed to have forgotten the decree they had paſſed againſt him. This was all the conſpirators wiſhed. Voltaire arrives in Paris, he receives the homage of the ſect, and his arrival conſtitutes their triumphal day. This man, bending under the weight of years, ſpent in an unrelenting warfare, whether public or private, againſt Chriſtianity, is received in the capital of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, amidſt thoſe acclamations which were wont to announce the arrival of the favorite child of victory returning from the arduous toils of war.

Whitherſoever Voltaire bent his ſteps, a croud of adepts, and the gazing multitude, flocked to meet him. All the academies celebrate his arrival, and they celebrate it in the Louvre, in the palace of the kings, where Lewis XVI. is one day to be a priſoner and victim to the occult and deepeſt conſpiracies of the Sophiſters. The theatres decreed their crowns to the impious chief; entertainments in his honor, rapidly ſucceed each other. Intoxicated with the incenſe of the adepts, through pride he fears to ſink under it. In the midſt of theſe coronations and acclamations, he exclaimed, *You then wiſh to make me expire with glory!*—Religion alone mourned at this ſight, and vengeance hung over his head. The impious man had feared to die of glory, but rage and deſpair was to forward his laſt hour ſtill more than his great age. In the midſt of his triumphs, a violent hemorrhage raiſed apprehenſions for his life. D'Alembert, Diderot and Marmontel, haſtened to ſupport his

His death.

reſolution in his laſt moments, but were only witneſſes to their mutual ignominy as well as to his own.

Here let not the hiſtorian fear exaggeration. Rage, remorſe, reproach and blaſphemy, all, accompany and characterize the long agony of the dying Atheiſt. This death, the moſt terrible that is ever recorded to have ſtrucken the impious man, will not be denied by his companions of impiety; their ſilence, however much they may wiſh to deny it, is the leaſt of thoſe corroborative proofs, which could be adduced. Not one of the Sophiſters has ever dared to mention any ſign given, of reſolution or tranquility, by the premier chief, during the ſpace of three months, which elapſed from the time he was crowned at the theatre, until his deceaſe. Such a ſilence expreſſes, how great their humiliation was in his death.

It was on his return from the theatre, and in the midſt of the toils he was reſuming, in order to acquire freſh applauſe, when Voltaire was warned, that the long career of his impiety was drawing to an end.

In ſpite of all the Sophiſters, flocking around him, in the firſt days of his illneſs he gave ſigns of wiſhing to return to the God he had ſo often blaſphemed. He calls for the prieſts who miniſtered to *Him* whom he had ſworn *to cruſh*, under the appellation of *the wretch*. His danger encreaſing, he wrote the following note to the Abbé Gaultier. " You had promiſed me, Sir, to " come and hear me. I intreat you would take the " trouble of calling as ſoon as poſſible. *Signed*, VOL- " TAIRE. Paris, the 26th Feb. 1778."

A few days after he wrote the following declaration, in preſence of the ſame Abbé Gaultier, the Abbé Mignot and the Marquis de Villevieille, copied from the minutes depoſited with Mr. Momet, notary at Paris.

" I, the underwritten, declare that for theſe four " days paſt, having been afflicted with a vomiting of " blood, at the age of eighty-four, and not having been " able to drag myſelf to the church, the Rev. the Rec- " tor of St. Sulpice, having been pleaſed to add to his " good works, that of ſending to me the Abbé Gaul- " tier, a prieſt; I confeſſed to him, and if it pleaſes " God to diſpoſe of me, I die in the *Holy Catholic* " *Church*, in which I was born; hoping that the di- " vine mercy, will deign to pardon all my faults: if " ever I have ſcandalized the Church, I aſk pardon of " God and of the Church. 2d March 1778. *Signed*,

" VOLTAIRE : in preſence of the Abbé Mignot my " nephew, and the Marquis de Villevieille my friend."

After the two witneſſes had ſigned this declaration, Voltaire added theſe words, copied from the ſame minutes : " The Abbé Gaultier, my confeſſor, having ap- " prized me, that it was ſaid among a certain ſet of " people, I ſhould proteſt againſt every thing I did at " my death ; I declare I never made ſuch a ſpeech, " and that it is an old jeſt attributed, long ſince, to " many of the learned, more enlightened than I am."

Was this declaration a freſh inſtance of his former hypocriſy ? Unfortunately, after the explanations we have ſeen him give of his exterior acts of religion, might there not be room for doubt ? Be that as it may, this is a public homage, paid to that religion in which he declared he meant to die, notwithſtanding his having perpetually conſpired againſt it during his life. This declaration is alſo ſigned by that ſame friend and adept the Marquis de Villevieille to whom eleven years before, Voltaire was wont to write, " *Conceal your march* " *from the enemy* in your endeavours to cruſh the " wretch."*

Voltaire had permitted this declaration to be carried to the rector of St. Sulpice, and to the Archbiſhop of Paris, to know whether it would be ſufficient. When the Abbé Gaultier returned with the anſwer, it was impoſſible for him to gain admittance to the patient. The conſpirators had ſtrained every nerve to hinder the chief from conſummating his recantation, and every avenue was ſhut to the prieſt, which Voltaire himſelf had ſent for. The demons haunted every acceſs ; rage ſucceeds to fury, and fury to rage again during the remainder of his life. Then it was that D'Alembert, Diderot, and about twenty others of the conſpirators, who had beſet his apartment, never approached him, but to witneſs their own ignominy, and often he would curſe them and exclaim, " Retire, it is you that have " brought me to my preſent ſtate ; begone, I could " have done without you all, but you could not exiſt " without me, and what a wretched glory have you " procured me !"

Then would ſucceed the horrid remembrance of his conſpiracy ; they could hear him, the prey of anguiſh and dread, alternatively ſupplicating or blaſpheming that God whom he had conſpired againſt, and in plaintive

* 27th April, 1767.

accents would he cry out, Oh Chriſt! Oh Jeſus Chriſt! And then complain that he was abandoned by God and man. The hand which had traced in ancient writ the ſentence of an impious revelling king, ſeemed to trace before his eyes CRUSH THEN, DO CRUSH THE WRETCH. In vain he turned his head away, the time was coming apace when he was to appear before the tribunal of him he had blaſphemed, and his phyſicians, particularly Mr. Tronchin, calling in to adminiſter relief, thunderſtruck retire, declaring the death of the impious man to be terrible indeed. The pride of the conſpirators would willingly have ſuppreſſed theſe declarations, but it was in vain: the Mareſchal de Richelieu flies from the bedſide declaring it to be a ſight too terrible to be ſuſtained, and Mr. Tronchin, that the furies of Oreſtes could give but a faint idea of thoſe of Voltaire.

Thus died on the 30th of May 1778, rather worn out by his own fury than by the weight of years, the moſt unrelenting conſpirator againſt Chriſtianity, that had been ſeen ſince the time of the apoſtles. His perſecution longer and more perfidious than thoſe of Nero or Diocleſian had YET only produced apoſtates, but they were more numerous than the martyrs made in the former perſecutions.

The conſpirators in loſing Voltaire, had loſt every thing on the ſide of talents; but his arms of impiety they had remaining in his numerous writings. The arts and cunning of D'Alembert proved more than a ſuccedaneum to the genius of their deceaſed founder, and he is proclaimed chief. The ſecret committee of education in Paris, the country conventicles and the correſpondence with the village ſchool-maſters owed their origin to him. He continued to direct the works of the ſecret academy, in the propagation of impiety, until called upon to appear before that ſame God who had already judged Voltaire. He died five years after his patron, that is in November 1783. Leſt remorſe ſhould compel him to ſimilar recantations, which had ſo much humbled the ſect, Condorcet undertook to render him inacceſſible; if not to repentance and remorſe, at leaſt to all who might have availed themſelves of his homage done to religion.

D'Alembert ſucceeds him.

He dies.

When the Rector of St. Germain's, in quality of paſtor preſented himſelf, Condorcet, like to the devil who watches over his prey, ran to the door and barred his entrance! Scarce had the breath left his body when

the pride of Condorcet betrays his ſecret. D'Alembert really had felt that remorſe which muſt have been common to him with Voltaire; he was on the eve of ſending, as the only method of reconciliation, for a miniſter of that ſame Chriſt againſt whom he had alſo conſpired; but Condorcet ferociouſly combated theſe laſt ſigns of repentance in the dying Sophiſter, and he gloried in having forced him to expire in final impenitence. The whole of this odious conflict is comprized in one horrid ſentence; when Condorcet announced the deceaſe of D'Alembert and was relating the circumſtances, he did not bluſh to add, *Had I not been there he would have flinched alſo.**

Frederick. Frederick alone had ſucceeded or pretended to have ſucceeded in perſuading himſelf that death was but an eternal ſleep.† And he alone appears to have been an exception from among the chiefs of the conſpiracy, with whom the approach of death had ſubſtituted, in lieu of their pretended hatred for the *wretch*, the fear of his judgments.

Diderot that hero of Atheiſm, that conſpirator who long ſince had carried his audacity againſt his Chriſt and his God, to inſanity; Diderot I ſay, is he who was neareſt to a true reconciliation. This is another of thoſe myſteries of iniquity carefully hidden by the Antichriſtian conſpirators.

When the Empreſs of Ruſſia purchaſed Diderot's library, ſhe left him the uſe of it during his life. Her munificence had enabled him to have near his perſon, in quality of librarian, a young man who was far from partaking in his impiety. Diderot liked him much, and he had particularly endeared himſelf by the attentions he had ſhown Diderot during his laſt illneſs. It was he who generally dreſſed the wounds in his legs. Terri-

* Hiſtorical Dictionary, Article D'Alembert. It is true that Condorcet, ſorry to have inadvertantly revealed the ſecret of his aſſociate's remorſe, ſought to deſtroy the effect of it. It is true, that queſtioned another time on the circumſtances of D'Alembert's death, he anſwered in his philoſophic jargon, *that he did not die like a coward.* In fine it is true that in his firſt letter to the King of Pruſſia, in date of the 22d Nov. 1783, he repreſents D'Alembert dying with a tranquil courage, and with his uſual ſtrength and preſence of mind. But it was too late to lead Frederick into error on that ſubject, as the adept Grimm had already written, *That ſickneſs had greatly weakened D'Alembert's mind in his laſt moments.* (11th of November 1783.)

† Vide ſupra.

fied at the ſymptoms he perceived, the young man uns to acquaint a worthy eccleſiaſtic, the Abbé Lemoine, then reſident at the houſe called the Foreign Miſſions, Rue du Bac Fauxbourg, St. Germain. By his advice the young man prays during half an hour in a church, begging of Almighty God, that he will direct him in what he ſhould ſay or do, to enſure the ſalvation of one, who though he deteſted his impieties, he could never loſe ſight of as his benefactor. Riſing from his prayers he returns to Diderot and the ſame day when dreſſing his wounds, he ſpoke as follows:

" Mr. Diderot, you ſee me this day more anxious " than ever on your fate, do not be ſurpriſed, I am " aware how much I am indebted to you, it is by your " kindneſs that I ſubſiſt, you have deigned to ſhow " greater confidence in me than I had reaſon to expect. " I cannot prove ungrateful, I ſhould forever accuſe my- " ſelf of ingratitude, were I to hide the danger, which " your wounds declare you to be in. Mr. Diderot, " you may have diſpoſitions to make, and above all you " have precautions to take, for the world you are about " to enter. I am but a young man I know; but are " you certain that your philoſophy has not left you a " ſoul to ſave? I have no doubt of it, and it is impoſ- " ſible for me to reflect on it, and not warn my bene- " factor to avoid the eternal misfortune which may " await him. See, ſir, you have yet ſufficient time " left, and excuſe an advice which gratitude and your " friendſhip forces from me."

Diderot heard the young man with attention, and even melted into tears, thanked him for his frankneſs and the concern he had ſhown for him. He promiſed to conſider and to reflect what line of conduct he ſhould hold in a ſituation which he owned to be of the greateſt importance.

The young man waited his deciſion with the greateſt impatience, and the firſt ſigns were conformable to his wiſhes. He ran to inform the Abbé Lemoine that Diderot aſked to ſee a clergyman, and the Abbé directed him to Mr. de Terſac, Rector of St. Sulpice. Mr. de Terſac waited on Diderot and had ſeveral conferences with him, he was preparing a public recantation of his paſt errors, but unfortunately he was watched by the conſpirators. The viſit of a prieſt to Diderot had given the alarm to the Sophiſters, who would have thought themſelves diſhonored by the dereliction of ſo import-

ant a chief. They ſurround him, they perſuade him that he is impoſed upon, that his health is not in ſo bad a ſtate, and that a little country air would immediately recover him. Diderot was for a long time deaf to all the arguments Philoſophiſm could invent, but at length conſented to try at leaſt the country air. His departure is kept ſecret and the wretches who carry him away, knew that his laſt hour was approaching faſt. The Sophiſters who were in the plot pretended to think him ſtill in Paris, and the whole town is miſled by daily reports; while thoſe jailors who had ſeized on his perſon, watched him till they had ſeen him expire; then continuing their horrid duplicity they bring back the lifeleſs corpſe to Paris and ſpread the report that he had died ſuddenly at table. He expired the 2d of July 1784, and was repreſented as having died calm, in all his Atheiſm, without giving any ſigns of remorſe. The public are again miſled and thus many are corroborated in their impiety, who might have followed the example of this chief, had he not by the moſt unheard-of cruelty, been deprived of all ſpiritual relief in his laſt moments.

Thus in the whole of this conſpiracy, from its origin to the death of its firſt promoters, we have ſeen but one continued chain of cunning, art and ſeduction; of the blackeſt, falſeſt and moſt diſguſting means employed in that tremendous art of ſeducing the people. It was on theſe horrid arts that Voltaire, D'Alembert and Diderot had built all their hopes of working the univerſal apoſtacy, and in their laſt moments they are a prey to theſe very arts. In that awful moment when glory vaniſhes and that the empty name they had acquired by their deceit is no more, the diſciple of ſeduction lords it over his maſter. When their reaſon calls on them to make uſe of that liberty, (ſo much cried up when oppoſed to their God) to reconcile themſelves with him they had blaſphemed, even to their very remorſe, is ſacrificed to the vanity of their ſchool: when it calls on them to uſe that courage they had ſhown when blaſpeming, it fails them in their repentance, and they ſhow none but the ſlaviſh ſymptoms of weakneſs and fear. Under the ſubjection of their adepts, they expire fettered in thoſe chains which they themſelves had forged, and conſumed by that impiety, which their hearts then abhorred.

At the time of their death, hatred to Chriſtianity and the conſpiracy againſt the altar, was not the only object

of their ſchool. Voltaire had been the father of the Sophiſters of impiety, and he lived to be the premier chief of the Sophiſters of rebellion. He had ſaid to his firſt adepts, "Let us cruſh the altar, let the temples "be deſtroyed and let not a ſingle worſhipper be left to "the God of the Chriſtians;" and his ſchool ſoon re-echoed with the cry of, "Let us break the ſceptres, let the "thrones be deſtroyed, and let not a ſingle ſubject be "left to the kings of the earth." It is from their mutual ſucceſs, the combined revolution is to be generated, which graſping the hatchet, ſhall in France overthow the altar and the throne, murder the pontiffs, ſtrike off the head of the monarch, and proudly menace the kings of the earth and all Chriſtian altars, with a ſimilar fate.—We have now given the hiſtory of the plots and of the means of the ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY, or of the *Sophiſters of Impiety*. Before we begin that of the ANTIMONARCHIAL CONSPIRACY, or of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion*, let us reflect on the extraordinary illuſion Philoſophiſm has put upon all nations, which may be conſidered as having been one of the moſt powerful agents of the ſect.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the great Deluſion which rendered the Conſpiracy againſt the Altar ſo ſucceſsful.

IN the firſt part of theſe Memoirs on Jacobiniſm, our object was to demonſtrate the exiſtence, to unmaſk the chiefs and deduce the means and progreſs of a conſpiracy, planned and executed by men, known by the name of Philoſophers, againſt the Chriſtian religion, without diſtinction of Proteſtaniſm or Catholicity, without even excepting thoſe numerous ſects which had ſprung up in England or Germany, or in any other part of the univerſal world, provided they did but adore the God of Chriſtians. To unfold this myſtery of impiety, we had promiſed to adduce our proofs ſolely from their own records, that is from their letters, writings or avowals, and we flatter ourſelves with having given real hiſtorical demonſtration of it, ſufficient to convince the reader, the moſt difficult of conviction. Let us for a moment examine what pretenſions its authors could have had to be ſtyled PHILOSOPHERS, a name which gave them ſo much weight in their conſpiracy.

The generality of men attending rather to words than things, this affectation of dominion over wiſdom and reaſon, proved a very ſucceſsful weapon in their hands. Had they called themſelves unbelievers or the declared enemies of Chriſtianity, Voltaire and D'Alembert would have been the execration of all Europe, while only calling themſelves PHILOSOPHERS, they are miſtaken for ſuch. Is not their ſchool to this day, venerated by many as that of Philoſophy, notwithſtanding the numerous maſſacres, and all the horrid diſaſters which we have ſeen naturally flowing from their conſpiracy. And every man who will adopt their way of thinking on religion, ſtyles himſelf a Philoſopher!——This is a deluſion of more conſequence than can be imagined, and has carried the number of adepts perhaps farther than any other of their artifices. As long as their ſchool ſhall be miſtaken for that of reaſon, numberleſs will be the thoughtleſs perſons who pretending to depth of thought, will adopt the ſentiments of a Voltaire or a Diderot, of a D'Alembert or a Condorcet, and con-

Deluſion on the word Philoſophy.

ſpire like them againſt the altar ; and that diſaſtrous blaſt will once more ſpread around the throne, and over all the orders of ſociety.—Their oaths, their wiſhes and their plots have been laid open ; whence then are their pretenſions to wiſdom ? Is it not the hiſtorian's duty to tear off that maſk of hypocriſy, which has miſled ſuch numbers of adepts, who miſerably ſeeking to ſoar above the vulgar, have only ſunk into impiety, gazing after this pretended Philoſophy. The empty ſounds of *Reaſon*, *Philoſophy* and *Wiſdom*, have made them believe themſelves inſpired, when like Voltaire, they hated or deſpiſed the religion of Chriſt. But it is time they ſhould know that they have only been the dupes of deſigning men. Let them hearken, the numerous proofs we have adduced, give us a right to be heard when we tell them, " that at the ſchool of " the conſpirators they have miſtaken the leſſons of ha- " tred and phrenzy, for thoſe of reaſon ; they have " been the dupes of folly and madneſs, under the " cloak of reaſon ; of ignorance under the pretence " of ſcience ; of vice and depravity, under the maſk " of virtue, and their zeal for Philoſophy, ſtill makes " them err through all the tortuous windings of " wickedneſs and impiety." We do not pretend, in holding ſuch language, to diſpute the talents of the premier chief. That his poetic genius ſhould enjoy itſelf in fictions, on the banks of Parnaſſus, or on the heights of Pindus, is much to be admired ; but is he for that, to ſubſtitute thoſe fictions for truths ? The greater his genius, the leſs we are aſtoniſhed to ſee him entangled, when he has once adopted error. If ſtupidity can never attain to genius, the genius that dares to ſoar above reaſon, is not for that the leſs within the regions of delirium. In a raging fever, will not your ſtrength be redoubled, but what more humbling ſight for man ! Where then the excuſe of genius or of talents in the Sophiſter conſpiring againſt his God ? Can the adepts, who believe their maſter to be a Philoſopher even to his laſt moments, admire that frantic rage in which he expired ? But firſt let them tell us what other titles he may have to the empire of reaſon.

What Philoſophy can there be in that extraordinary *hatred* which Voltaire had ſworn againſt the God of Chriſtianity ? That a Nero ſhould have ſworn to cruſh the Chriſtians and their God, may be explained, becauſe the idea could only have been that of a cruel mon-

ſter. That a Diocleſian ſhould have ſworn it, may be underſtood, becauſe the idolatrous tyrant thought to appeaſe the anger of his gods and avenge their glory. That a Julian, mad enough to reſtore the worſhip of idols, ſhould have ſworn it, appears only to have been a conſequence of his former delirium. But that a pretended ſage, who neither believes in the God of the Chriſtians, nor in the Gods of the Pagans, and that knows not in what God to believe, ſhould vent all his rage and fury preciſely againſt Chriſt, is one of thoſe phenomenons of modern Philoſophiſm, which can be explained but as the delirium of the impious man.

I do not pretend by this to exclude from the ſchool of reaſon every one who is not fortunate enough to be within the pale of Chriſtianity; let that man rank with an Epictetus or a Seneca, or before the Chriſtian æra, with a Socrates or a Plato, who has been unfortunate enough not to have known the proofs of Chriſtianity. But this real Philoſophy of reaſon ſought, what Voltaire has conſpired to deſtroy. The greateſt of Socrates's diſciples pants for the coming of that juſt man who ſhall diſſipate the darkneſs and the doubts of the ſage; I hear him exclaim, "Let him come that man, let him "come who will teach us our duties towards the Gods, "and our duty towards man. Let him come inceſ- "ſantly; I am ready to obey whatever he may ordain, "and I hope he will make me a better man."* Such is the language of the Philoſophy of reaſon. I think I behold him again, when in the bitterneſs of his heart he foreſees, that ſhould this juſt man appear upon earth, he would be ſcoffed at by the wicked, buffeted and ſcourged, treated in a word as the outcaſt of men.† That man has appeared ſo much ſought for by the Pagan Philoſopher, and the conſpiring Sophiſters, a D'Alembert or a Voltaire, ſeek to cruſh him and yet pretend to the Philoſophy of reaſon. Let their diſciples anſwer for them. If in the ſon of Mary they will not acknowledge the Son of the Eternal Father, let them own him at leaſt to be that juſt man ſought for by Plato—what then are their pretenſions to the Philoſophy of reaſon in conſpiring againſt him? If the awful teſtimony of the ſun being darkened, the dead riſing from their graves, the veil of the temple being rent, cannot convince them; let them at leaſt admire the moſt holy, the juſteſt of men, the prodigy of goodneſs and meekneſs,

* Plato in his ſecond Alcibiades. † Ibid.

the apoſtle of every virtue, the wonder of oppreſſed innocence praying for his executioners—where then is their Philoſophy when they conſpire againſt the Son of Man? Yes, Philoſophy they had, but it was that of the Jews, that of the ſynagogue, whence iſſued thoſe blaſphemous cries of, "Crucify him, crucify him!" or *cruſh the wretch!* Judas himſelf confeſſes him to be the juſt man, and ſhall he approach to perfection when compared to their ſchool of modern Philoſophy. Oh, what a philoſophy! that after ſeventeen centuries repeats the blaſphemous cries which reſounded in the courts of Pilate or Herod, againſt the Holy of Holies! —In vain ſhall the diſciple deny the hatred of Voltaire againſt the *perſon* of CHRIST; does he not particularly diſtinguiſh Damilaville for that hatred, does he not ſign himſelf *Chriſt-moque* (Chriſt-ſcoffer,) juſt as he terminates his letters by *cruſh the wretch*, or talks of the *Chriſticole* ſuperſtition?* Yet whilſt the Sophiſter denies the power of Chriſt, he cannot refuſe acknowledging his wiſdom, his goodneſs, and his virtue.

But they may object, that it is not ſo much at the perſon as at the *religion* of Chriſt they aim their blows. Where then is the Philoſophy in attacking a religion whoſe eſſence is to enforce every virtue, and condemn every vice. Either before or after Chriſt, has there ever appeared a Philoſopher, who has even formed the idea of a virtue of which this religion does not give the precept or ſet the example? Is there a crime or a vice which it does not condemn and reprobate? Has the world ever ſeen a ſage, impreſſing ſuch divine doctrines with more powerful motives? Either before or ſince Chriſt, did there ever exiſt laws more conducive to the interior happineſs of families, or to that of empires? Laws that teach men the reciprocal ties of affection; laws in ſhort that more peremptorily command us to afford each other mutual aſſiſtance? Let the Philoſopher appear who pretends to perfect this religion; let him be heard and judged. But ſhould he, like Voltaire and his adepts, only ſeek to deſtroy it, let him be compriſed in the common ſentence of madman, and of enemy to humanity.

It is only at the altars, at the *myſteries* of that religion, and not at the *morality* of it, they aim their blows. —In the firſt place that is not true, as we have already ſeen and ſhall ſee again. Their attack was common on

* Letter to the Marq. D'Argence, 2d March 1763.

the morality of the Goſpel, as well as on the myſteries or the altars of Chriſtianity.—But had it been true, what is there to be found in theſe myſteries, ſufficient to render the Chriſtian religion ſo hateful in the eyes of the Philoſopher? Do any of them favor the crimes and faults of men? Do any of them counteract his affection for his neighbour, or render him leſs attentive to his own duties, leſs faithful to friendſhip or gratitude, or leſs attached to his country? Is there a ſingle myſtery which does not elevate the Chriſtian, ſtimulate his admiration for his God, or ſpur him on to his own happineſs, and to the love of his neighbours? The ſon of God expiring on a croſs, to open the gates of heaven to man, to teach him what he has to dread, ſhould he by his crimes, be unfortunate enough to cloſe them again. The bread of angels, given only to thoſe who have purified themſelves from the droſs of ſin: thoſe words pronounced on the man repenting of his crimes, and firmly purpoſing rather to die than to fall into them anew. The awful ſight of a God who comes to judge the living and the dead; to call to him thoſe who have loved, cloathed and fed their brethren, while he caſts into eternal flames the ambitious man, the traitor and the tyrant; the hard-hearted rich, the bad ſervant, and the violator of the nuptial tie. Laſtly, all perſons who have not loved and helped their neighbour. Are all theſe, I ſay, myſteries at which the philoſopher ſhould direct his hatred, or can reaſon, on ſuch a plea, authoriſe his conſpiracy againſt the religion of the Chriſtians.

Should Voltaire and his diſciples refuſe to believe theſe *myſteries*, does it import to them that other people ſhould not equally diſbelieve them. Is the Chriſtian more dangerous to them becauſe he that forbids me to injure my brother, is the ſame God before whom we are both one day to appear in judgment. Is that God leſs tremendous to the wicked, or leſs favorable to the juſt, becauſe on his word we believe him to be one in eſſence, though three in perſons? This hatred of Voltaire muſt be a phrenzy which the very infidels themſelves, could not ground on ſuch pretexts. What frantic rage muſt it be that blinds the Sophiſters, when in contradiction with themſelves, they applaud the toleration of the ancient Philoſophers, who, though diſbelieving the myſteries of Paganiſm, never attempted to rob the people of their religion; whilſt on the other ſide they

inceſſantly conſpire againſt Chriſtianity under pretence that it contains myſteries.

Another objection not leſs extravagant, is that againſt *Revelation* itſelf. It is God, they ſay, whom the Chriſtians declare to have ſpoken; hence there can be no further liberty of opinion in man on matters of faith. The Sophiſter of liberty and equality is then authoriſed to riſe in arms againſt Chriſtianity and its myſteries. Such are their arguments. But to what lengths does their phrenzy carry them? Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Diderot, conſpire to overthrow every altar, Roman or Lutheran, Calviniſt or Anglican, and that in order to avenge the rights of liberty and toleration in matters of faith. What bedlamite idea is this? Can reaſon be traced through plots and conſpiracies, of which the ſole tendency is the overthrow of the univerſal religion of Europe, under pretence of liberty of worſhip: we have heard Voltaire invoking Bellerophons and Herculeſſes to his aid, to cruſh the God of the Chriſtians; D'Alembert, expreſſing the frantic wiſh of ſeeing a whole nation annihilated for its attachment to that God and his worſhip; have we not ſeen them for half a century paſt, meanly conſpiring and uſing all the artifice of cunning intrigue to rob the world of its religion? And becauſe they utter the empty ſounds of LIBERTY, EQUALITY, and TOLERATION, you will miſtake their voice for that of Philoſophy!—Far from us the idea of ſuch Philoſophy; terms themſelves muſt have been changed, for this muſt be extravagance and abſurdity; and is not ſuch REASON madneſs and phrenzy? Such muſt be the explanation of theſe words to expound the REASON and PHILOSOPHY of a Voltaire or a D'Alembert, conſpiring to cruſh the religion of Chriſt.

I could wiſh not to have to mention Frederick again. I reflect that he was a king; but alas! he is alſo the royal Sophiſter. Let us then examine how far philoſophy miſled him, and whether his wiſdom extended beyond the genius of the meaneſt adept.

Frederick wrote, but why? It is a problem. Was it to impoſe on the public, or to delude himſelf? decide it who can. Probably for both, which he ſeems to have ſucceeded in. Frederick would ſometimes write in favor of Toleration, and he was believed to be tolerant. In the *Monthly Review*, October 1794, page 154, we ſee him cried up as a model of toleration, and the following paſſage of his works is quoted: "I never

" will conſtrain opinions on matters of religion. I dread " religious wars above all others. I have been ſo for- " tunate that none of the ſects who reſide in my ſtates, " have ever diſturbed civil order. We muſt leave to " the people the objects of their belief, the form of " their devotion, their opinions, and *even their preju-* " *dices*. It is for this reaſon I have tolerated prieſts " and monks, IN SPITE *of Voltaire and D'Alembert,* " *who have* QUARRELLED WITH ME ON THIS HEAD. " I have the greateſt veneration for all our modern " Philoſophers, but indeed I am compelled to acknowl- " edge that a GENERAL TOLERATION is not the *pre-* " *dominant virtue in theſe gentlemen.*" From this the editors draw many excellent concluſions by objecting the wiſdom of Frederick's doctrine to the atrocious perſe- cutions and ferocious intoleration of the French Sophiſ- ters; but the reader who has ſeen him ſtimulate theſe ſame Philoſophers to overthrow the altar, *to cruſh the wretch:* who has ſeen him trace the plan ſo much ad- mired by Voltaire as that of *a Great Captain* for the de- ſtruction of the prieſts and monks, in order to attack the biſhops and to compaſs the overthrow of religion;* who has heard him decide that the Antichriſtian Revo- lution, which he ſo *much longed to ſee*, could only be accompliſhed *by a ſuperior force* and that *the ſentence* which was difinitively *to cruſh* religion was *to iſſue from government*;† will the reader I ſay, recognize the tole- ration of the ſophiſtical monarch! No, he will paſs the ſame judgment on the Sophiſter which the editors have paſſed on the diſciples of that ſchool. " When " SUCH MEN tell us their *object is to carry into practice* " *all the perfection of Theory*, we know not which we " ought principally to feel *our DISGUST or INDIGNA-* " *TION*." But let us revere the monarch, let us vent our indignation againſt that frantic Philoſophiſm which involves in darkneſs the royal adept on his throne, as it did his maſters in their ſanhedrims and ſecret acade- mies, eradicating from man every ſymptom of reaſon.

If any thing could paint the folly of the maſters in ſtronger colors, it would be that empty pride of the adepts at the period when they look upon the grand ob- ject of their conſpiracy as accompliſhed. Religion was mourning over her altars overthrown, her temples pro- faned; when Condorcet exalting the triumph of Vol-

* Vide Supra, Chap. VI.

† 24th March 1767, 13th Auguſt 1775.

taire, exclaims : " Here at length it is permitted openly to proclaim the right, so long disused, of reducing all opinions to the standard of *our own reason*; that is to say, to employ, in order to attain to truth, the *only implement* that has been given us to recognize it. Man learns with a certain pride, that he is not designed by nature to believe on the affirmation of others; and the superstitions of antiquity, the degradation of reason in the phrenzy of a supernatural faith, are vanished from society as they were from Philosophy."*

Condorcet when writing these words no doubt meant to describe the triumph of reason, over revelation and over the whole Christian religion. The adepts applaud, and like him, believe in the pretended triumph of reason. But it had not less cause than religion to mourn over such triumphs. Was it then, to reinstate man in the right of bringing his *opinions* to the test *of reason*, that the Sophisters had with unrelenting fury conspired against the religion of Christ? What could they have intended by this test? Was it to exercise the right of only believing what their reason when convinced, invited them to believe? If so, where the necessity of conspiring? Does the religion of Christ command man to believe what his enlightened reason does not induce him to believe? Is it not to convince our reason that Christianity surrounded itself with incontestable proofs, that Christ and his Apostles wrought numberless miracles, that religion has preserved its records, and that her pastors invite the Christian to the spirit of research, that he may know what has been proved and what he ought to believe; that her apostles formally declare, that *his faith, his submission should be reasonable* (rationabile obsequium vestrum;) and can the Sophister hence infer that conspiracies and the darkest plots are necessary to vindicate the rights of reason believing in religion? A religion whose God is the God of reason; whose tenets are the tenets of reason; whose rights are the rights of reason rejecting sophistry and false prejudices, but whose duty is to believe from the numerous proofs of the power, of the sanctity, of the wisdom and sublimity of the God who speaks, and on the authenticity of his word.

* Sketch on the Progress of Mind, epoch 9.

If by the rights of reaſon the Sophiſter means the right of only believing what his reaſon can conceive, and that ceaſes to be myſterious; then theſe rights of reaſon muſt truly border on phrenzy. The Sophiſter is no longer to believe in the light of the day nor the darkneſs of the night, till light and its action on man ſhall ceaſe to be a myſtery; no longer ſhall he believe in the oak towering over the foreſt, raiſed from an acorn; nor in the humble flower glowing in the brighteſt colors; no longer ſhall he believe in man, ſucceeding from generation to generation; nature ſhall be denied, and his own exiſtence remain a doubt until all is clearly conceived by his reaſon, and that the veil of myſtery ſpread over theſe various objects ſhall be rent aſunder.—Thus to attain the honors of incredulity, he ſubmits to the garb of folly.

How different is the language of the real ſage! His reaſon declares that objects once proved are to be believed, however myſterious they may be, under the penalty of abſurdity; for then they are believed to exiſt becauſe their exiſtence is demonſtrated, and not as the Sophiſter would pretend, becauſe their nature is inconceivable.

But another right equally inconceivable and triumphantly inculcated by Condorcet is that of being reduced *in order to attain to truth, to the only implement that has been given us to diſtinguiſh it!* If then nature has left me in the dark, on objects of the greateſt importance, on my future ſtate; on the means of avoiding a deſtiny I dread, or of obtaining the lot I deſire; the man who ſhall diſſipate the miſt with which I am ſurrounded, will have robbed me of my rights? Why did he not ſay that the right of the blind man is alſo to keep to the only inſtrument nature had given him, and that it would be encroaching on his rights if he that has eyes, ſhould attempt to lead him? Why did he not conclude that the blind man had alſo learned with a *ſort of pride* that nature had never deſigned that he ſhould believe in light on the aſſertion of another.—What philoſophic pride is that of the Sophiſter! His reaſon is degraded by a *ſupernatural faith!*—Chriſtianity, he thinks, has debaſed his reaſon by raiſing it above the ſphere of this world; he thinks the God of Chriſtians has vilified man by explaining to him his eternal deſtiny, and leaving him the memory of his miracles as a proof of his word.—Such a pretenſion was the grand plea for the Antichriſtian

Conſpiracy, and dared they invoke the name of reaſon? Were they believed to be Philoſophers? And do many as yet labor under this error?—But let us return to their maſters, to Voltaire, D'Alembert and Diderot, let us ſhow to the adepts, the unfortunate dupes of ignorance alſo decorated with the title of Philoſophers.—To accompliſh this, it will only be neceſſary, to point out the moſt formal avowals and mutual confidences of theſe pretended Philoſophers.

Dupes of ignorance.

Does God exiſt, or does he not?—Have I a ſoul to ſave, or have I not?—Is this life to be entirely ſpent for my preſent intereſt? Am I to believe in a future ſtate?—Is this God, this ſoul and this future ſtate what I am told, or am I to believe quite another thing?—Such certainly are the elementary queſtions of true ſcience, of Philoſophy the moſt appoſite to the happineſs of man both in itſelf and in its conſequences. On queſtions of ſuch importance, what do theſe aſſuming ſages reply, what are their mutual anſwers to each other, at the very time they are conſpiring againſt Chriſt? Has not the reader ſeen their letters, their own expreſſions; did not theſe men, who pretended to the empire of knowledge, formally and repeatedly declare that they were unable even to form an opinion on any of theſe queſtions. Voltaire conſulted by the citizen or by the prince, conſults D'Alembert in his turn, whether there is a God, whether he has a ſoul; and a *non liquet* (I do not know,) is the anſwer he receives—Theſe muſt be ſtrange Philoſophers indeed, uncertain on the very principles of Philoſophy; whence can they aſſume the title of rulers of reaſon, they who are ignorant of that ſcience on which the morals, principles and baſis of ſociety reſt; on which the duties of man, of the father of a family and of the citizen, of the prince and of the ſubject, on which in ſhort, their conduct and happineſs entirely depend? What can be their ſcience on man if they are perfectly ignorant of his natune? What can be their doctrine on his duties; on his grand concerns; if they are ignorant of his future deſtiny? What is that Philoſophy which barely teaches me that I am ever to be in the dark with regard to thoſe objects, which moſt concern me and thoſe I am to live with?

We have ſeen D'Alembert, in order to hide his ignorance, abſurdly excuſing it by anſwering, that it could be of little concern to man, not to be able to ſolve theſe

queſtions on the ſoul, on God, or on a future ſtate.* We have ſeen Voltaire declaring that nothing was known of theſe firſt principles, yet own that uncertainty was a diſagreeable ſtate; but pleading this uncertainty itſelf, he adds, that certainty is a ridiculous ſtate or that of a quack†. Thus becauſe the former is ignorant on theſe queſtions, it can little import man to know whether his concerns extend no further than this mortal life, or whether a happy or an unhappy eternity is to be his fate. Becauſe the latter is equally ignorant, though more unhappy in his ignorance, man is to deſpiſe whoever ſhall pretend to diſpel his doubts; Chriſt and his Apoſtles are to be treated with ridicule, and certainty ſhall be the doctrine of a Quack!—This cannot be ignorance alone, it muſt be pride and folly; what! Man is to be buried in darkneſs, becauſe the jealous eye of the Sophiſter is dazzled with the light.

Dupes of depravity miſtaken for virtue.

Hatred, jealouſy and deſtruction contain the whole ſcience of theſe pretended ſages. Hate the Goſpel, calumniate its author, overthrow his altars, and your ſcience will be that of the modern Philoſopher. Profeſs yourſelf a Deiſt, an Atheiſt, a Sceptic, a Spinoſiſt, in ſhort, whatever you pleaſe; deny or affirm, ſet up a doctrine or a worſhip in oppoſition to the religion of Chriſt, or ſet up none, that is not what either the ſect or Voltaire himſelf requires to conſtitute a modern Philoſopher. When aſked what doctrine he wiſhed to ſubſtitute to that of Chriſt, did he not think himſelf authoriſed to anſwer, I have delivered them from the phyſicians (he called the clergy phyſicians,) what farther ſervice do they require? Require! have you not infected them with the plague? Have you not unbridled every paſſion? And what remedies have you left them? In vain were it for us to challenge Voltaire and his panegyriſt Condorcet, they will not anſwer.—No, follow their example; declare all religious truths to be erroneous, falſe, or popular prejudices, to be ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm; glory in deſtruction, little troubling yourſelf with ſubſtituting ſcience for ignorance, or truth for error; to have deſtroyed will ſuffice, and for that you ſhall be entitled to the high-ſounding name of a modern Philoſopher.

At this rate, the reader's ſurpriſe muſt ceaſe, at the numerous tribe of Philoſophers to be found in every

* Letter to Voltaire 25th of July and 4th of Auguſt 1770.
† Letter to the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, 28th Nov. 1770

rank, of all ages and sexes. But at such a rate can an honest man pride himself in the title of Philosopher. Such a science is, alas! but too easily acquired. It is as yet a problem why Voltaire, on his outset, seemed to confine his views to the higher classes, to kings, nobles and the rich, why he should have excluded *beggars and the rabble*. On seeing the guests smile at the blasphemies uttered at table, will not the footman soon equal his master in the Philosophic science, will he not also learn to scoff at the pontiff and the pastor, at the altar and the gospel! Will not the butchering Marseillois, like Condorcet, glory in having cast off those vulgar prejudices, when in those bloody murders of September, he overthrows the altar and stains its steps with the blood of its priests and pontiffs. Like Voltaire, will he not style this, the Age of reason, and of enlightened Philosophy? Harangue the vilest of the populace; tell them that the priests are imposing on them, that hell is of their invention, that the time is come to throw off the yoke of fanaticism and superstition, to assert the liberty of their reason; and in a few minutes, the ignorant plough-boy will rival, in Philosophic science, the most, learned of the adepts. The language may vary, but the science will be the same. They will hate with the adept, and will destroy what he wished to crush. The more ignorant and ferocious they are, the more easily shall they adopt your hatred, which constitutes the whole of this sophisticated science.

If adepts are sought for in another line, it is easy to increase their numbers, but without adding to the science of the sect. Thus let the daughter of Necker but find some impertinent sarcasm of hers against the Gospel, taken for wit by D'Alembert, and she immediately becomes as Philosophic as he, and as void of religious prejudices as sister Guillemetta. It had astonished many to see the numbers of young fops, who were already styled philosophers, when they scarce had had time to read any thing, except a few impious pamphlets. But this age of enlightened Philosophy, can no longer be a subject of surprise.

What! shall every wanton coquette partake of this Philosophy, shall every husband or wife, who scoffs at conjugal fidelity, shall every son who, throwing aside all sentiments of duty, and denying the authority of a parent, shall they all be styled Philosophers? The courtier destitute of morals, or the man who is a slave to,

and imprudently gives looſe to his paſſions, they alſo will glory in the name of Philoſopher! Voltaire, in ſpite of all their vices, rejects none of theſe from his ſchool, provided they have the neceſſary requiſites of ſcoffing at the myſteries, of inſulting the prieſthood, and hating the God of the goſpel. Certainly theſe cannot be ſimply the dupes of ignorance, miſtaken for ſcience. No; theſe muſt be the children of corruption ſubſtituted for the ſchool of virtue. That folly, that frantic rage which conſumes Voltaire, conſpiring againſt his God, or ſetting heaven at defiance, when he writes to D'Alembert, *twenty years more and God will be in a pretty plight*, or when he repeatedly writes to Damilaville, *cruſh, cruſh the Wretch;* that I ſay may be more worthy of pity than of blame. Yes, Voltaire in the phrenzy of his rage is to be pitied. That multitude of adepts, of noblemen, miniſters, and citizens, are to be excuſed, who without having the leaſt idea of Philoſophy, have believed themſelves Philoſophers, being miſled by thoſe impious Sophiſters. I will not even aſk them, ſince when could the bare title of Philoſopher, aſſumed by Frederick and Voltaire, ſuffice to conſtitute them maſters in a ſcience of which they openly profeſſed their ignorance and contempt: I will not tell them, that if Frederick, conſummate in the art of war, could form warriors; that if Voltaire, rivalling Corneille, could give leſſons to the poet, nevertheleſs they were both equally ignorant in point of religion. I will not ſay to them, that this latter is a ſcience like all others, requiring great application and ſtudy, in order to excel; that it was abſurd to look for maſters and teachers in men who blaſphemed what they neither underſtood nor ſought to underſtand; in men, who often ſtammering out a petty ſophiſm, which they deemed unanſwerable, reſembled the child, who daſhes the watch on the ground becauſe the ſpring is hidden from him. Such would be the reflexions of common ſenſe, which ſhould have rendered the ſchool of the Sophiſters at leaſt ſuſpected, if not abſurd and ridiculous to its adepts; when Frederick combats the Sorbonne, or Voltaire St. Thomas; when D'Alembert attacks St. Auguſtin, or Siſter Guillemetta St. Paul.

It is poſſible, that all theſe great Sophiſters, debating on divinity, religion and tenets, may have been miſtaken by the ignorant adepts for learned doctors. But when the whole ſchool, treating of morality and

virtue, pretend to direct them solely by the rules of natural religion, the very shadow of a pretext for their delusion, disappears. From casting an eye on the sect, could they perceive a single adept who, under the direction of Voltaire or D'Alembert, had quitted his religion to become a better father or a better son, a better husband or a better man, in short more virtuous! Would not the simple reflexion have sufficed, that this pretended Philosophy of virtue had regularly been the refuge of all those men who were publicly known to scoff at every duty, at all morality: that when the friends to religion reproached them with the dissoluteness of their morals, they as constantly answered with a sort of sneer, such reproaches may do for men, who have not as yet shaken off the prejudices of the Gospel —but we are Philosophers, and we know what to believe!!

It would be impossible to hide, that every vice was cloaked under such a Philosophy; the faithless wife, the profligate youth, the man practising every art, whether just or unjust, to attain his ends, even to the loose women whose characters were openly disparaged, all decorated themselves with the highsounding name of Modern Philosophers. None would have dared to justify their criminal conduct by answering,—I am a Christian,—I believe in the Gospel.—Let not the chiefs charge the error and ignorance on the disciples. The adept knew but too well that nothing but the name of virtue remained in the school of the Sophisters; that the greater progress he made in their science, the more he adopted their principles, by setting at defiance the reproach of the virtuous man, and by smothering the cries of his own conscience. It is true they had not barefacedly blasphemed the morality of the Gospel, but they had erased from their code all those virtues *which religion maintains to be descended from heaven.* He had seen the long list of those which they called *sterile and imaginary virtues*, or *virtues of prejudice;* he had seen erased from their code, all that list of real virtues such as modesty and continence, conjugal fidelity and filial piety, gratitude and forgiveness of injuries, disinterestedness, even probity itself.* To these virtues they had substituted ambition, pride, vain glory, the pleasures and the passions. Their morality acknowledged no

* See the original texts quoted in the Helvian Letters, vol. 5.

other virtue than that *which is advantageous*; nor vice but that *which is hurtful* in this world; and virtue is declared to be but *an empty dream* if the virtuous man is unhappy.† Perſonal intereſt is laid down as the ſole principle of all Philoſophic virtues; they ſometimes indeed name *beneficence* as one, but that is merely as an excuſe to diſpenſe them from the practice of every other virtue. *Friend, do good to us and we will overlook every thing elſe*, is the expreſs doctrine of Voltaire :‡ but that was not all. It was neceſſary to bring the adepts to doubt even of the exiſtence of virtue, to doubt whether in morality there exiſted a right and wrong, and it was to ſuch a queſtion that Voltaire did not bluſh to anſwer, *non liquet* (it is not known.)§ As a further ſtep they were to decide, that all that is called "perfection, imperfection, righteouſneſs, wickedneſs, goodneſs, falſehood, wiſdom, folly, only differed from each other by their ſenſations of pleaſure or pain."‖ "That the more the Philoſopher examined the nature of things, the leſs he dared to aſſert that it depended any more on man to be puſillanimous, choleric, vicious or voluptuous, than it did to be ſquinteyed, hump-backed or lame."¶ Such were the leſſons of the conſpiring Sophiſters, and can it be believed that ſuch leſſons could be miſtaken for thoſe of virtue and Philoſophy?

Had the adept been certain as to the exiſtence of vice and virtue, of what conſequence would this diſtinction have been to him, when his maſters teach him, that man is born for happineſs, and that the latter conſiſts *in pleaſure, or the abſence of pain*.‡‡ When laying aſide all ſolicitude for his ſoul, he is taught that *the motto of the wiſe man ought to be to watch over his body*;§§ or that it is by *pleaſure* that God *ſtimulates to virtue*.‖‖ Such are the leſſons taught by Voltaire, Diderot and D'Alembert, the chiefs of the conſpirators.

What motives to virtue did theſe chiefs ſuggeſt to their adepts when they declared that a God neither *re-*

† Vide ſupra, note to 9th chapter.
‡ Fragments on divers ſubjects, Art. VIRTUE.
§ Philoſophical Dictionary, Art. TOUT EST BIEN.
‖ Let. of Thraſybulus.
¶ Encyclopedia, Geneva edition, Art. VICE.
‡‡ Encyclopedia, Art. HAPPINESS, and Preface.
§§ D'Alembert on the Elements of Philoſophy, No. 5.
‖‖ Voltaire's Diſcourſe on Happineſs.

gards their virtues nor their vices, that *the fear of this* GOD *is an abſolute folly!* Or when wiſhing to ſtifle all remorſe of conſcience, they tell them that "the man "void of fear is above the laws—That a bad action, "when uſeful, can be committed without remorſe— "That remorſe is no other than the fear of men and of "their laws." When carrying their doctrine beyond all abſurdity, they on one ſide aſſert the liberty of opinions in order to leave man free to chooſe the falſe, while, on the other ſide they deſtroy in him all liberty of action to ſmother all ſymptoms of remorſe.¶

Such was the doctrine of the Sophiſters. In vain would they attempt to deny it; all their writings are full of it, and particularly thoſe which they moſt extolled as their principal maſter-pieces. What could have been the conduct of theſe great philoſophers, had they undertaken to draw up a code of villainy and depravity? What more could be required to demonſtrate to the world that this pretended age of philoſophy was no other than that of vice; than that of wickedneſs organized into principles and precepts for the uſe of the abandoned, to whom they might be advantageous.

The only plea that can be left to the numbers of adepts who ſtyled themſelves Philoſophers, in alleviation of their criminality, is the amazing conſtancy and artfulneſs which it required from the chiefs, to propagate their principles, and enſure the ſucceſs of their conſpiracy. Dupes of wickedneſs.

But with theſe artifices, theſe intrigues, what was their philoſophy? Let us ſuppoſe that during the lifetime of Voltaire, of Frederick, or of D'Alembert, and before depravity had attained to ſuch a height, let us ſuppoſe that the frequent and repeated orders given to the conſpirators, of *ſtrike, but hide your hand*, had been known; let us ſuppoſe that the people had been acquainted with all the tortuous means ſecretly uſed to ſeduce them, would any one then have traced the actions of the Philoſopher, in ſuch dark hypocriſy, in ſuch perpetual diſſimulation, or in the ambuſhes which were their only means of ſucceſs.

At the time when D'Alembert and Condorcet, Diderot, Helvetius and Turgot, held their ſittings at the

¶ See their texts quoted in the Helvian Letters, vol. 3.

Hotel D'Holbach, under the name of Œconomiſts, and under the pretence of meditating on the happineſs of the people, had it been known by that ſame people, that they were only plotting againſt the altars of the God whom it adored; had it been known that thoſe teachers, who had been appointed to inſtruct the riſing generation, were only the impious emiſſaries of D'Alembert, ſent to corrupt its morals; that all thoſe hawkers of books ſold at ſo low a rate, were the agents of the ſecret academy, employed to circulate its poiſons from towns to villages, and thence to the pooreſt cottages; would ſuch means, I aſk, have entitled the ſect to that reſpect and veneration which it has uſurped? Their wicked plots, once detected, could ſuch ſages have ſufficed to have given to the century they lived in the appellation of the Philoſophic Age? No: without doubt, horror would have ſucceeded to this admiration, and had the laws remained ſilent, public indignation would have avenged Philoſophy of the infamous plots carried on under the cloak of its name.

Let then this age of pretended Philoſophy, caſt off the deluſion under which it has been led away, a deluſion ariſing perhaps more from its own vices and corruption, than from the arts of the conſpirators; let it bluſh and repent. That unpoliſhed multitude, confeſſing its inexperience in the ways of the Sophiſters, whom inſtinctive virtue ſo long preſerved from the arts of ſeduction, may be excuſable; but let thoſe thouſands of adepts, who are to be found in the courts and palaces of the great, in the ſeats of literature, let them reflect on and ſcrutinize their paſt conduct. In adopting impiety they believed themſelves Philoſophers. In throwing off the yoke of the Goſpel, and laying aſide its virtues rather than its myſteries, they miſtook the empty ſounds of *prejudice* and *ſuperſtition*, perpetually repeated by the Sophiſters, for profound reaſoning. They were ignorant that the word prejudice only ſignifies an opinion void of proofs; and that they themſelves had become ſlaves to prejudice, by caſting off a religion of which they gloried in not having ſtudied the proofs, while yet they read all the calumnies that its enemies could compile againſt it. Let them ſeek ſtill further claims to this Philoſophy in their own hearts: was it not to that lukewarm wearineſs for the virtues of the Goſpel they were indebted for their admiration of the

conſpirators? Was it not the love of their paſſions which made them a prey to incredulity, far more than all the intrigues and ambuſhes of the Sophiſters? It is much to be feared, that that man is already wicked, who makes himſelf ſo happy and glories ſo much in following the apoſtles of wickedneſs; or ſmall indeed muſt have been his portion of Philoſophy, if ſuch duplicity, ſuch meanneſs, and ſuch conſpiracies could have been miſtaken for wiſdom or virtue.

Whatever may have been the cauſes, it was ordained, that an age duped by the intrigues and conſpiracies of impiety ſhould glory in ſtyling itſelf the *Age of Philoſophy*. It was ordained that an age, a dupe to the frantic rage of impiety ſubſtituted to reaſon, a dupe to the oaths of hatred and the wiſh of cruſhing all religion, miſtaken for toleration, for religious liberty and equality, to ignorance for ſcience, to depravity for virtue, a dupe in ſhort to all the intrigues and plots of the moſt profound wickedneſs miſtaken for the proceedings and means of wiſdom; it was ordained, I ſay, that this *Age of Philoſophy* ſhould alſo be a dupe to the plots of the rebellious Sophiſters, miſtaken for the love of ſociety and the baſis of public happineſs.

The conſpiracy againſt the altar, the hatred ſworn by the chiefs againſt their God, were not the only legacies bequeathed by the chiefs to this ſchool of modern philoſophy. Voltaire was the father of the Sophiſters of Impiety, and before his death he becomes the chief of the Sophiſters of Rebellion. He had ſaid to his firſt adepts, let us cruſh the altar, and let not a ſingle altar nor a ſingle worſhipper be left to the God of Chriſtians; and his ſchool ſoon reſounded with the cry of, *Let us cruſh the ſceptre*, and let not a ſingle throne, nor a ſingle ſubject be left to the kings of the earth! It was from the mutual ſucceſs of theſe two ſchools, that the revolution was to be generated in France, which, graſping the hatchet, was at the ſame time to deſtroy the altar of the living God, and imbrue its ſteps with the blood of its pontiffs; to overturn the throne, and ſtrike off the head of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. menacing all the altars of Chriſtendom, all the kings of the earth with a ſimilar fate. To the plots contrived under the veil of liberty and equality, *applied to religion*, and of religious toleration, are to ſucceed thoſe begotten under the veil of *political* liberty and equality. The myſteries of the

ſecond conſpiracy, of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion*, combining with thoſe of *Impiety*, in order to generate the modern JACOBINS, will be the object of the Second Part of theſe Memoirs.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATING THE

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM.

A TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH OF

THE ABBE BARRUEL.

PART II.——VOL. II.

THE ANTIMONARCHICAL CONSPIRACY.



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PREFACE

OF THE

TRANSLATOR.

THE Second Volume of the "*Memoirs of Jacobiniſm*," containing the ANTIMONARCHICAL CONSPIRACY, is preſented to the Public without the advantage which the Firſt poſſeſſed in the flattering ſanction of Mr. Burke's favorable opinion; an awful event having deprived the world of that illuſtrious writer. In the firſt of his Poſthumous Works however, we find him attributing the progreſs of the French Revolution to a Spirit of Proſelytiſm: he calls it "*A Revolution of "Doctrine and Theoretic Dogma*, bearing little "analogy with any of thoſe Revolutions which "had ever been brought about in Europe, on "principles merely political."* Our readers will be ſurpriſed at the coincidence of this Work with the ideas of that eloquent Champion of Real Liberty. The very education of the Adept in Rebellion is deſcribed; the dangerous tendency of

* Thoughts on French Affairs, 1792, page 6.

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Preliminary Diſcourſe.

IN this Second Part of the "MEMOIRS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF JACOBINISM," our object will be to ſhow, how the *Sophiſters of Impiety*, becoming the *Sophiſters of Rebellion*, after having conſpired againſt every altar, conſpire againſt every throne. We ſhall demonſtrate, that theſe men under the name of Philoſophers, after having ſworn to cruſh Chriſt and his altars, bound themſelves in a ſecond oath to annihilate all regal power. Plan of this 2d part.

We have ſaid, in the former part of this work,* that the Sophiſters of Impiety, when they were become the Sophiſters alſo of Rebellion, had leagued with a ſect, long ſince concealed in the occult lodges of Freemaſonry, whoſe adepts, like the modern Philoſophers, had ſworn hatred to the altar and the throne, had ſworn to cruſh the God of the Chriſtians, and utterly to extirpate the Kings of the earth.

This two-fold object naturally divides our Second Volume into two Parts. The firſt will develope the riſe and progreſs of the Conſpiracy of the Sophiſters, called Philoſophers: The ſecond, of that ſect, which we have denominated Occult Maſons (*Arrières Maçons,*) to diſtinguiſh their adepts from the multitude of brethren who were too virtuous to be initiated in the occult myſteries, too religious, and too faithful citizens to aſſociate in their plots.

After having treated ſeparately of theſe two conſpiracies, though both tending to the ſame object, we ſhall ſhow them leaguing together; and by their united ef-

* Preliminary Diſcourſe, vol. I. p. xvii.

forts accompliſhing that part of the French Revolution which effected the overthrow of Religion and Monarchy, of the altar and the throne; in a word, which murdered, baſely murdered, the unfortunate Lewis XVI. on a ſcaffold.

Reflexions on the conſpiracy againſt Kings.

Confining ourſelves to facts, and ſuppreſſing the powers of imagination, it ſeems incumbent on us to ſubmit ſome few reflections to the reader, which, though naturally flowing from the ſubject, are yet requiſite to enable him to follow the progreſs of the Sophiſters in their ſecond conſpiracy, to ſhow by what gradations they paſſed, or rather with that celerity they were hurried headlong, from the ſchool of impiety to that of rebellion, by the inherent tendency of their principles.

While, under the direction of Voltaire, theſe pretended Philoſophers had merely applied their principles of liberty and equality to matters of faith, and had thence conſpired againſt the God of the goſpel, that each might be at liberty to form his own religion, or throw off every religious tie;—during that time, few were the obſtacles they had to fear from thoſe various claſſes of men, which it was chiefly their object to captivate. During their war againſt Chriſtianity, the paſſions proved their moſt powerful allies. There would be no great difficulty in deluding thoſe unfortunate men, who combat the myſteries which they do not underſtand, merely to exempt themſelves from the reſtraint of thoſe precepts and the practice of thoſe virtues which are unfavorable to their paſſions.

Sovereigns, ſeldom much verſed in the ſcience or hiſtory of religion; men who often, under the ſanction of opulence and the ſplendour of rank, only ſeek to throw off all control on their moral conduct; others aſpiring at fortune, and caring not by what unwarrantable means they acquire it; vain men panting after an empty name, and ready to ſacrifice every truth to a ſarcaſtic meteor, or ſome blaſphemy miſtaken for wit, and others who would have had little hope of celebrity had they not directed their genius againſt their God;—in ſhort, all thoſe men who, eaſily receiving ſophiſms for demonſtrative proofs, never troubled themſelves with the inveſtigation of that *equality of rights*, and that *liberty of reaſon*, which the conſpiring ſect repreſented to them as being incompatible with a religion revealed, and replete with myſteries.

Few even of the adepts had ever reflected on the abſurdity of oppoſing the rights of reaſon to revelation; as if thoſe pretended rights of our limited reaſon were to ſuſpend the power of an infinite God who reveals himſelf, or were to depreciate the truth of his oracles, and of the miſſion of his Prophets and Apoſtles. They never had reflected, that the whole queſtion of theſe rights of reaſon turned ſimply on this: to know whether God had ſpoken or not; and to believe and ſilently adore whatever might be the nature of the truths he had revealed.

Men ſo little able to comprehend and to defend the rights of their God, could not have been very dangerous adverſaries for the Sophiſters, who are perpetually ſetting this liberty of reaſon in oppoſition to the Goſpel.

But how different the caſe, when the ſect applying this ſame liberty and equality to the empire of human laws and to civil ſociety, concludes, that after having cruſhed the altar, it was alſo neceſſary to overturn every throne, in order that men might be reinſtated in their original Liberty and Equality! A conſpiracy on ſuch principles, and drawing after it ſuch conſequences, muſt naturally have been combated by the intereſts and the paſſions of the Royal Sophiſters, of the protecting Princes, and of all thoſe adepts of the higher claſſes, who were ſo docile to the accents of liberty, when thoſe accents only menaced the deſtruction of the Religion of their God.

Voltaire and D'Alembert could not expect to find Frederick, Joſeph II. Catherine III. or Guſtavus of Sweden, much diſpoſed to ſubvert their reſpective thrones. It was very probable too, that many other protecting adepts, ſuch as miniſters or courtiers, nobles, or wealthy perſons diſtinguiſhed by their rank, would ſoon perceive the danger of depending on a multitude, who, having thrown off all obedience, would ſoon graſp at ſovereignty itſelf, and, as the firſt eſſay of its power, would level every ſpecies of property, and ſtrike off every head which roſe above that multitude.

On the ſide of the Sophiſters themſelves, though gratitude could have had but little weight with them, yet their intereſt, their very exiſtence might have abated their eagerneſs againſt the throne. D'Alembert lived on penſions from the Kings of France and Pruſſia; his very apartment in the Louvre was a gift from Lewis XVI. The Empreſs of Ruſſia alone ſupported Dide-

rot's ruined fortune; and the Grand Duke penſioned the adept La Harpe. Damilaville would have been a beggar, if diſcarded from his office. The Philoſophic Sanhedrim of that French Academy compoſed of ſo many adepts owed its exiſtence, its means, its counters *(jettons)* to the generoſity of the monarch. There were few other ſcribbling Sophiſters who did not either look up to a penſion, or had not already obtained one by the intrigues of the protecting miniſters.

Voltaire had acquired an independent fortune; but he was not, on that account, the leſs elated when M. de Choiſeul gave him back the penſion which, twelve years before, he had loſt, on account of his impious writings.* Beſide, nobody knew better than did Voltaire, that he was chiefly indebted for the ſucceſs of his Antichriſtian Conſpiracy to the royal adepts. He was too proud of numbering among his diſciples Imperial and Regal Sovereigns, to conſpire againſt their very exiſtence on earth.

All theſe motives, therefore, gave quite a different turn to the conſpiracy againſt the Throne, from that which we have already ſeen erected againſt the Altar. In the warfare againſt the Goſpel, Liberty and Equality could have been but a ſhallow pretence; it was their hatred againſt Chriſt by which they were hurried away. It is hardly poſſible that they could have concealed from themſelves that it was rather a war waged by their paſſions againſt the virtues of the goſpel, than a warfare of reaſon againſt the myſteries of Chriſtianity. In the Antimonarchical Conſpiracy, the pretext had grown into conviction. The Sophiſters believed their principles of Liberty and Equality to be demonſtrated, they did not even ſuſpect an error in their principles. They believed the war which they waged againſt Kings, to be a war of juſtice and of wiſdom. In the former conſpiracy, it was the paſſions inventing principles to combat the God of the Chriſtians; in the latter, it was reaſon, miſled by thoſe ſame principles, ſeeking and glorying in the downfal of every crowned head.

Rapid had been the progreſs of the paſſions. From his very birth, Voltaire's hatred againſt Chriſt had been at its height. Scarcely had he known, ere he hated, ſcarcely hated when he ſwore to cruſh, the God of the Chriſtians. Not ſuch was the progreſs of the hatred a-

* Let. to Damilaville, 9th January 1762.

gainſt Kings. This ſentiment had, like opinion and conviction, its gradations. The very intereſt of the Sophiſters of Impiety thwarted for a long time the meaſures of thoſe of Rebellion; many years were neceſſary to enable the ſect to form its ſyſtems, to determine its plots, and reſolve on its object. Were we to precipitate its ſteps, we ſhould be guilty of miſrepreſentation. As faithful hiſtorians, it will be incumbent on us, to ſhow this hatred againſt Kings in its infancy, that is, ſpringing from the hatred againſt Chriſt, and ſucceſſively applying thoſe principles invented againſt the altar, to the deſtruction of the throne. This hatred againſt kings had even in the chiefs of the conſpirators its gradations: but their ſyſtems will complete the deluſion, and root it in the hearts of the adepts. It will bear abſolute ſway over their ſecret academy, and there will the ſame plots be contrived againſt the throne as Philoſophiſm had framed againſt the altar. The ſame means and the ſame ſucceſs will combine the conſpiracies. The ſame crimes and the ſame diſaſters will combine the revolutions.

THE

ANTIMONARCHICAL CONSPIRACY.

CHAP. I.

First Step in the Conspiracy against Kings.—Voltaire and D'Alembert passing from the Hatred of Christianity to the Hatred of Kings.

OUR attention to truth and justice with regard to a man, who was so far from both with respect to religion, obliges us to begin this chapter by a declaration, which might make Voltaire appear to be the farthest from an enemy, much less from being the author of a conspiracy against the throne. If this man, the most unrelenting chief when conspiring against Christianity, had followed the bias of his own inclination; or had he been able to sway his adepts in politics as he had in impiety, never would that oath of destroying the throne have issued from his school. Voltaire at first friendly to Kings;

Voltaire loved kings; their favor and their caresses were his delight; he was even dazzled with their greatness. His sentiments cannot be mistaken, after having seen him glory in singing the praises of Lewis XIV. or Henry IV. kings of France; of Charles XII. king of Sweden; of the Czar Peter Emperor of all the Russias; of Frederick II. king of Prussia; and of so many other kings both of ancient and modern times.

Voltaire had all the habits and manners of the great, and at his court of Ferney acted the Grandee perfectly well. He had too high an opinion of his own abilities to assimilate himself, by Equality, to that multitude which he contemptuously stiles, the beggarly *canaille*.

He was not only partial to kings, but even to the monarchical form of government. When he gives a loose to his own sentiments, and in his historical writings, we see him invariably preferring the dominion of ONE

to that of the MANY. He could not endure the idea of having ſo many maſters as there were counſellers in the parliament;* how then could he adopt that liberty and ſovereignty of the people which would have given him as joint ſovereigns, the towns and ſuburbs, the peaſantry and his own vaſſals. He who ſo much delighted in reigning in his own caſtle, who was ſo jealous of his prerogatives in the midſt of his eſtates which he called his little Province, how could he wiſh to ſanction a Liberty and Equality which was to level the caſtle with the cottage?

Jealous of the title of faithful ſubject.

Beſide, Voltaire's principal object was to annihilate Chriſtianity; and he feared nothing ſo much as to be thwarted by the kings in his undertaking, on pretence that he equally aimed his blows at the throne as he did againſt the altar. It was for this reaſon that he perpetually warns the adepts of what conſequence it was, that the Philoſophers ſhould be conſidered as faithful ſubjects. When aſſuring Marmontel how much he (Voltaire) was protected by Choiſeul and the courtezan Pompadour, he writes, that they may ſend him any thing without danger. "They know that we love the king "and the ſtate. It was not among us that ſuch people "as Damien heard the voice of rebellion. I am draining a bog, I am building a church, and *I pray for "the king*. We defy either Janſeniſt or Moliniſt to have "a greater attachment for the king than we have. My "dear friend, the king muſt be acquainted that the "Philoſphers *are more attached to him* than all the fanatics and hypocrites in his kingdom."†

It was the ſelf-ſame motive which induced him to write to Helvetius (that Sophiſter whom we ſhall ſee ſo unrelenting in his hatred to kings,) "*It is the kings in-"tereſt* that the number of Philoſophers ſhould augment, and that of the Fanatics diminiſh. We are "quiet, and they are all diſturbers of the peace; *we "are citizens*, they are the children of ſedition. *The "faithful ſervants of the king*, and of reaſon, ſhall triumph at Paris, at Verſei, and even at the Délices."‡

Apprehenſive, however, that the Philoſophers might be ſuſpected, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations, he had already written thus to D'Alembert; "Do you "know who the bad citizen is that wiſhes to perſuade "the Dauphin that France is overrun with the enemies

* Let. to D'Alembert. † 13th Auguſt, 1760.
‡ 27th October, 1760.

" of religion? They will not pretend to ſay, I hope, " that Peter Damiens, Francis Ravaillac, and their " predeceſſors were Deiſts and Philoſophers." Nevertheleſs, he ends his letter by ſaying, " I fear that Pe- " ter Damiens will be a great detriment to Philoſophy."*

Defends the authority of Kings.

Finally, if any thing can paint in ſtrong colours Voltaire's attachment to kings, it will be the method in which he treats thoſe of the adepts who dared attack the authority of the ſovereign. The adept Thiriot had ſent him a work on the *Theory of Taxation*, and Voltaire anſwers, " *Received the Theory of Taxation*, an ob- " ſcure theory, and apparently to me an abſurd one. " All ſuch theories are very ill timed, as they only ſerve " to make foreign nations believe that our reſources " are exhauſted, and that they may inſult and attack us " with impunity. *Such men are very extraordinary citi-* " *zens indeed, and curious friends to man.* Let them " come where I am on the frontiers, and *they will pre-* " *ſently change their opinions. They will ſoon ſee how ne-* " *ceſſary it is that the king and the ſtate ſhould be reſpected.* " *Upon my word, at Paris people ſee every thing topſy-* " *turvy.*"†

The ſtaunchеſt Royaliſt could not have inſiſted in a clearer manner on the neceſſity of ſupporting the Royal authority; nevertheleſs, he had already let fall many expreſſions which little denoted any zeal for the cauſe of kings. He had not adopted, as yet, that Philoſophiſm of rebellion, of Liberty and Equality, which was to fanaticiſe the French people, and raiſe Robeſpierres and Marats in ſucceſſion to the fanatics Ravaillac and Damiens. There were times even when he would have treated the Mirabeaux, La Fayettes and Baillys, as he uſed ſometimes to treat thoſe mad Œconomiſts, who, attacking the authority of kings, ſaw, through their pretended theory, every thing in a wrong light. But this love for his king was but a remnant of his firſt education, which Philoſophiſm had often belied, and of which the very trace would ſoon be erafed from the heart of the Sophiſter.

Declines towards Liberty and Equality.

Had Voltaire, either from his own ſentiments, or for the intereſt of the ſect, been ſtill more deſirous of being looked upon as a good citizen, or a faithful ſubject to the king, yet the adepts could have retorted the argu-

* 16th January, 1757. † 11th January, 1761.

ments he had perpetually repeated to ſtir them up againſt Chriſtianity, in too powerful a manner againſt his arguments in favor of kings, for him to have been able to withſtand them. It was but natural that men who had been taught to oppoſe their Liberty and Equality to the God of revelation, to his miniſters and prophets, ſhould alſo oppoſe them to the kings of the earth. Voltaire had taught them that the Equality of rights and Liberty of reaſon were incompatible with that power of the church and of the goſpel commanding a ſubmiſſion to and a belief in myſteries which were inconceivable by reaſon. The adepts, as the next ſtep, declare that the equality of men, the liberty of nature, were equally incompatible with any ſubmiſſion to the empire and laws of *one* man, or even of *many*, whether called parliaments or ſenates, lords or princes, pretending to the dominion over a whole nation, and dictating laws to the multitude, who had neither made them, diſcuſſed them, nor wiſhed for them.

Theſe principles, ſo forcibly inſiſted on by Voltaire when combating Chriſtianity, might naturally be objected to his propoſitions reſpecting ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign; and they were ſo. The adepts urged the conſequences, and the premier chief was unwilling to loſe the pre-eminence, over his own ſchool, in what he called Philoſophy. The proceſs by which he was led from the Sophiſtry of Impiety to that of Rebellion, is too much blended with the progreſs of his antireligious Philoſophiſm, not to be worthy of inveſtigation.

Voltaire had been actuated by no other paſſion than that of hatred againſt Chriſt, when in the year 1718 he cauſed to be publicly recited in his tragedy of Œdipus thoſe two famous verſes which alone comprehend the whole of that antireligious revolution which was to be accompliſhed ſeventy years afterward:

> Prieſts are not what they ſeem to vulgar eyes,
> In our credulity their ſcience lies.*

Theſe two lines only proclaim that Equality of rights and Liberty of reaſon which, diſavowing the authority or miſſion of the clergy, leave the people at full liberty to form their religious tenets on whatever they may pleaſe to call their reaſon. But many years elapſed be-

* Les pretrês ne ſont pas ce qu'un vain peuple penſe;
Notre credulité fait toute leur ſcience.

fore Voltaire could form a correct idea of that liberty and equality which was to diveſt the monarch of his rights, as he had diveſted the church of her's. It even appears that he had not at that time any idea of deducing from this liberty and equality principles ſo fatal to monarchy; that he was perfectly ignorant of what Liberty and Equality, applied to civil ſociety, meant, when he publiſhed his epiſtles or diſcourſes on Liberty and Equality in 1738. The firſt leſſons he received on the ſubject were from his *eleve* Thiriot, whom he had left in England, and from whom he wiſhed to learn what opinion the adepts had formed on thoſe epiſtles. Or, as is more probable, Thiriot, knowing his maſter's bias for ariſtocracy, only wrote that he had not ſufficiently *gone to the point*, and that he was not in complete poſſeſſion of the true principles. Piqued at ſuch a reproach, Voltaire, like a man who did not care to ſee himſelf outdone by his diſciples, writes, "A word on "the Epiſtles. Where the devil do you find that they "do not go to the point. There is not a ſingle verſe "in the firſt epiſtle, which does not ſhow the *equality* "*of conditions*, nor one in the ſecond which does not "prove *liberty*."†

Notwithſtanding this reply, the diſciple was in the right. He might have rejoined, that throughout the whole of the Epiſtles there was not a ſingle verſe which, philoſophically ſpeaking, was not a miſconſtruction; ſince, in the firſt, all that Voltaire aimed at proving was, that in all ſtations of life the ſum total of happineſs was nearly the ſame; and in the ſecond, liberty is conſidered much more as a phyſical faculty, than as a natural, civil, and political right. The inference drawn from the firſt is, that it is uſeleſs for man to trouble himſelf about the difference of ſtations as the ſame portion of happineſs is nearly allotted to each; the ſecond does not even mention that liberty which the adepts ſo much inſiſt on againſt kings, and only aſſerts that liberty which ſo well demonſtrates the diſtinction of right and wrong, and which the ſect always looked upon as too favorable to religion.

Without ſeeming to ſubmit to his diſciples, Voltaire, nevertheleſs, gradually adopted their ſentiments; vexed at having aſſerted the rights of free agency, he counteracted all the influence that doctrine might have had,

† Letter to Thiriot, 24th October, 1738.

and gave his definition of liberty* ſuch a turn, that Predeſtinarians themſelves could not have cavilled at it. In a word, he no longer aſſerted any other liberty than that which has proved ſuch a powerful weapon againſt ſovereignty in the hands of the ſect.

The corrections he made in his Epiſtle on Equality, had a more direct affinity to the ſyſtem of the political revolution. In the firſt edition of that Epiſtle we read,

Equal the ſtate, in men the difference lies.†

The ſect wiſhed him to have ſaid,

Equal are men, in ſtates the difference lies.‡

At length Voltaire underſtood their meaning, and bluſhed at finding that his own diſciples had made a greater progreſs in the knowledge of Equality than he had himſelf; and to avoid their future criticiſms he changed both his doctrine and his verſes. He corrected, and almoſt reconſtructed his Epiſtle on Equality; nor did he let his poetic genius reſt, till he had ſhown the adepts, that he underſtood the equality of man as well as they did, and that they could no longer reproach him with not *going to the point*. It was then that he wrote the following verſes, which contain all that the revolu-

* If we are to believe this definition, *Liberty* conſiſts in *the power of doing what we will*. A true metaphyſician would ſay, *The power itſelf, the faculty of willing or not willing*, that is to ſay, *of determining one's will, of chuſing and willing any thing, or the contrary*. Theſe two definitions are very different. It is not the *power* but the *will* which is culpable. A righteous man has frequently the ſame power of committing the ſame crime as the wicked man; but one wills it, while the other does not. The wicked man is at liberty *not* to will it, as the upright man is at liberty to will it; otherwiſe, there can be no moral difference between the good and the bad man. For how could the latter be culpable, if he had not had it in his power to will the contrary? Suppoſe three men—the firſt *can* commit a bad action, but his will *freely rejects* it: The ſecond *can* accompliſh the ſame, and he *freely wills* it: The third not only *can* but he *irreſiſtibly wills* it. The firſt of theſe men will be a virtuous man, the ſecond a wicked man, the third a mere brutal machine, a madman who is neither maſter of his will nor of his reaſon. The wicked man and the mad one could and did will the ſame action. The difference does not lie in the power or the action, but in the will itſelf more or leſs free to will or not to will. But Voltaire and his ſophiſtical ſchool had their reaſons for not making ſuch diſtinctions.

† Les Etats ſont égaux, mais les hommes différent;

‡ Les hommes ſont égaux, et les états différent!

tionary populace have alledged againſt the wealthy, the nobility, and kings, in proof of its equality.

> With calm indifference let my friend ſurvey
> The pomp of riches and deſpotic ſway;
> This world's a ball, where his undazzled eyes
> Pierce thro' each filly actor's vain diſguiſe.
> My Lord, your Highneſs, are the maſks that hide
> Their little beings and exalt their pride;
> *But, men are equal;* pride do what you can,
> *The maſk may differ but the ſame the man.*
> The five weak ſenſes by us all poſſeſt,
> Of good, of evil, are our only teſt.
> A ſlave has five, *ſix can the monarch claim?*
> The ſame his body and his ſoul the ſame.*

This is preciſely what the democratic rabble of Paris was wont to ſay, leſs elegantly indeed, when it aſked whether kings and nobles were not made of the ſame clay as the ſimple clown? Whether thoſe who enjoyed large fortunes had two ſtomachs? And of what uſe were all thoſe diſtinctions of Sovereigns, Princes, or Chevaliers, ſince *all men were equal?*

It was with reluctance, it muſt be confeſſed, that Voltaire became the Apoſtle of Equality. For without having a body or ſoul of a different ſpecies from that of Pompignan, Freron, or Desfontaines, or of ſo many other men whom he was perpetually overwhelming with his ſarcaſms, he nevertheleſs was aware that in the ſame ſpecies, and with the ſame nature, there exiſted no ſmall inequality among men; that without being endowed with a ſixth ſenſe, he felt the great diſtance there was between himſelf and the rabble he ſo much deſpiſed. At length he ſubmitted to the criticiſms of the adepts, and after having declared

> * Tu vois, cher Ariſton, d'un œil d'indifference
> La grandeur tyrannique, et la fiere opulence.
> Tes yeux d'un faux éclat ne ſont point abuſés;
> Ce monde eſt un grand bal, où des fous deguiſés,
> Sous les riſibles noms d'Eminence et d'Alteſſe,
> Penſent enfler leur être et hauſſer leur baſſeſſe.
> Envain des vanités l'appareil nous ſurprend;
> *Les mortels ſont egaux, le maſque eſt différent.*
> Nos cinq ſens imparfaits, donnés par la nature,
> De nos biens, de nos maux ſont la ſeule meſure.
> *Les Rois en ont-ils ſix? et leur ame et leur corps*
> *Sont-ils d'une autre eſpèce? ont-ils d'autres reſſorts?*

Equal the ſtate, in men the difference lies.*

he writes in abſolute oppoſition,

The maſk may differ but the ſame the man.†

Becomes a Republican;

As to that liberty which commences in the love of Republicaniſm, and ends in the hatred of Kings, it is probable that Voltaire would never have adopted it, had it not been neceſſary to eſtabliſh that liberty which was eſſential to the hatred of Chriſt; but he had found himſelf too much thwarted by the authority of Kings in his firſt publications againſt Chriſtianity. In Holland he enjoyed a greater liberty for printing his blaſphemies; and it was to that circumſtance, that he owed his bias for Republicaniſm. Thoſe who have read his correſpondence while in Holland, and particularly the following letter to the Marquis D'Argenſon, dated from the Hague, will not have a doubt that this was the caſe. "I am, ſays he, better pleaſed even with the abuſes of "the liberty of the preſs here, than with that ſort of "ſlavery under which the human mind is kept in France. "If you continue on that plan, the ſimple remembrance "of the glorious age of Lewis XIV. will be all that will "remain. This degeneracy almoſt inclines me to ſet-"tle in the country I am now in. The Hague is a "charming reſidence; *liberty alleviates the rigors of the "winter. I like to ſee the Rulers of the State no more than "plain Citizens.* There are factions, it is true, yet they "muſt exiſt in Republics: But faction does not damp "patriotiſm, and I ſee great men contending with great "men.—On the other ſide I ſee, with equal admiration, "the chief members of the ſtate walking on foot with-"out ſervants, living in houſes worthy of thoſe Roman "Conſuls who dreſſed their own roots; you would "like this government extremely, notwithſtanding all "thoſe imperfections which are unavoidable in it. *It "is entirely municipal, and that is what you admire.*‡"

All theſe expreſſions naturally denote a man declining towards a Republican Liberty and Equality, and who impatiently bore the yoke of Kings. A few years after, we may obſerve this paſſion much more predominant in

* Les Etats ſont égaux, mais les hommes different.‖

† Les Mortels ſont égaux, le maſque eſt different.§

‡ Let. 8th Auguſt, 1743.

‖ *1ſt and 2d Edit.* § *See the variations, edit. of Kell.*

Voltaire, especially in a letter which he is supposed to have written to an Academician of Marseilles, and mentioned in Mr. de Bevis's Memoirs. "I should accept "your invitation, were Marseilles still a Grecian Re- "public; for I greatly admire Academies, *but am much* "*more partial to Republics.* How happy are those "countries where our masters visit us, and are not af- "fronted when we do not return to wait on them!"

In all this, however, we see nothing more than a partiality for Republics; it was not positively a hatred of Kings, nor an imputation of tyranny and despotism in the regal government. But a few years after this, that same rancour is directed by Voltaire against the throne, which he had already conceived against the altar. Such at least is clearly the purport of a confidential letter which he writes to D'Alembert, wherein he says, "As to Duluc (the King of Prussia,) sometimes "biting sometimes bitten, he must be a most unhappy "mortal; *and those men who put themselves in the way of a* "*musket or a sabre for such gentry, are most abominable fools.* "Don't betray my secret either to Kings or Priests."* His secret on Kings;

This, however, could be no secret to those who had observed the modern Sophisters trying to cast all the odium of war and its miseries on Kings and the nature of their governments, and wishing to persuade the people that their only way of acquiring happiness, and everlasting peace, was, to take the government into their own hands by wresting it from their Royal Masters. This proposition, so evidently contradicted by that perpetual state of warfare, interior or exterior, so common to Republics, evinces that Voltaire had no care about proof, when he decided in so peremptory a stile, that those who were persuaded they were fighting for their country when rallied under the standard of their King, were most abominable fools.

We should particularly remark in this letter, how much his secret with regard *to Kings* is connected with that respecting *the Priesthood*; and he had more than once publicly divulged them both. The latter he had expressed in the verses already quoted from his Tragedy of Œdipus,

> Priests are not what they seem to vulgar eyes,
> In our credulity their science lies:†

* 12th December, 1757.

† Les pretres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense;
Notre credulite fait toute leur science:

and as to the former, we see Voltaire by the same means teaching the people what they are to think with regard to Sovereigns, their rights, and their origin; or with regard to the Nobility, who are perpetually led and spurred on to the defence of their country in emulation of those services by which their ancestors distinguished themselves. It would be in vain to excuse the poet: it is a hatred of Kings, and not the genius of poetry, which inspires such artful turns, and makes the dramatic actor speak the sentiments of the Sophister. It certainly was not the love of Monarchy which dictated the following verses, and caused them to be spoken on the stage of a nation under the dominion of a King, and proud of the atchievements of its Nobility. In his Tragedy of Mérope, he says,

His principles against Kings.

> Some lucky soldier was the first of Kings;
> Who serves the state, no matter whence he springs.†

When Voltaire taught this doctrine to the French people, the Antimonarchical Revolution had made as great a progress in his mind, as the Antichristian formerly had, when the verses already quoted had been spoken against the Clergy. But nothing short of the most abandoned Jacobinism could testify applause when Voltaire continues, *Do you wish to be happy? Never own a master.**

It was thus that Voltaire, carried away by his System of Liberty opposed to the Altar, daily cherished the sentiments of that liberty which was to combat the throne. Nor was it inadvertently that these maxims escaped from his poetic genius. In his correspondence with D'Alembert, his intention appears clearly when he points out to his confidant, all those verses which may teach the subject to rise in judgment against his King, or even to become his assassin or executioner, should he ever chuse to view his Prince in the light of a tyrant or a despot. Exactly such are the passages which he wishes D'Alembert to notice, when he writes, "Last year I hurried over a Play called *The Laws of* "*Minos*, which presently you will see hissed. In those "*Laws of Minos*, Teucer says to Merion the Senator,"

† Le premier qui fut Roi, fut un soldat heureux,
Que sert bien son Pays, n'a pas besoin d'ayeux.

* Dialogues of the Philosophers on Happiness.

Our laws a change, our ſtate a King requires.*

The Senator anſwers:

Of me, my treaſures and my life diſpoſe,
But ſhould the pow'r this ſovereign rank beſtows
Be turn'd againſt our laws and native land,
Then ſhall my arm that guilty pow'r withſtand.†

Had Voltaire ever met with ſuch verſes in the writings of a Clergyman, he would immediately have attacked him as an aſſaſſin and a traitor; he would have exclaimed, Behold the ſubject who raiſes himſelf in judgment againſt his Sovereign, who takes upon him the right of deciding between his King and the Laws, the right of attacking and combating his King, and of turning his ſword againſt him, every time it may pleaſe him to believe, or to perſuade the people, that the death of the Prince would reſtore energy to the laws.—Voltaire would have immediately added, there we ſee the people decidedly created both judge and ſovereign over their Kings; ſuch are the maxims which form Rebels, and produce Revolutions with all their concomitant horrors of democratic anarchy.

What Voltaire would very properly have ſaid on this affectation of their making a diſtinction between the King and the Country, hiſtory may as properly apply to Voltaire himſelf; more particularly as nobody knew the conſequences and danger of ſuch maxims better than he did; nor did he even make any ſecret of their dangerous tendency when writing to his friends. He begins his letter to the Count D'Argental on ſending him ſome of thoſe ſeditious publications, by ſaying, "In the firſt "place, promiſe me upon oath, that you never will let "my *petit patés* out of your hands, that you will ſend "them back to me, and inform me whether they are "too highly ſeaſoned, or whether the general taſte of "the day is more depraved than my own. *The force-*"*meat of my petit patés is not quite palatable to a monarchy;* "but you told me *that a diſh of Brutus* had been lately "ſerved up at the Count de Falkenſtein's (the name un-

His ſecret and indirect attack againſt the throne.

* "Il faut changer de loix, il faut avoir un maitre."
† "Je vous offre mon bras, mes tréſors & mon ſang;
"Mais ſi vous abuſez de ce ſuprême rang,
"Pour fouler a vos pieds les loix & la patrie,
"Je la defends, Seigneur, au péril de ma vie."‡
‡ *Letter of 13th November, 1772.*

" der which Joseph II. travelled,) and that none of the " guests had left the table."* Such language is not very enigmatical; but it paints Voltaire in very different colours from those we have seen him in, when reproaching his Parisian brethren with seeing every thing *top-sy-turvy* in their attack on the King's power. It denotes an author who dares not yet show his sentiments so opposite to that power, but who wishes to go as far as possible without exposing himself to danger. We see him flattering himself that he has not been too daring, as Joseph II. had been imprudent enough *to let a dish of Brutus be served up at his table*; that is to say, that monarch had heard broached at his table, without shewing his displeasure, doctrines the most dangerous and threatening to the lives of Sovereigns.

He wishes for and foretells the Revolution.

There are many other letters extant, which indicate how deeply this Antimonarchical liberty had rooted itself in the heart of Voltaire, and even how much he despised that love for their Sovereign at that time so universally prevalent among the French people. There is one in particular, in which he complains most bitterly, that strangers perfectly conversant in the catechism of liberty, and equal to the task of teaching it to the Parisians, are obliged to carry their systems elsewhere, before they have succeeded in teaching them to the French people; that if man was created to serve God, *he was also created to be free.*† In short, what displeased Voltaire more particularly was, that while he was making such progress in this catechism of liberty, the French people, whom he calls his *Velches*, did not keep pace with him.‡ When the Historian shall treat of the progress which Voltaire was making in the arts of liberty, he shall not extenuate his error, by saying that Voltaire was not aware of the fatal consequences of a revolution, or that he would have started back from his purpose could he by possibility have foreseen them. Certainly his soul could not be so ferocious as to have aspired after the bloody reign of a Robespierre; but he complacently foretells, and offers up his prayers for a revolution, which he knows to be big with bloodshed and surrounded with firebrands; and however disastrous such revolutionary scourges may appear to him, he nevertheless deems those persons happy, who, from their juvenility, may live to

* 27th July 1777.
† Letter to Damilville, 23d March, 1764
‡ Ibid. & passim.

ſee them. He writes to the Marquis de Chauvelin, "Every thing is preparing the way to *a great revolution*, "which will moſt *undoubtedly take place*; and I ſhall not "*be fortunate enough to ſee it.* The French arrive at "every thing ſlowly, but ſtill they do arrive. Light "has ſo gradually diffuſed itſelf, that on the firſt oppor- "tunity the nation will break out, *and the uproar will* "*be glorious. Happy thoſe who are now young, for they* "*will behold moſt extraordinary things.*"*

Let the reader notice the date of this letter, which is twenty-five years anterior to the French revolution. During the whole of that long period we ſhall never obſerve Voltaire reproaching the adepts with ſeeing every thing *topſy-turvy*, when they attack the Royal prerogative.

Whether it was that the victories he had obtained over the altar gave him more confidence in his attacks againſt the Throne; or that the ſucceſs of his ſarcaſtic attacks gradually made againſt kings with impunity, had perſuaded him that they were not ſo formidable as he had believed them, either to himſelf or to his adepts; which of theſe was the true reaſon we cannot now determine. This however is certain, that ſo far from being ſtartled at the principles of inſurrection inculcated throughout the writings of his diſciples, he hugs himſelf in the idea that their productions were becoming the catechiſms of all nations.

When Diderot publiſhed his *Syſtem of Nature*, it was neither his attacks nor his frantic declamations againſt kings, that the Philoſopher of Ferney ſought to combat; but a kind of metaphyſics the abſurdity of which he feared, would reflect on Philoſophy. Yet, notwithſtanding this abſurdity, and the violent declamations againſt ſovereignty, we find him exulting with D'Alembert in the ſucceſs of that abominable work, and bragging of its being *ſo greedily read throughout all Europe*, that people *ſnatched it* from each other. When he ſaw the courtiers and princes, encouraging new editions of Helvetius's work ON MAN AND HIS EDUCATION, notwithſtanding the ſeditious and antimonarchical principles it contained, and which will be noticed in the courſe of this work, Voltaire, ſo far from fearing the indignation of kings, which ſuch writings would naturally draw down on his ſchool of Philoſophers, ſmiles exultingly with D'Alembert at the great ſucceſs of the work, and

* 2d March, 1764.

receives it as a proof that *the flock of sages silently increased.**

Thus it is that all his fears of irritating Sovereigns, by this apostleship of Liberty and Equality gradually subside, and are succeeded by that thirst of revolution, of *riot*, and of those tempestuous scenes which were to accompany the downfal of Emperors and Kings, in a word, of all Sovereigns, or, in their philosophical cant, of tyrants and despots.

D'Alembert's sentiments against the throne.

Our readers, and future ages, will naturally inquire, whether D'Alembert walked in the footsteps of his dear master; whether, as zealous as Voltaire for the Antichristian liberty, he also adopted that liberty so inimical to royalty. Let D'Alembert speak for himself: His answer is contained in a letter already quoted, but which may throw new light on this question.

"You love REASON AND LIBERTY, my dear brother; "and a man can hardly love the *one* without loving *the* "*other*. Well then, here is a worthy *Republican Phi-* "*losopher* whom I present to you, who will talk with "you on PHILOSOPHY and LIBERTY: It is Mr. Jen- "nings, chamberlain to the king of Sweden, a man of "great merit and enjoying a high degree of reputation "in his own country. He is worthy of your acquain- "tance, both for his own merit, and for the uncom- "mon esteem he has for your writings, *which have so* "*much contributed toward disseminating those two princi-* "*ples among persons worthy of feeling them.*"†

What an avowal is this for a man like D'Alembert, who was extremely cautious in his expressions, and always on his guard, lest he should utter any thing that might expose him to danger. *You love Reason and Liberty; and a man can hardly love the one, without loving the other.* A few lines lower, we find this *Reason* to be Philosophy; and the subsequent *Liberty* to be that of a Republican Philosopher; who nevertheless lives under a monarchy, loaded with the favors, and enjoying the confidence of his Sovereign. It is D'Alembert then who avows, that one can hardly love his pretended Philosopy, without loving Republicanism, or *that liberty* which he believes not to exist under Monarchy.

It is D'Alembert again who selects from among the numerous claims which may entitle the sophistical cour-

* Letter to D'Alembert, 16th July 1770. No. 114 and 117, anno 1773, and to the Duchess of Choiseul, 1770.

† Letter to Voltaire, 19th January 1765.

tier to Voltaire's or his own eſteem, that of his love for Republican Philoſophy; though he certainly could not cultivate ſuch a diſpoſition, without ſecretly wiſhing to betray the cauſe of his King.

In ſhort, it is D'Alembert who extols the writings of his dear and illuſtrious brother, as peculiarly adapted to diſſeminate *thoſe two principles of Republican Liberty and Republican Philoſophy among perſons worthy of feeling them*; or, in other words, as peculiarly adapted to fulfil the wiſhes of thoſe pretended ſages, who can find no liberty under the government of Kings, and who deteſt Monarchy in proportion to their love for Republics. He who believes himſelf worthy of feeling this *two-fold ſentiment*, he who acknowledges no Philoſophy as true if void of theſe two ſentiments, could he, I aſk, demonſtrate in a more forcible manner, how ardently they glowed in his heart, or how much he panted after thoſe revolutions which were to cruſh the throne, and eſtabliſh Republicaniſm on its ruin?

In drawing theſe inferences, let not the reader ſuppoſe that we mean to confound in all caſes a bias for Republics, or the love of Liberty, with the hatred of Kings, and the deſire of ſubverting every Throne. We are perfectly aware, that there exiſt many worthy Republicans, who, while they love their own Government, are not unmindful of the reſpect due to thoſe of other Nations. Nor are we ignorant that true Civil Liberty is no leſs compatible with Monarchies than with Republics: indeed, it might not be difficult to prove, that the ſubject frequently enjoys a more real and extenſive Liberty under a Kingly, than under a Republican Government, eſpecially if a Democracy. But when we behold the Sophiſters perpetually complaining of the Government of Kings under whom they live, ſtyling their Sovereigns Deſpots, and ſighing after the Liberty of the Republican Philoſopher, we are certainly entitled to view their love for Liberty and Republicaniſm as blended with the hatred of Kings. If their blaſphemies againſt Chriſt, if what they call their Philoſophy be by any means thwarted, impatient of the rein, they burſt forth into complaint, and they exclaim, that *Reaſon is ſhackled*; that Deſpotiſm, *Decius like, perpetually perſecutes them*; or, that *man is unfortunate indeed* when he lives under the eye of a Monarch, or of his Miniſters.*

* See Voltaire's and D'Alembert's correſpondence *paſſim*.

But to confine ourſelves to D'Alembert, let us recal to mind, that in the warfare againſt the altar, he acted the part of the fox. We ſhall ſee him employing the ſame cunning in his attack againſt the Throne. He will excite and ſtimulate others, he will even guide their pens; but he carefully avoids every thing by which he might himſelf be eventually endangered. It is thus that he lauds Voltaire, that he extols the zeal with which his dear brother propagates that Republican Liberty and Philoſophy; and fearing leſt this zeal ſhould ſometime abate, he adds, "Continue to fight as you "do, *pro aris et focis*; as for me, *my hands are tied by* "*miniſterial and ſacerdotal tyranny*; I can only follow "the example of Moſes, and raiſe up my hands to "heaven while you contend in fight."†

Again, we find him informing Voltaire of the eagerneſs with which he reads and devours all thoſe writings in which that Premier Chief had combined his attacks againſt the Altar and the Throne. We ſee him applauding his ſarcaſtic wit, and thus addreſſing him: "I am almoſt angry when I learn from public report, "that without informing me of it you have given a "ſlap to Fanaticiſm and Tyranny, and that without "detriment to the ſwinging blows which you apply in "ſo maſterly a manner on other occaſions. You enjoy "alone the privilege of covering with odium and ridi-"cule thoſe two peſts of ſociety."‡

During this warfare, it was not the good fortune of all the adepts to gain the applauſe of D'Alembert. They had not, like Voltaire, the art of pleaſing or amuſing Kings, who did not perceive that the ſarcaſtic wit and ſatire of his romances and hiſtorical productions fell on their own heads, though ſeemingly aimed only at the perſons of other Kings.

It was not every one of the adepts that had the art of throwing the living into contempt, by ſtriking at the dead; of flattering the perſon of the Sovereign, and rendering ſovereignty odious; nor ſhall we find D'Alembert equally pleaſed with all thoſe who appear in array againſt the Royal cauſe. Some of them, too eager, ſaid too much; others were awkward in their attacks, and theſe he ſtyles *bunglers who are to be found every where*.§ Others again were not ſufficiently bold. He

† 19th January, 1769.
‡ Letter from D'Alembert, 14th July, 1767.
§ 24th January, 1778.

will allow them wit, but he wiſhes *them to be leſs favorable to Deſpotiſm*; and the reader will eaſily conceive what he would have written himſelf if his *hands had not been tied*, when he confidentially writes to Voltaire, *I hate Deſpots almoſt as much as you do yourſelf.*†

It would be futile to object, that the hatred of Deſpotiſm does not infer the hatred of Kings. We know that; but who are the Deſpots implied by our Sophiſters, if not the Kings under whom they lived. Were the Emperor of the Turks, or the Grand Mogul, who had nothing to do with our Philoſophers, the objects of their repeated complaints and hatred? Such objections are unworthy of being noticed. Their language is known; and ſufficient proofs will occur to ſhow, that with the ſect *Deſpots or Tyrants* and *Sovereigns or Kings* are ſynonymous terms. The very affectation of confounding them together ſhows that the hatred of the one and of the other were blended in the hearts of the Chiefs and of their Adepts.

In ſhort, the compliments of D'Alembert are not the ſole proofs with which the adepts have furniſhed us of the great part Voltaire had taken in that revolution ſo fatal to Monarchy, and which he ſo exultingly foreſaw. Had he never aimed his ſarcaſtic wit, ſo much admired by the ſophiſters, at the perſons of Kings, ſtill he would have been the man, at leaſt in the eyes of his ſchool, who had ſmoothed the way, who had ſcaled the rampart, to aſſail the Throne and ſhiver the Scepter of the pretended Tyrants; in a word, to contrive what the French Revolution has ſince accompliſhed, both with reſpect to the crown and perſon of the unfortunate Lewis XVI.

Theſe important ſervices are thus appreciated by Condorcet: "Shall (ſays he) men who would ſtill have "been ſlaves to prejudice if Voltaire had not written, "accuſe him of betraying the cauſe of Liberty!— "They cannot underſtand that if Voltaire had inſer- "ted in his writings the principles of the elder Brutus, "that is to ſay, thoſe of the American Act of Inde- "pendence, neither Monteſquieu nor Rouſſeau could "have publiſhed their works. Had he, as the Author "of the Syſtem of Nature did, obliged all the Kings of "Europe to ſupport the aſcendancy of the Clergy, "Europe would ſtill have remained *in the bonds of ſlave-*

Avowal of the ſect concerning Voltaire.

† 23d January, 1770.

" *ry and buried in superstition.* They will not reflect, " that in our writings, as in our actions, we are to " make no more than a necessary display of courage."*

Condorcet, in writing this, seems to have considered himself as having displayed a sufficient courage, as he did not think it necessary to say, that the throne would have remained unshaken, if Voltaire had not begun by eradicating religion from the minds of the people. His brethren the hebdomadary adepts, criticized the panegyrist as not having sufficiently extolled the services which Voltaire had rendered. At that period the French Revolution was at its summit. Lewis XVI. was reduced to a mere phantom of royalty in his palace, or rather prison, of the Thuilleries. The literary part of the Mercure was conducted by La Harpe, Marmontel, and Champfort; and these reviewers undertake to inform the unfortunate Monarch of the hand which had wrought the downfal of his throne. In giving an account of the life of Voltaire, written by the Marquis de Condorcet, the hebdomadary Philosophers speak in the following terms:

" It appears that it would have been possible to show " in a clearer light, *the eternal obligations which human* " *nature has to Voltaire.* Circumstances were favorable. " *He did not foresee all that he has done, but he has done all* " *that we now see.* The enlightened observer and the " able historian will prove to those who are capable of " reflexion, *that the first Author of the great Revolution,* " *which astonishes all Europe, which infuses hope into the* " *hearts of nations, and disquiet into courts, was, without* " *doubt, Voltaire.* He was the first who levelled that " formidable rampart of Despotism, the religious and " sacerdotal power. Had he not broken the yoke of " Priests, that of Tyrants never could have been shaken " off; both equally weighed upon our necks, and were " so intimately interwoven, that, the first once slackened, " the latter must soon have lost its hold. The human " mind is no more to be impeded in the career of inde- " pendence than it is in that of slavery; and it was " Voltaire who shook off the yoke, by teaching it to " judge, in every respect, those who kept it in subjec- " tion. It was he who rendered reason popular; and " if the people had not learned to think, never would " it have known its own strength. The reflexions of

* Life of Voltaire, edit. Kell.

" the ſage prepare *Political Revolutions*, but it is the arm " of the people which executes them."*

Had I no other object in view than to demonſtrate that theſe men, ſtyling themſelves Philoſophers, and glorying in the ſchool and name of Voltaire, chiefly aimed at the overthrow of Monarchy when they attacked religion; that it was to the ſucceſsful warfare which Voltaire had carried on againſt the religion of Chriſt that they peculiarly attribute their ſucceſs againſt the Throne; that by the appellation of Tyrant and Deſpot they pointed at the beſt of Kings and moſt rightful of Sovereigns: had this been my only object, I ſay, it would have been uſeleſs to continue theſe Memoirs on the Antimonarchical Conſpiracy, or that of the Sophiſters of Rebellion againſt every King. Reſult of theſe avowals.

And who are theſe Sophiſters that declare ſo openly and ſo expreſsly the ſecret of the ſect? Firſt view Condorcet, the moſt reſolute Atheiſt, the deareſt of the brethren, the ſteady ſupport of Voltaire's hopes, the moſt intimate confidant of D'Alembert.† It is he who ſets out by declaring, that, if Voltaire had not combated Religious prejudices, or that if he had attacked Regal authority in a more direct manner, France would have remained enſlaved.

Next on the liſt we find the Journaliſts La Harpe, Marmontel, and Champfort, who, in the moſt celebrated journal of the ſect, complain that Condorcet has not ſhown ſufficient courage, and that he is not ſufficiently explicit on the pretended *eternal obligations* which mankind have to Voltaire, who by ſhaking religion to its foundations has overturned the Throne, who by the ruin of the Pontiff has ſtruck the Tyrant.

And who is the Tyrant, the Deſpot over whom they ſo loudly triumph? A King whoſe very name echoes to that of juſtice and goodneſs; a Monarch almoſt adored by his people, and who loved them to a degree of weakneſs; for he very often repeated, that he would not ſuffer one drop of his ſubjects blood to be ſpilt in his defence.

Will hiſtory believe, that the unfortunate Lewis XVI. was the Deſpot over whom they triumph? And yet if any King upon earth ſhould believe that he is not

* Mercure de France, Saturday, 7th Auguſt, 1790. No. 18, p. xxvi. † See the firſt part of theſe Memoirs.

comprehended in the general ſubverſion aimed at by the conſpirators, let him hearken: It is not of France alone that they ſpeak, but of *all mankind:* it is mankind that they pretend to behold enſlaved under Kings; and that *hope* which they had infuſed into the heart of man, is the ſame which they joyfully obſerve expanding itſelf through all nations! If now tranquil on his throne, let him remember, that he is deſtitute of the prudence which even the Conſpirators ſuppoſe him to be endowed with. They believe *diſquiet to be infuſed into every Court;* for they well know, that their principles and their lawleſs attempts openly menaced monarchy. Yes, that their conſpiracy was univerſal, is already evident; hiſtory needs no farther proof: But before they dared proclaim it, that conſpiracy had its gradations; its means are to be laid open. The firſt ſtep is that hatred againſt the throne, flowing in the hearts of the chiefs, from the hatred they had conceived againſt their God. The ſecond will be found in the inveſtigation of thoſe ſyſtems deviſed by the adepts to overthrow regal authority, and ſubſtitute another in its ſtead. The teachers of the ſect had applied the vague principles of Liberty and Equality to Religious tenets; and hence originated the hatred of Chriſt and his Church. From the ſame principles applied to politics aroſe thoſe theories and ſyſtems of ſubverſion, with which the ſect aſſails every throne.

CHAP. II.

Second Step of the Conſpiracy againſt Kings.—Political Syſtems of the Sect.—D'Argenſon and Monteſquieu.

AMONG the adepts who muſt have foreſeen the conſequences which naturally enſued from the application of a pretended equality of rights, and of an irreligious liberty, to politics, none could have done ſo more intuitively than the Marquis D'Argenſon. This man, miniſter of the foreign department, had lived during the greater part of his life near the perſon of his Sovereign, and enjoyed that favour, to which he was thought to be entitled by having conſecrated his life in the Royal ſervice. Yet he was the man who, during the reign of Lewis XV. drew the outlines of thoſe Sophiſticated Syſtems, which were to oppoſe Regal authority, and gradually metamorphoſe the French Monarchy into a Republic. D'Argenſon's ſyſtem.

We have ſeen Voltaire, as early as the year 1743, extolling the affection which this Marquis bore to Equality, to Liberty, and to the Municipal Government. Theſe praiſes of the Premier Chief evidently ſhow, that Mr. D'Argenſon had already conceived his Municipalizing Syſtem, and all thoſe wild plans, which the future rebels, under the title of a Conſtituent Aſſembly, were to adopt as one of the leading features of their Royal Democracy, at once the moſt ſenſeleſs and moſt ſeditious as well as the moſt heterogeneous form of government that could be conceived, and more eſpecially for Frenchmen: They alſo prove, that he made no ſecret of his plans to his confidents and co-operators.

His ſyſtem conſiſts in the diviſion and ſubdiviſion of the Provinces into ſmall States, firſt called *Provincial Adminiſtrations* by Necker, and afterwards termed *Departments* by Target and Mirabeau.

According to D'Argenſon's plan, reſumed and corrected by Turgot and Necker, each of thoſe petty ſtates was, under the inſpection of the King, to be charged with the interior adminiſtration of its diſtricts, and the levying of taxes; to ſuperintend the different plans adopted for the relief of the people; to inſpect

the hoſpitals, the high roads, the eſtabliſhments uſeful to commerce and other ſuch objects. The adminiſtrators could not determine on any ſubject of importance without the orders of his Majeſty, and this was judged a ſufficient fence to the Royal prerogative, eſpecially as at the firſt formation of theſe provincial adminiſtrations, one half of the members were to be nominated by the King, which half when aſſembled choſe the remaining moiety. The diſtinction of the three orders, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Eſtate, was preſerved, as it uſed to be in the States General.*

The towns and boroughs, and even the villages were to have their reſpective municipalities, all acting on the ſame plan, and under the direction of the Provincial Adminiſtrations, in their ſecondary diſtricts.

Natural effects of this ſyſtem.

Though at firſt ſight this ſyſtem appears extremely advantageous, yet, on examination, we ſhall find, that its ſole tendency was to apply Republican forms, as much as circumſtances would permit, to a Monarchical government; that its object was to cramp the authority of the Monarch, to clog and weaken it; and to annihilate the power of his officers, or direct agents, the intendants of provinces.

Soon was France by means of theſe aſſemblies and their committees, or permanent offices, to be filled with ambitious men ſtarting forth in the new political career; men indeed who, in the firſt inſtance, would have recognized the authority of a King, but who would ſoon have conſidered themſelves better informed of the wants of the people (being nearer to them) than his miniſters, and therefore more fully acquainted with the means of alleviating their diſtreſſes. Remonſtrances and philoſophic reaſonings would ſoon have followed, and ſufficed to juſtify diſobedience. The people, under a fond perſuaſion, that theſe provincial adminiſtrators ſupported their intereſts againſt the court, would eaſily have been brought to believe them the bulwark of their liberties and privileges, aſſigning every happy event to them, and attributing every misfortune to the King and his miniſters. Each municipality coaleſcing with the adminiſtrators, a hundred petty Republics ſtart into exiſtence, ready to league againſt their Sovereign, who, under the title of King, would ſcarcely have retained the authority of a Doge.

* See D'Argenſon's plans, &c. on the nature of governments.

In time we ſhould have ſeen a ſwarm of politicaſters, or petty tribunes, ſallying forth from theſe adminiſtrative bodies, who would have left no means untried to perſuade the populace that ſuch a King was rather a burden than an advantage to the ſtate; that it would be proper to lay him aſide, ſince he was unneceſſary; that the provincial and municipal adminiſtrations would then be able to follow up in a more effectual manner, the ſalutary meaſures they had conceived for the good of the people: and thus, ſtep by ſtep, the Monarchical government would have been overthrown, and a municipal adminiſtration eſtabliſhed, with the freedom of which Voltaire and D'Argenſon had been ſo faſcinated in Holland. The man who could not readily foreſee that ſuch would be the conſequence of this municipalizing ſyſtem, muſt have been very ignorant of the character of Frenchmen, and eſpecially of French Philoſophers when drawn into the vortex of modern politics.

Even the admiſſion of the clergy into theſe proviſional adminiſtrations muſt have proved a fatal boon to the church, as it neceſſarily tended to change the ſpirit of its miniſters. Prieſts and biſhops were admitted, or rather called upon, to form a part of theſe adminiſtrations, ſo foreign to their ſacred functions, for the conſpiracy had not yet attained ſufficient force to caſt them off. The zeal for ſalvation was to be ſuperſeded by the wild ambition of moving in a ſphere ſo contrary to their calling. Already were ſeveral prelates diſtinguiſhed by this new title of Adminiſtrators. Soon ſhould we have ſeen them become rather the diſciples of D'Argenſon, Turgot and Necker, than of Chriſt; ſoon ſeen the biſhopricks conferred upon none but Morellets and Beaudeaux, with whom religion would have been a very ſubordinate object, when compared to the glorious enterprize of ſyſtem-making, or of reſiſting the Miniſters and the Sovereign. This was a ſure method of ruining the church, by robbing her of the real biſhops, and ſubſtituting petty politicians, who would eaſily be carried away by the torrent of impiety and ambition, and join with heart and hand a Brienne or an Expilli.

Whatever might have been the conſequence to the church, it is very evident that all theſe new forms of adminiſtration tended directly to republicanize the ſtate. Each of theſe petty adminiſtrators would ſoon have ſwelled himſelf into the repreſentative of the province,

and the aggregate would have ſtyled themſelves the Repreſentatives of the Nation. The bare appellation of National Repreſentative, combined with Modern Philoſophiſm, ſufficed to cruſh the Monarchy.

D'Argenſon did not live to witneſs the experiment of his ſyſtem; ſome may ſuppoſe that he had not foreſeen its conſequences. But it plainly appears, that if he even had foreſeen them, ſo great an admirer of municipalized Republics would not have been much alarmed. At a time when the Sophiſters had not ſufficiently eraſed the love of religion from the hearts of the French to efface their affection for their Monarch, this ſyſtem appeared to make but little impreſſion; but we ſhall ſee the Sophiſters afterward making it the particular object of their diſſertations, to accuſtom the people to the idea of governing themſelves.*

Monteſquieu. To the great misfortune of France, a man far more capable than D'Argenſon of giving to any ſyſtem the appearance of deep thought and erudition, engaged in theſe political ſpeculations. The love of the commonweal may appear to have directed him toward this ſtudy; but the real cauſe is to be found in the reſtleſſneſs of Philoſophiſm, and in that liberty of thinking which is diſguſted with every thing around it, and which would continue reſtleſs even after having attained the object of which it was in ſearch. This man, who by ſo many claims commands the public veneration was Charles Secondat, Baron de la Brede and De Monteſquieu. He was born on the 18th of January 1689, in the Chateau de la Brede, within three leagues of Bourdeaux; and in 1716, became preſident *à mortier* of that parliament. We have already mentioned, that his firſt productions were thoſe of a young man who had no fixed principles of religion; and this is clearly perceptible in peruſing the *Letters Perſannes*. At a riper age his duty called him to the ſtudy of the laws; but not content with the knowledge of thoſe of his own country, and deſirous of making himſelf converſant in thoſe of foreign nations, he made the tour of Europe, ſtayed ſometime in England, and then returned to France full of thoſe ideas which he has developed in the two works that have chiefly contributed to his fame. The firſt is entitled, *Conſiderations on the Cauſes of the Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire*, and was publiſhed in 1733; the latter was, *The Spirit of Laws*, which appeared in 1748.

* Suppl. to Social Contract, part 3. chap. 2. by Gudin.

It was obvious, on the firſt appearance of his work on the Romans, that Monteſquieu had not acquired from his travels an additional eſteem for the government of his own country. One of the prime cauſes to which he attributes the eclat of the Romans, is their love of a Liberty which begins by dethroning all Kings. The Sophiſters, who were ſtill leſs favorable to Monarchy, did not fail to adopt this idea, to make it the leading principle, and to inculcate it in all their diſcourſes.* Monteſquieu's firſt attacks on the Throne.

Both Monteſquieu and his panegyriſts would have been more correct, had they traced back to this love of liberty all thoſe ſcourges and inteſtine broils which harraſſed Rome, from the expulſion of its Kings until the reign of the Emperors. Liberty perpetually convulſed the people, and the ſenate could only free themſelves from their clamours by habitual war and foreign pillage. This perpetual ſtate of hoſtility rendered the Roman the moſt warlike of all nations, and gave them that immenſe advantage which they enjoyed over all other people. To the man who has read the Roman hiſtory, nothing can be more evident. But if ſuch be the merits of that liberty which expelled the Kings from Rome, that antiſocial ſpirit, which, ſowing diſcord in the interior œconomy of families, drives them from their homes, inures them to fatigue and the inclemency of the weather, and gives them all the advantages and ſtrength of robbers, by forcing them to live on plunder, after having denied them the ſweets of ſocial life,—the Antiſocial ſpirit, I ſay, muſt needs poſſeſs the very ſame advantages.

Monteſquieu was ſo ſtrangely miſled by his admiration for liberty, that he did not perceive the ſtrangely paradoxical poſitions that he advanced. After having ſpoken of the public edifices, *which even to this day give us a great idea of the power and grandeur of Rome under its Kings*, after having ſaid, "that one of the cauſes of "its proſperity was, that its Kings were all great men, "and that no country could ever ſhew *ſuch a continued "ſeries of ſtateſmen and great generals*;" he adds, nearly in the ſame page, "that on the expulſion of the "Kings it muſt neceſſarily follow, either that Rome "would change its government, or remain a poor and "petty monarchy."† In a word, that if Rome arrived His Paradoxes on the Kings of Rome.

* Eloge de Monteſquieu by D'Alembert.
† Conſiderations, &c. &c. on the Romans.

at that very high pitch of greatneſs, it was owing to its having *ſubſtituted annual Conſuls* to the dethroned Kings.

This work teems with ſatyrical remarks on Rome, when again brought under the dominion of a Monarch; and his frequent expreſſions of regret for the loſs of the Republican Liberty, could not but tend to diminiſh that love, that admiration, that enthuſiaſm ſo natural to Frenchmen for their King. One might really ſuſpect that he wiſhed to inſtil into the minds of the people a belief, that what Sovereigns call eſtabliſhing order, is another term for riveting fetters on their ſubjects.*

His Spirit of Laws.

But the work that we have been conſidering was merely a prelude to the doctrines which he was about to teach *(in his Spirit of Laws)* to all nations governed by a Monarch. Let us premiſe, and with great ſincerity we ſay it, that had we to perform the taſk of a panegyriſt, cauſes for admiration would abound; had we to anſwer thoſe critics who reproach Monteſquieu with having taken the motto, *prolem ſine matre creatam*, and giving his work as if it were an original, though he may appear to have followed the footſteps of Bodin, celebrated for his work on Republics, we nevertheleſs think we may triumphantly anſwer, that the droſs he may have borrowed from others cannot alloy the ſterling value of his own production; and that in ſpite of the errors contained in the Spirit of Laws, it will for ever continue to be conſidered as the work of a wonderful genius.‡

But it is not for us to aſſume the character, either of the critic or of the panegyriſt. Our object is to inveſ-

* Chap. 13.

‡ We may ſafely aſſert, that if Monteſquieu has borrowed ſuch droſs as the Syſtem of Climates from Bodin, he has thrown aſide many articles which by no means coincided with his ideas: For example, the definition of a Sovereign given by Bodin could never agree with Monteſquieu's notions of a free people, or of its repreſentatives. The former is exaggerated. In Bodin's language, we might ſay, that the covenant by which the Sovereign is conſtituted, gives him the right of diſpoſing at pleaſure of the lives and fortunes of every citizen: That the ſole diſtinction between the Tyrant and the lawful King is, that the former exerciſes his authority for the ſubjugation, while the latter exerts his for the happineſs of the people. The generality of Monteſquieu's principles appear not to recognize a ſufficient Sovereignty in the real Monarch; but the oppoſite exceſs into which Bodin had fallen may, by diſguſting Monteſquieu, have driven him into the oppoſite extreme. In ſhort, whether this criticiſm be correct or not is of little conſequence, our object being to repreſent Monteſquieu's ideas exactly as he has expreſſed them, in whatever part of the work they may be found.

tigate how far Monteſquieu broached or influenced revolutionary ideas. It is the misfortune of a great genius, that his very errors are too often converted into oracles. Truth muſt often ſubmit to error, when that error is ſupported by a celebrated name! That victory which he would have diſclaimed, reſulted merely from the celebrity of his name, and the weight of his authority. The diſtinction which he makes between the principles of Monarchy and thoſe of Republicaniſm may convince the reader. In an ordinary writer, the whole of that part of the Spirit of Laws would have been looked upon as the ſport of imagination playing upon words. But from Monteſquieu they are received as the reſult of profound thought, ſanctioned by the great name of hiſtory. Let us examine whether the notions branding Monarchy with diſgrace can originate from any thing but the abuſe of terms.

His diſtinction between the principles of Monarchies and of Republics.

Honour, in the general acceptation of his countrymen, was the fear of being deſpiſed, and a horror particularly of being looked upon as a coward. It was the ſentiment of Glory and of Courage. When a more moral ſentiment attached itſelf to *honour*, it was converted into the ſhame of having done, or of hearing oneſelf reproached as having done, ſome act unworthy of an honeſt man; for inſtance, as having broken one's word. Monteſquieu, obſerving the deſpotic influence which this word exerciſed over his countrymen, adopted *honour* as the firſt principle, the main ſpring, the prime mover of Monarchies, and flatters Republics with having virtue for their firſt principle.* The chivalry of the French, pleaſed with the idea, applauds Monteſquieu, but does not perceive that in adopting the word he falſifies the ſentiment and metamorphoſes it into *a falſe honour, a prejudice, a thirſt of fame, an ambition for diſtinctions or for favour*; in a word, into all the vices of the courtier.† This was bewildering *honour*; it was telling thoſe bold Knights, ſo zealous for their King, that they were no more than effeminate courtiers, ambitious men, and ſlaves to a prejudice the ſource of all the vices of Courts: an aſſertion the more evidently falſe, as many a Frenchman replete with true honour was entirely free from any of thoſe vices. Such a diſtinction was not only odious and diſgraceful, it was al-

* Spirit of the Laws, Book III. Chap. 3. and following.
† Ib. Chap. 7, & *paſſim*, Book III. and V.

ſo deluſive, and the deluſion ſeems to have prevented Monteſquieu from perceiving that hereafter Philoſophiſm would adopt the principle, but would only repeat the word *honour* as the oppoſite *to virtue, the principle of Republics*, and brand the Royaliſts with all the falſe prejudices, the ambition, and other vices, which he had artfully aſcribed to *honour*.

This firſt error therefore was the offspring of deluſion. Though, in one ſenſe, as much may be ſaid of the pretended principle of Democracies. In another point of view, however, this principle may be introduced with more correctneſs; and this latter ſenſe appears to be that to which Monteſquieu at firſt alluded. It is undeniable, that virtue ought to be more particularly the principle of Democracies than of any other form of Government, they being the moſt turbulent and the moſt vicious of all; in which virtue is abſolutely neceſſary to control the paſſions of men, to quell that ſpirit of cabal, anarchy, and faction inherent to the Democratic form, and to chain down that ambition and rage of dominion over the people, which the weakneſs of the laws can ſcarcely withſtand.

But it would have been ſatyric in the extreme to have adopted this latter ſenſe; and Monteſquieu's great admiration for the ancient Democracies would never permit him to give ſuch an explanation of the principle. He therefore generalizes or particularizes his definitions as ſuits his purpoſe. At one time *this virtue*, the prime mover of Republics, is *the love of one's country—that is to ſay, of Equality—is a political, and not a moral virtue.** *At another, this political is a moral virtue*, as it is directed to the public good.† In one place it is not *the virtue of individuals*,‡ though in another it is every thing that can be underſtood *by good morals*, or by the virtue of a people *who are preſerved from corruption by the goodneſs of their maxims*.‖ Again, it is the moſt common virtue in that ſtate where, "theft is blended with the ſpirit of "juſtice; the hardeſt ſervitude with exceſs of Liberty, "the moſt atrocious ſentiments with the greateſt mod-"eration;" in ſhort, it is the virtue of that ſtate where "natural ſentiments are preſerved without the "tie of ſon, huſband, or father, and where even chaſ-"tity is denuded of modeſty and ſhame.§

* Advertiſement of the Author to the new Edition.
† Note to chap. 5, Book III. ‡ Ibid.
‖ Chap. 2, Book I. § Chap. 6. Book IV.

Whatever idea the reader may have formed of virtue through the mist which appears to have enveloped the genius of Montesquieu in enigmatic darkness, let us ask, which principle will he adopt, or which will he conceive to be the most clearly expressed? If asked, whether virtue was not also to be found in Monarchies, he will answer, "I know that virtuous Princes are no uncommon sight; but I venture to affirm, *that in a Monarchy* "it is extremely difficult for the people to be virtuous;"‡ and this sentiment, so odious and so injurious to all Royalists, will in the end be the most clearly deduced of all the new opinions he has broached upon Monarchical Government. Whether such were his intentions or not, a day will come, when the Sophisters, repeating his assertions, will say to the people, "You only "love your King because you have not a sufficient sense "of Philosophy to raise yourselves above *the prejudices* "*of ambition and of false honour*; because you are des- "titute of those *moral virtues which direct to the public* "*good*; because you are not inflamed with *the love of* "*your Country*; because you admire that form of Gov- "ernment, where it is *extremely difficult for the people to* "*be virtuous.* You would admire *Democracy* were your "*morals good*, and were you fired with the *amor patriæ*— "but, destitute of virtue and unacquainted with Phi- "losophy, you are only capable of loving your Kings."

Such, as every reflecting reader must perceive, is the real explanation of these principles. The Revolution has only brought them into practice. We have heard a Robespierre and a Sieyes, proclaiming to the people, that in crushing the Scepter, murdering their King, and constituting France a Republic, they had *only put virtue on the order of the day.* In the midst of massacres and bloodshed, they profaned the sacred name of virtue; and with virtue in their mouths they plunged the people into the most horrid scenes of vice and debauchery. But have we not seen Montesquieu teaching them how to blend virtue with the *most atrocious sentiments*, and how it may reign amidst the *hardest servitude, or the excess of Liberty?* Attributing such intentions to this celebrated writer would most certainly be doing injustice to his memory; but still it is our duty to speak unreservedly on what he has written, and to shew what sentiments nations may have imbibed from his writings. It is aw-

‡ Chapter 5, Book III.

ful to reflect (whatever may have been his intentions) on the terrible ravages which his opinions, supported by the authority of his name, have operated in the minds of men. Error is in its infancy with Monteſquieu; but it is the ſame error that was afterwards, in the ſtate of manhood, adopted by Robeſpierre. Monteſquieu would have ſhrunk back with horror had he heared that Democratic villain place virtue *for the order of the day* with his ſanguinary Republic; but what could the aſtoniſhed maſter have replied, on being told, *that it was extremely difficult for the people to be virtuous under a Monarch*, or under Lewis XVI.?

Let genius ſhrink back with horror at ſeeing its errors traverſe the immenſe interval between Monteſquieu and Robeſpierre; let it tremble at its deſpotic influence over the public opinion. Without deſigning any convulſion, by its very name it may raiſe the moſt dreadful ſtorm. At firſt, its errors may be tender ſhoots; but, daily gaining bulk and ſtrength, will not at length a Condorcet, a Petion, or a Sieyes, wield the maſſive limb?

During a long period Monteſquieu's opinions on the principles of Monarchies and Republics were entirely overlooked, and they might have remained in oblivion at any other time, when Philoſophiſm was leſs active in its reſearch after every means of rendering the Throne odious.—Almoſt as much may be ſaid of that *Equality*, which, he believed, "in Democracy limited ambition "to the ſole deſire of doing greater ſervices to our "country, than the reſt of our fellow-citizens:"* a virtue far too ſublime for Monarchies, "where nobody "aims at Equality; it does not ſo much as enter their "thoughts; they all aſpire to ſuperiority. People of "the very loweſt condition deſire to emerge from their "obſcurity only to lord it over their fellow-ſubjects."† Genius may have been ſo led away, as not to perceive how powerful a weapon it was forging for the Jacobin, who, extolling the merits of this Equality, and perſuading the people that it was impracticable under the dominion of the Monarch, would alſo paint in glowing colours *that ambition of ſerving the country*, ariſing from the aſhes of the Throne and the deſtruction of the Nobility. But there appeared another ſyſtem in the *Spirit of Laws*, deeper laid, and replete with weapons more

* Chap. 3, Book V. † Chap. 4, Book V.

directly pointed at the Throne. They were the firſt on which Philoſophiſm ſeized, while others adopted them through ignorance, from want of reflection, or from imprudence. They were too fatal in the hands of the firſt rebels not to claim a place in theſe Memoirs.

State of the French Monarchy, when his ſyſtem on the diſtinction of Powers appeared.

To form a correct idea of the Revolutionary tendency of Monteſquieu's ſyſtem, we muſt revert to the time at which it was publiſhed. Whatever may have been the Legiſlative forms in the primitive days of the French Monarchy, it is certain that at the time of his publication (and he avows it) not only the King of France, but moſt of the crowned heads united in their perſons the rights of executing the laws, of enacting thoſe which they conceived neceſſary or conducive to the welfare of the State, and of judging thoſe who had infringed the law.*

The re-union of this Triple Power conſtitutes an *abſolute Monarch*; that is to ſay, a real Sovereign who in his perſon concentrates the whole power of the law. At that period the French were far from confounding this abſolute power with the arbitrary power of the Tyrant or the Deſpot. This power was to be found in Republics and in mixt States. Here it exiſted in the Senate, or in the aſſembly of Deputies; there in the compound of the Senate and the King. The French nation beheld it in their Monarch, whoſe ſupreme will, legally proclaimed, was the utmoſt degree of political authority.

Difference between an abſolute and an arbitrary power.

This ſupreme will, conſtrued into law by the requiſite forms, was equally binding on the King and on his ſubjects. It is not only Henry IV. and his Miniſter Sully, who declare *that the firſt law of the Sovereign is to obſerve them all*; but it is Lewis XIV. that Prince whom the Sophiſters affectedly ſtyle the Deſpot, who at the height of his glory openly proclaims this obligation in his edicts: "Do not let it be ſaid," are his words, "that the Sovereign ſhall not be ſubject to the "laws of the ſtate. The rights of nations proclaim "the contrary truth, which has ſometimes been at-"tacked by flattery, but which all good Princes have "defended as the guardian of their ſtates. How much "more accurate is it to ſay, that to conſtitute the per-"fect happineſs of a kingdom, it is neceſſary that the "Prince ſhould be obeyed by his ſubjects, *that the*

* Chap. 6, Book XI.

" *Prince ſhould obey the Laws*, and that thoſe laws " ſhould be juſt and directed to the public good !"†

This obligation alone in the Sovereign immediately deſtroys all deſpotic or arbitrary power. For, in the idiom of modern languages, the Deſpot is the man who rules only by his paſſions and caprice; under whom no ſubject can be at eaſe, as he is ignorant whether his maſter will not puniſh him to-day for having executed the orders he had received from him yeſterday.

In ſhort, it may be juſtly ſaid, that Political Liberty conſiſts in two points: 1ſt, That every Citizen ſhould be free to do all that is not forbidden by the law: 2dly, That the law ſhould preſcribe or forbid any particular action for the public good only. Experience will vouch for the correctneſs of this definition. And where could the honeſt and upright man, obedient to the laws of his country, enjoy greater ſecurity and freedom than he did in France?

It may indeed, be objected, that there exiſted many abuſes, but did they not originate from the genius of the French, or from an exceſs rather than a want of liberty? Were the conſpirators to exclaim againſt the immoral and impious Miniſter for having abuſed the power with which he was entruſted, when theſe Sophiſters had during many years conſpired againſt the morals and piety of the whole nation? No; they had no right to complain that the law was often ſacrificed to private paſſions; the exact obſervance of the law ſhould have been their prayer, but they only ſought after ruin and revolution.

Of *Lettres de Cachet*, and of their abuſe.

One real abuſe had crept into the French Government, which favoured much of Deſpotiſm. This was the uſe of *Lettres de Cachet*. Undoubtedly they were illegal. On a bare order from the King the ſubject loſt his liberty. I will not defend ſuch an abuſe by ſaying, that none but the higher claſſes or ſeditious writers were expoſed to the effect of this arbitrary power. But, perhaps, few are acquainted with the origin of thoſe Letters. It was to the moral character of the French, and to the notions particularly of the higher claſſes, that this abuſe owed its origin; and it was neceſſary either to do away thoſe notions, or to leave ſo formidable a power in the hands of the Monarch.

† Edict of Lewis XIV. 1667; alſo the Treatiſe of the Queen's Rights on Spain.

Such was the received opinion in France, that a family would have thought itſelf diſhonored, if any child, brother, or near relation were brought to juſtice. Hence it was that families, fearing the arm of the law, applied to the King to obtain an order to impriſon any profligate youth whoſe irregular conduct might diſgrace the family. If any hopes of reformation could be conceived, the *Lettre de Cachet* was only temporary, and ſerved as a correction; but where the offence was criminal and infamous, the culprit was impriſoned for life.

The reader muſt not be miſled to ſuppoſe, that theſe Letters were granted on a mere requeſt and without any inquiry into the caſe. After Mr. de Maleſherbe's adminiſtration, the Petitions ſent to the King were tranſmitted to the Intendant of the Province, who immediately ordered his ſub-delegate to call a meeting of the relations and witneſſes, and to take minutes of their proceedings. On theſe informations, which were forwarded to the Miniſters, his Majeſty granted or refuſed the *Lettre de Cachet*.*

Under ſuch reſtrictions it was evidently rather the authority of a common parent, which the King exerciſed over his ſubjects, than that of a deſpot enſlaving them. With the notions which the French nation had adopted, it was the neceſſary means of preſerving the honor of different families; and few were victims to this authority but thoſe who were dangerous either to private or public ſociety. From the uſe to the abuſe of a thing, however, the diſtance is but ſmall: a profligate miniſter might exerciſe this power againſt the citizen or the magiſtrate who had fulfilled his duty with the greateſt integrity. Nor was it unexampled, that a

* Although theſe *Lettres de Cachet* did not generally regard the commonalty, yet the king, when petitioned, did not always refuſe them to the lower claſſes. I was once ordered to attend one of thoſe meetings as interpreter for an honeſt German, who, though low in life, had requeſted his Majeſty to grant a *Lettre de Cachet* for his wife, who, violent and choleric, had attempted to ſtab him, but fortunately he had ſtopped her hand. The poor man, unable to live in peace or ſafety with this woman, and unwilling to bring her before a tribunal, had recourſe to the King, who ordered the Intendant to take all the proper evidence. The relations and witneſſes were ſecretly aſſembled. I ſaw the Sub-delegate examine the facts with the greateſt humanity. The whole being verified, the minutes were laid before his Majeſty, and the *Lettre de Cachet* granted. The lady was confined; but in a few months ſhe was permitted to return, and was ever after a model of gentleneſs and ſubmiſſion.

miniſter, ſolicited by powerful men, rather conſulted their private animoſities, than public juſtice, or general utility. But a profligate miniſter abuſing his authority does not make his King a deſpot. The morals of the higher claſſes being perverted, as we have ſeen, by Philoſophiſm, the abuſe of this prerogative might loudly call for reform; but are the Sophiſters thence juſtifiable in ſeeking to overthrow the Monarchy?

The French attached to their King, at the time the Spirit of Laws was publiſhed.

In ſhort, whatever may have been the cauſe of theſe abuſes at the period when *the Spirit of Laws* appeared, it had never entered the minds of Frenchmen, that they lived under a deſpotic government. Let us hear Jean Jaques Rouſſeau lay down the law, he who created ſyſtems to overthrow it; and let the candid reader judge how far the Sophiſters are authoriſed to repreſent the French government as arbitrary, oppreſſive, and tyrannical. "What, (ſays Jean Jaques,) is the true end of "a political aſſociation? Is it not the preſervation and "proſperity of its members? And what is the moſt "certain ſign that they are preſerved, and that they proſper? Is it not the increaſing population? We need "ſeek no further for the ſign in diſpute; but pronounce "that government to be infallibly the beſt (provided "there is no particular circumſtance to make it ſtand "an exception to a general rule) under which, without the application of any improper means, without "the naturalization of ſtrangers, without receiving "any new coloniſts, the citizens increaſe and multiply; and that to be the worſt under which they leſſen and decay. Calculators, it is now your affair; "count, meaſure and compare them."* The ſame author adds, "It is a long continuance in the ſame ſituation that makes proſperity or calamity real. When "a whole nation lies cruſhed under the foot of deſpotiſm, it is then that the people periſh; and it is then "that their maſters can hurl deſtruction among them "with impunity, *ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* "(and call peace, the ſilence of the deſert they have "created.) When the factions of the chief men of "France had ariſen to ſuch a height as to agitate the "kingdom, and the coadjutor of Paris judged it neceſſary to carry a dagger in his pocket every time he "went into the parliament, the French people lived "free and at eaſe, they were happy and their numbers

* Social Contract, Chap. 9, Book III.

" increaſed. The proſperity of a nation and its popu-
" lation depends much more *on liberty* than on peace."*

Thus, without taking on himſelf the taſk of calculator, Jean Jaques confeſſes that the French people, even in the midſt of civil broils, *lived free and at eaſe*. But let us attend to one of his moſt faithful diſciples, who undertook to calculate, and that at a time when the revolution had done away every idea of exaggerating the happineſs of the French people under the government of their Kings. The revolutioniſt Gudin, in his annotations on the above text, and in his Supplement to the Social Contract, has examined and calculated, year by year, the ſtate of the poulation, the deaths, births, and marriages of all the principal towns in the kingdom during the courſe of this century, and then proceeds: " The author of the Social Contract ſpoke a grand " truth when he exclaimed: Calculators, it is now your " affair; *count*, *meaſure* and *compare*. His advice has " been followed; we have calculated, meaſured, and " compared, and the reſult of all theſe calculations has " demonſtrated that the population of France is really " twenty-four millions, though it had always been " ſuppoſed to be under twenty; that the annual births " amount to one million; and *that the population is daily* " *increaſing*.

" Hence we may conclude, after Rouſſeau, that the " government was very good. It really was better " than it ever had been at any period ſince the deſtruc-" tion of that which the Romans had eſtabliſhed in " Gaul." Such are the words of the ſame author, and according to his calculations it was *in the reign of Lewis XIV.* whom the Sophiſters repreſent as the haughtieſt of deſpots, *that the population of France began to increaſe regularly and univerſally throughout the whole kingdom*, notwithſtanding all his wars.

" The long reign of Lewis XV. (another alledged " deſpot, under whoſe reign the Antimonarchical Con-" ſpiracy was begun and indefatigably conducted) was " not expoſed to ſuch calamities; and it is certain, con-" tinues the revolutioniſt Gudin, that during the whole " monarchy there has exiſted no period when popula-" tion increaſed in a more conſtant and uniform pro-" greſſion throughout the whole kingdom, than during

* Social Contract, Chap. 9, Book III. in the note.

" that reign. It increaſed to that amazing height, that " from twenty-four to twenty-five millions of ſouls " were ſpread over a ſurface of twenty-five thouſand " ſquare leagues, which makes about a million of ſouls " to a thouſand ſquare leagues, or a thouſand inhabitants " to every ſquare league, *a population ſo unparalleled in* " *Europe, that it might be almoſt looked upon as a prodigy.*"

Let us hear the ſame author on the ſtate of France at the time when the Revolution broke out, which he is perpetually extolling; and let us remark, that the work whence we have extracted our documents was ſo acceptable to the Revolutionary Aſſembly, that by a particular decree of the 13th of November 1790, *it accepted the homage of it*; a ſtronger contraſt cannot be ſketched between that Revolution and its authors, whether diſtant or immediate, and the neceſſity of thoſe plans by which they pretended to work the happineſs of the Empire. The ſame author continues:

" The French territory is ſo well cultivated, that its " annual produce is eſtimated at four thouſand millions.

" Its currency amounted to two thouſand two hun- " dred millions, and the gold and ſilver employed in " plate and jewels may be eſtimated at a ſimilar amount.

" The Records of the Affinage Office in Paris atteſt, " that the annual conſumption or rather waſte of re- " fined gold, in gilding furniture, carriages, paſteboard, " china, nails, fans, buttons, books, in ſpotting ſtuffs, " or in plating ſilver, amounted to the enormous ſum of " eight hundred thouſand livres.

" The profit on trade was annually computed at be- " tween forty and fifty millions.

" The taxes paid by the people did not exceed ſix " hundred and ten or twelve millions, which does not " amount to one third of the circulating medium nor " to one ſixth part of the groſs territorial produce, and " which probably cannot be computed at more than one " third of the neat produce, a ſum which in that pro- " portion could not have been exorbitant if every one " had paid according to his means.*

* As this laſt ſentence alludes to the privileges and exemptions of the Clergy and Nobility, I cannot but refer my reader to a work attributed to Mr. Senac de Meilhan, and which is very ſatisfactory on this point. It contains the following paſſage: " Mr. Necker at length, in a moment of piqué againſt his un- " grateful children, diſcloſed the whole truth, and declared be- " fore the National Aſſembly, that the exemptions of the Clergy " and Nobility, which had been repreſented in ſo odious a light,

" In this kingdom were annually born upwards of " 928,000 children; in short, nearly a million. The " town of Paris contained 666,000 inhabitants. Its " riches were so great, that it paid annually one hun- " dred millions into the King's coffers, about one sixth " of the whole taxation of France.

" But even this immense taxation did not overburthen " Paris. Its inhabitants lived in affluence. If its daily " consumption amounted to one million, at least from " eighty to one hundred millions were necessary for its " interior circulation.

" In short, calculators have estimated, that during " the reign of Lewis XV. *the population of the country* " *was increased by one ninth*, that is to say by two mil- " lions five or six hundred thousand souls.

" Such was the state of France and of Paris at the " time the revolution took place; and as no other state " in Europe could exhibit such a population, nor boast " of such revenues, it was not without reason that *it* " *passed for the first kingdom on the Continent.*"

Supplement to the Social Contract. See note *Population.*

The revolutionist Gudin, to whom we are indebted for all these particulars, concludes by saying, "I thought " it necessary to state in a precise and exact manner the " population and riches of the kingdom at the period " when *so grand a revolution took place.* I apprehended " that this investigation would shew the future progress " of the nation, and serve as a table by which we might " calculate the advantages that will accrue from the " constitution when brought to perfection." Without doubt our author has by this time formed his opinion on the advantages of that constitution; but we can plainly

" did not exceed seven millions of livres (318,181l.) that the " half of that sum belonged to the privileged persons of the " *Tiers Etat*—and that the tax on enregistering, *(droit de con-* " *trôle)* which only bore on the two first orders, amply balanc- " ed the privileges they enjoyed with regard to the ordinary " taxes. These memorable words were spoken in the face of " all Europe, but were drowned in the cries of the victorious " demagogues. The Clergy, the Nobility, and the Monarchy, " all have perished,"—and perished under the pretence of an inequality of privileges (an empty assertion,) which was more than amply compensated by a single tax on the privileged orders. This was the tax on all public acts. It was rated in proportion to the sum specified in the act, or to the *titles inserted.* " Thus " the Most High and Puissant Lord, Marquis, Count or Baron, " was rated according to his birth, or rank, while a citizen only " paid in the ratio of his obscurity." *Vid. that work, and note to chap. 6.*

ſee by his enthuſiaſtic admiration of the revolution, and of the Philoſophers to whom he attributes the honor of having effected it,* that he was very far from wiſhing to exaggerate the liberty and happineſs of France under the Monarchy. By the foregoing long extract we have no other object in view, than that of furniſhing the hiſtorian with the proper materials (all extracted from the greateſt admirers or chief authors of the French Revolution) to enable him to judge of thoſe ſyſtems in which the Revolution originated, and to appreciate properly the wiſdom or the imprudence of its authors.—But to return to Monteſquieu.

Preciſely at that period when *L'Eſprit des Loix* was publiſhed, the French were ſo happy and ſo pleaſed with their King, that the ſurname of *well-beloved (bien aimé)* had reſounded from one extremity of the nation to the other. And, unfortunately for Monteſquieu, it is from this publication that we are to trace all thoſe Philoſophical reveries on Liberty and Equality, which at firſt only produced diſquiet and doubt, but which ſoon after created other ſyſtems, that miſled the French people in their ideas on government, that weakened the tie of affection between the ſubject and the monarch, and generated at length the monſter of Revolutions.

There is an eſſential difference to be perceived between Voltaire and Monteſquieu. Voltaire, as we have ſhown, would willingly have endured a Monarch that ſhould have connived at his impiety. He would have thought himſelf ſufficiently free, had he been allowed publicly to blaſpheme; and, generally ſpeaking, he was more partial to the forms of Monarchy, or of Ariſtocracy, than to thoſe of Democracy. It was his hatred to religion (and he hated religion more than he loved Kings) which plunged him into the municipalizing ſyſtem.

His admiration for foreign laws. His ſyſtems inapplicable to his country.

With Monteſquieu it was far otherwiſe. Though he was not indifferent on the ſubject of religious liberty, it was nevertheleſs Monarchy itſelf that he meant to inveſtigate. He propoſed to regulate all kingly power and authority according to his ideas of political liberty. Had religious liberty been carried to exceſs, ſtill he would have looked upon himſelf as immerſed in ſlavery in every ſtate where the public authority was not ſubdivided, according to his ſyſtem, into three diſtinct powers, *the Legiſlative, the Executive, and the Judiciary.*

* Book III. Chap. on the Philoſophers.

This diſtinction was new to the French nation, which had been accuſtomed to view its Monarch as the central point of all political authority. The peaceful ages they had paſſed under their Legiſlative Kings little inclined them to envy the boiſterous liberty of a neighbouring country, perhaps more celebrated for its civil broils in queſt of liberty, than for the wiſdom of its conſtitution, which, at length fixing every mind and every heart, had ſcarcely terminated a long ſtruggle between the Monarch and the People.

Without doubt we may admire, as much as Monteſquieu, the wiſdom of that nation which has known how to model its laws according to the experience it had acquired during thoſe ſtruggles. Laws, indeed, congenial to the manners which characterize it, to its local ſituation, and even to its prejudices. But is that conſtitution, the moſt perfect perhaps exiſting for a nation ſurrounded by the ocean, to be equally perfect when tranſplanted into a continental ſtate? Has not nature, by diverſifying the ſoil, varied its culture? Are men, ſo heterogeneous in their characters, men that may be viewed under ſo many different points, are they, in order to attain happineſs and freedom, to be reduced to one only mode of government? No; it would have been madneſs to adopt the Engliſh conſtitution in France. The genius of the French nation muſt have been totally changed before a Frenchman would believe himſelf free where the Engliſhman does not even perceive the yoke of the law; before the former would refrain from abuſing that liberty which the latter will ſcarcely taſte of; and particularly before the Frenchman could be kept within thoſe limits where the Engliſhman reſts content.

We are willing to believe, that Monteſquieu had never made theſe reflections, when, carried away by his admiration for foreign laws, he was inventing new principles, and preſenting as conſtant and general ſuch truths, as would make his countrymen view their Sovereign in the light of a real Deſpot, and the mild government they lived under, though ſo conformable to their intereſts and their genius, as that of a moſt horrid and ſhameful ſlavery.

It is painful to apply ſuch a reproach to this celebrated writer; but can hiſtory refrain from obſerving the fatal impreſſion which ſuch doctrines muſt have made on a people ſo long accuſtomed to ſay, *ſi veut le Roi, ſi*

His systems alienate the French from their King.

veut la loi, (as the King wills, so wills the law;) the doctrines, I say, of him who dared assert as a demonstrated truth, that "when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise lest the same Monarch or Senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."* But in laying down this principle he had taken care to say immediately before, "the political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind, arising from the opinion which each one has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite that the Government be so constituted, as that one man need not be afraid of another."† Either Montesquieu must have believed the French reader incapable of uniting these two ideas, or else he meant to say, "Frenchmen! You believe that under the government of your King you are in safety, and enjoy liberty. Your opinion is erroneous, it is shameful. Amidst that calm which you seem to enjoy *there is no liberty*; and none can exist so long as you repeat *si veut le Roi, si veut la loi*; in short, so long as the Legislative and Executive Powers are united in the person of your King. He must be deprived either of the one or the other; or else you must submit to live in the perpetual terror of *tyrannical laws, tyrannically executed*."

This language is not held out to the French alone, but to every people governed by Kings, even to most Republics, where, as he himself remarks, these powers were often united. The whole universe was then in a state of slavery, and Montesquieu was the apostle sent to teach them to break their chains, chains so light that few were even sensible of their existence! A general Revolution was then necessary, that mankind might assert its liberty! I could wish to exculpate Montesquieu; but if on the one side I am afraid of attributing intentions to him which he never had, on the other I dare not revile genius by separating it from reason; by saying that he had laid down new principles without even perceiving their most immediate consequences. It is a hard task to represent Montesquieu brandishing the torch of discord between nations and their Kings, between the subjects even of Republics and their Senates,

* Chap. 6, Book XI. † Chap. 6, Book XI.

or their Magiſtrates; but would it not be ſomething more or leſs than kindneſs, to behold the torch, and the man who wields it, without daring to intimate the intention of kindling a blaze? How chimerical muſt have been that terror of tyrannical laws tyrannically executed, in a country where the legiſlator himſelf is bound by pre-exiſting laws, whoſe ſole object is the preſervation of property, liberty, and the ſafety of the ſubject!—What a phantom ſuch a ſuppoſition muſt be in a country where the King was omnipotent in the love of his ſubjects, and null in tyranny; in a country where, if the repreſentations of the Magiſtrates were inſufficient, the Monarch could never reſiſt thoſe of the people, whoſe very ſilence was ſufficient to diſarm him, and he would abrogate any number of laws to make them return to their noiſy acclamations. Monteſquieu, who attributes ſo much influence to climates, might very well have taken into conſideration the manners, the character, and the received opinions, acting ſo much more powerfully among his countrymen than in any other nation. But the fact was, that the French laws enacted by their Legiſlative Monarchs were not to be ſurpaſſed either in wiſdom or mildneſs by the laws of any country; under thoſe Legiſlative Kings they had ſeen their liberties, ſo far from being contracted, aſcertained and extended, and facts are better authorities than ſyſtems.*

His errors on the Judiciary Power.

The ſame error, the ſame deluſion ſhews itſelf when Monteſquieu believes every thing to be ruined, if the Prince who has enacted a law has the power of judging the man who tranſgreſſes it. Such a fear might be reaſonable in a country where the Legiſlative Monarch could be both judge and plaintiff, thus ſitting in judgment on his own cauſe, and over thoſe of his ſubjects of whom he might have reaſon to complain; or where the Legiſlative King becomes ſole Magiſtrate and ſole Judge, or violates the accuſtomed forms requiring a

* On this occaſion we may cite Mr. Garat, a lawyer, whoſe opinion cannot be miſtruſted, having with many other of his brethren diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his philoſophical zeal for the Revolution; and before that period he was one of the moſt obſtinate ſticklers for the ſovereignty of the people.—Nevertheleſs he ſays, "at preſent all laws emanate from the ſupreme will "of the Monarch, who no longer has the whole nation for his "council. But his throne is ſo eaſy of acceſs, that the wiſhes "of the nation can always reach it." *Garat's Repert: de juriſprud. art* SOUVERAIN.

certain number of Magiſtrates and votes to condemn or abſolve a ſubject. This was a chimerical terror in every true Monarchy, where, as in France, the firſt law is to obſerve thoſe of nature, which will always preclude either Sovereign or Magiſtrate from ſitting in judgment on their own cauſes, and on their private differences with the ſubject. A terror ſtill more futile wherever, as in France, the King might be caſt in his own tribunals, and where equally with any ſubject he was bound by the law. Hence nothing could ever have made the French unite the idea of Deſpotiſm to that of a Monarch the judge of his ſubjects. With what romantic ideas and tender affection they were wont to paint thoſe happy days when Lewis IX. ſurrounded by his ſubjects as if they had been his children, would, under a ſhady oak, hear and determine their differences, with all the authority and juſtice of the firſt magiſtrate of his kingdom!* How new muſt it then have been for the people to hear Monteſquieu aſſert, that "there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not ſeparated from "the Legiſlative and Executive Powers! Were it joined "with the Legiſlative, the life and liberty of the ſubject "would be expoſed *to arbitrary control*, for the Judge "would then be the Legiſlator. Were it joined to the "Executive Power, the Judge might behave with all "the violence of an oppreſſor. There would be an "end of every thing, were the ſame man, or the ſame "body, whether of the Nobles or of the people, to "exerciſe thoſe three powers, that of enacting laws, "that of executing the public reſolutions, and that of "judging the crimes, or determining the diſputes of "individuals."†

Monteſquieu appears to have felt the danger of ſuch leſſons, when he really ſeeks to conſole nations by telling them, that "moſt kingdoms in Europe enjoy a "moderate government, becauſe the Prince who is in"veſted with the firſt two powers leaves the third to "his ſubjects." But ſuch a diſtinction can little avail; of what conſequence can it be, that the Prince ſhould leave this third power to his ſubjects, when about twenty lines higher Monteſquieu has laid down as a conſtant principle, that when the two firſt powers are united in the ſame perſon *there can be no Liberty?* And why does he immediately add, "In Turkey, "where theſe three

* See Joinville's Memoirs. † Chap. 6, Book XI.

"powers are united in the Sultan's perſon, the ſubjects "groan under the weight of the moſt frightful oppreſ- "ſion ?"* Is it not very well known, that the Sultan generally leaves the judiciary power to the tribunals ? Could the illuſtrious author have meant to addreſs his countrymen in ſaying, "You who in every age of your "hiſtory behold your Kings exerciſing this power, ſuch "as Hugues Capet judging Arnould de Rheims; as "Lewis the Younger, the Biſhop of Langres, and the "Duke of Burgundy; as Lewis IX. adminiſtering "juſtice to all thoſe of his ſubjects who had recourſe "to him; as Charles V. judging the Marquis of Salu- "ces, or Charles VII. condemning the Duke of Alen- "çon; as Francis I. pronouncing on the Connetable "de Bourbond, and Lewis XIII. judging the Duke de "la Valette; in fine, all you, I ſay, who behold your "Monarchs exerciſing the judiciary power, learn that "there was *an end of every thing* under ſuch Princes, "who were real Sultans, by whom the ſubjects was "made to groan under the moſt *frightful deſpotiſm*, and "that you are in danger of ſeeing it revived every "time your Kings ſhall exerciſe the ſame powers."†

Would it not have been wiſer and more correct if Monteſquieu had ſaid, that what conſtituted the deſpotic power in the Sultan was the power of capriciouſly and inſtantaneouſly pronouncing on all points, following no other guide but his paſſion and his momentary intereſt ? He ſends the bowſtring and it is an order to die; but can ſuch an order be deemed a judgment. He ſends it becauſe he wills it, little regarding the letter or deciſions of the law; and it little imports whether ſuch a will be aſſented to by a ſenate which may bear the title of judges, or whether he wills it alone, and in direct oppoſition to ſuch a body of Magiſtrates.

* Chap. 6, Book XI.

† It might be objected, that ſome of the Kings, as in the caſe of Francis I. who ſat in judgment on trials for High Treaſon were judges in their own cauſe. But in reality thoſe are cauſes which intereſt the whole ſtate. It might as well be objected, that a French Parliament could not judge a traitor to the ſtate, becauſe it is the cauſe of every Frenchman. This was an objecton made againſt Francis I. in the caſe of the Marquis de Saluces. It was quaſhed by the Attorney General. But its having been made is ſufficient to prove that the King was no deſpot, ſince the laws of the country, and a court of juſtice were to decide, whether he could exerciſe his power in that particular caſe.—*Repert : de Juriſprud. art* ROY, *per M. Polverel.)*

Such is the power which creates a Sultan, and which conſtitutes Deſpotiſm. But is it not chimerical to ſuppoſe, that in France the power of making a law and then pronouncing according to the deciſions of that law antecedently made and promulgated, could conſtitute Deſpotiſm?

This erroneous aſſertion of ſo celebrated a writer is the more extraordinary, as we find it fully refuted in that part of his work where he treats of thoſe ancient Dukes and Counts who, under the ancient government of the Franks, exerciſed, the three powers. "It may "be imagined perhaps, (he ſays) that the government "of the Franks muſt have been very ſevere at that time, "ſince the ſame officers were inveſted with a military "and a civil power, nay, even with a fiſcal power over "the ſubjects, which in the preceding books I have "obſerved to be diſtinguiſhing marks of Deſpotic Au"thority. But it is not to be believed, that the Counts "pronounced judgment by themſelves, and adminiſter"ed juſtice in the ſame manner as the Baſhaws do in "Turkey. In order to judge affairs, they aſſembled "a kind of aſſizes where the principal men appeared. "The Count's aſſiſtants were generally ſeven in num"ber, and as he was obliged to have twelve perſons "to judge, he filled up the number with the principal "men. But whoever had the juriſdiction, whether "the King, the Count, the *Grafio*, the *Centenarian*, the "Lords, or the Clergy, they never judged alone; and "this uſage, which derived its origin from the foreſts "of Germany, (as alſo did the *beautiful ſyſtem* of the "admirable conſtitution,) was ſtill continued even af"ter the fiefs had aſſumed a new form."* He was not then to come and tell the French people, whoſe Kings did not judge alone in modern more than they had done in former times, that *all was over with them*, that Liberty was at an end, becauſe the judiciary power was not ſeparated from the legiſlative and executive powers.

Further error which begets the States-General.

It is eaſy to ſee what diſquiet ſuch principles muſt have created in the minds of his country-men, and how they expoſed the Royal Authority to odium and miſtruſt. But, alas! this work contains the origin of far greater evils.

Forewarned by experience of the troubles which accompanied the States-General, the French ſeldom re-

* Chap. 18, Book XXX.

called them to mind but to enjoy the peace and glory they had acquired under Monarchs, who by their wiſdom had ſupplied the want of thoſe ancient States. Monteſquieu not only ſpread his falſe alarms on the legiſlative and executive powers of the Sovereign, but he was unfortunate enough to lay down as law to the people, that every ſtate that wiſhes to believe itſelf free muſt only confide in itſelf, or its repreſentatives, for the enacting of its laws. He was the firſt who ſaid, "*As in a free State every man, who is ſuppoſed a free agent, ought to be his own governor*, ſo the legiſlative power ought to reſide in the whole body of the people. But ſince this is impoſſible in large States, and in ſmall ones is ſubject to great inconveniences, *it is fit that the people ſhould execute by their Repreſentatives what they cannot execute by themſelves.*"*

This is not the place to obſerve what a multitude of errors theſe aſſertions contain: the chief is that of having converted into a principle what he had obſerved in England, without conſidering that often what has conducted one nation to Liberty, may lead another into all the horrors of Anarchy, and thence to Deſpotiſm. On ſeeing this opinion laid down as a general principle, the French believed, that to become a free ſtate it was neceſſary for them to return to their former States-General, and veſt them with the legiſlative power. And in order to throw the fiſcal power alſo into their hands Monteſquieu adds, "If the legiſlative power were to ſettle the ſubſidies, not from year to year, but for ever, *it would run the riſk of loſing its Liberty*, becauſe the executive power would no longer be dependent; and when once it was poſſeſſed of ſuch a perpetual right, it would be a matter of indifference, whether it held it of itſelf, or of another. The ſame may be ſaid, if it ſhould fix, not from year to year, but for ever, the ſea and land forces with which it is to entruſt the executive power."†

When we conſider how little ſuch a doctrine was ever thought of in France before Monteſquieu had written; when we behold that ſwarm of ſcribbling copyiſts, who all repeat that Liberty is at an end wherever the people do not exerciſe the legiſlative and fiſcal powers, either by themſelves or by their repreſentatives; when we compare this doctrine with that of the firſt revolution-

* Chap. 6, Book XI. † Ibid.

ary rebels, whether under the denomination of *Conſtitutionaliſts* or *Monarchiſts*; when we reflect that it was on ſuch principles that Necker, Turgot, Barnave, Mirabeau, and La Fayette founded their ſyſtematic rebellion, do we not immediately infer (an awful truth indeed for Monteſquieu, but which Hiſtory can never hide,) that it is to Monteſquieu the French muſt trace that ſyſtem which disjoints the ſceptre and throws the Monarch into the hands of the people, who by means of their repreſentatives proclaim their pretended laws; that ſyſtem which recals the States-General, who, ſoon ſtyling themſelves National Aſſembly, leave nothing to their King but the theatrical ſhow of royal pageantry, until, carrying their conſequences ſtill further, the people aſſert their unbounded ſovereignty by dragging the unfortunate Lewis XVI. to the ſcaffold.

Hiſtory will be aſtoniſhed when it beholds Monteſquieu, ignorant of his ſyſtem having been preciſely that which the moſt inveterate enemies of his country had formerly adopted, in hopes of diminiſhing the luſtre and grandeur which it enjoyed under the dominion of its Kings. For ever will the memory of thoſe ſervile copyiſts, the Conſtitutionaliſts and Monarchiſts, be odious to their country, when it ſhall be remembered that their main object was to ſubject their Monarch to the authority of the States-General, and thus conſummate the very plan concerted by the foreign enemy.

His ſyſtems coincide with thoſe of the greateſt enemies of the State.

All theſe wonderful men, who were ſo well verſed in the Engliſh conſtitution, might during their reſearches have learned what every Engliſh ſchool-boy was acquainted with, who, in his moſt tender years, on receiving Salmon's Geography muſt have read the following paſſage, "January 16th, 1691, at the Congreſs of "the Hague, conſiſting of the Princes of Germany, "the Imperial, Engliſh, Italian, Spaniſh and Dutch "miniſters, a declaration was drawn up, wherein they "ſolemnly proteſted before God, that their intentions "were never to make peace with Lewis XIV. until "the Eſtates of the kingdom of France ſhould be eſ-"tabliſhed in their ancient liberties; ſo that the Clergy, "the Nobility, and the Third-Eſtate, might enjoy "their ancient and lawful privileges; nor till their "kings for the future ſhould be obliged to call together "the ſaid eſtates *when they deſired any ſupply*, without "whom they ſhould not raiſe any money, on any pre-"tence whatever, and till the parliaments of that

" kingdom and *all other his ſubjects were reſtored to their* " *juſt rights.* And the confederates invited the ſubjects " of France to join with them in this undertaking for " reſtoring them to their *rights and liberties*, threaten- " ing ruin and devaſtation to thoſe who refuſed."*

It is thus that, after thirty years of the moſt learned diſcuſſion and reſearch on the part of Monteſquieu, and forty years of new diſcuſſion on the part of his learned diſciples, the Conſtitutionaliſts and Monarchiſts, that they adopt that plan for reſtoring their country to liberty which every Engliſh ſchool-boy knew to have originated in the mind of the enemy, who wiſhed to overturn the Throne, and tarniſh the luſtre which France had acquired under its Legiſlative Monarchs.

Had I already ſaid it, I ſhould nevertheleſs repeat, that the object here in debate is, not what the ancient conſtitution of France has been, nor whether their kings enjoyed the legiſlative power, (which has been very ill diſcuſſed by our modern politicians;) ſtill leſs are we diſpoſed to agitate the queſtion, which is the moſt perfect conſtitution in itſelf? Nobody will deny that government to be the beſt, under which the people are happieſt at home, and moſt formidable abroad; and ſuch a reflection will ſuffice to ſhow how baneful the doctrines broached by Monteſquieu and repeated by the Sophiſters of Rebellion muſt have proved to France: They who came to ſtun their countrymen with the pretended fears of deſpotiſm, alienating their minds from their own conſtitution to excite their admiration for foreign laws, and that at a time when the love of the ſubjects for their King was carried to enthuſiaſm after the tranquil miniſtry of the Cardinal Fleury, and the brilliant compaigns of the Marechal de Saxe in Flanders.

It may be difficult to decide how far this imprudent doctrine is to be looked upon as the error or as the perverſion of genius; were we to appeal to the teſtimonies of his greateſt admirers, we ſhould not heſitate at the latter deciſion, and rank him among the Sophiſters of Rebellion, as the ſect appears to have done. D'Alembert rather accuſes than defends him, when, anſwering thoſe who complained of the obſcurity of the *Spirit of Laws*, he ſays, " All that may appear obſcure to com- " mon readers is not ſo to thoſe whom the Author had

* Edit. 1750. Page 309.

" particularly in view. Beſide, *a voluntary obſcurity* " ceaſes to be obſcure. Mr. de Monteſquieu, often " wiſhing to advance certain important truths, which, " boldly and abſolutely expreſſed, might have given " offence to no purpoſe, *very prudently diſguiſed them*, " *and by this innocent artifice* hid them from thoſe who " might have been offended, without deſtroying their " intended effect on the ſage."* It is difficult to paſs over this *voluntary obſcurity* in a man who has advanced principles ſo ſubverſive of the laws and government of his country. His pretended *innocent artifices* would almoſt convince the reader, that all thoſe proteſtations of Monteſquieu were hypocritical and ſophiſtical, when we ſee him, after having ſtrained every nerve to prove to moſt nations that they are perfect ſtrangers to liberty, and that their kings are real deſpots, ſeeking every means to diſpel any ſuſpicion of his being of that diſquiet, moroſe, and ſeditious temper which thirſts after revolutions.

Nor is the ſuſpicion removed by D'Alembert when he compliments him as having " diffuſed that general light " on the principles of government which has rendered " the people more attached *to what they ought to love*." What can be the ſignification of " what they ought *to* " *love*" in the mouth of this artful Sophiſter? Why ſhould he not have ſaid more attached to their King and the Government of their country? But we have already ſeen how little this Sophiſter was attached to either the one or the other.

It is equally unfortunate, that his panegyriſt, now that the name of Encyclopediſt is ſo juſtly covered with opprobrium, ſhould extol his zeal for that monſtrous digeſt, whoſe object remains no longer a ſecret, or when the moſt revolutionary among the Sophiſters poſitively aſſert, that *Monteſquieu would not have written* had not Voltaire written before him. Condorcet, by advancing ſuch a propoſition, clearly means, that if Voltaire had not ſucceeded ſo well in his Antichriſtian Conſpiracy, Monteſquieu would not have contributed ſo powerfully towards the political revolution; that if the one had been leſs daring againſt the Altar, the other would have dared leſs againſt the Throne.

In ſolving this unfortunate problem, what " damn- " ing proof" would be acquired againſt Monteſquieu

* Monteſquieu's Elogy by D'Alembert at the head of the 5th volume of the Encyclopedia.

if the authenticity of a letter which appeared in one of the London papers could ever be aſcertained! Voltaire and D'Alembert conſpired againſt the Jeſuits, becauſe they believed that ſociety to be one of the firmeſt props to religion; Monteſquieu, if the letter be genuine, preſſes for their deſtruction, becauſe he thought them too much attached to the Royal authority. "We have a Prince," ſays he, "who is good, "but weak. That ſociety employs every art to tranſ-"form the Monarch into a Deſpot. If it ſucceeds: "I tremble for the conſequences, civil war will rage, "and ſtreams of blood will inundate every part of Eu-"rope.—The Engliſh writers have thrown ſo great a "light upon Liberty, and we have ſo great a deſire of "preſerving what little of it we enjoy, that we ſhould "make the worſt ſlaves in the world."

Were thoſe violent and extreme meaſures which we have ſince witneſſed already taken? This letter would indicate as much; beſide, it is entirely written in the ſtyle of a conſpirator. It is full of ſuch expreſſions as theſe: "If we cannot write freely, *let us think and act* "*freely*. We muſt wait patiently, but never ceaſe "working for the cauſe of Liberty. Since we cannot "fly to the pinnacle, let us climb."

Could it be poſſible that Monteſquieu had already formed the plan of driving out the Swiſs guards, and of calling forth the national guards of the revolution? The following lines ſtrongly denote ſuch a plan: "What a point ſhould we have gained, if we could "once get rid of thoſe mercenaries and foreign ſol-"diers! *An army of natives* would declare for Liberty, "at leaſt the greater part of them would. But that is "the very reaſon why foreign troops are maintained."* However difficult it may appear to vindicate Monteſquieu from being a conſpirator, if it be true that he was the Author of the above letter, ſtill I muſt ſay what may

* It is earneſtly requeſted of all perſons who may have any further knowledge of that letter, or are in poſſeſſion of the Newſpaper in which it was publiſhed, that they will be kind enough to give ſuch information to the Author at Mr. Dulau's, Bookſeller, No. 107, Wardour-ſtreet. He cannot queſtion the veracity of the Abbé le Pointe, who gave him the tranſlation of it, taken from an Evening Newſpaper about the latter end of 1795; but, not attaching the ſame importance to the letter which the Author would have done, the Abbé neither remarked the title nor the date of the paper which he tranſlated it from, and *that* the Author hopes will plead his excuſe for troubling his readers.

abſolutely excuſe him. This letter may have been written in a moment of anger, and be the effect of one of thoſe fantaſtical contradictions from which the greateſt genius is not always exempt. Monteſquieu had beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on the Jeſuits in his *Spirit of Laws*;† but that did not hinder them from condemning ſeveral of his propoſitions. The reſentment of the moment might have induced him to wiſh for their deſtruction. It is generally known, that he was much more tender to criticiſm than could be ſuppoſed for a man of his ſuperior genius. All his love of Liberty could not hinder him from applying to the Marquiſe de Pompadour to obtain the deſpotic order for ſuppreſſing and even for burning Mr. Dupin's Refutation of his Spirit of Laws.‡

We may obſerve various traits in this celebrated genius which are irreconcileable. He was very intimate with the Encyclopedian Deiſts and Atheiſts, but always very deſirous that his friends ſhould die good Chriſtians, and that they ſhould receive all the rites of the church. At that awful period he was an Apoſtle or Divine, he would exhort and inſiſt until the ſick perſon aſſented; he would run, though it were at midnight, to call the clergyman whom he thought the moſt proper to complete the converſion; at leaſt ſuch was his conduct with reſpect to his friend and relation Mr. Meiran.§

His works are equally fantaſtical. He ſpeaks of religion in terms of the higheſt panegyric; nevertheleſs we have to guard againſt many an attack which he makes againſt it. In defending Chriſtianity againſt Bayle, he tells us, that perfect Chriſtians "would be citizens infinitely more enlightened with reſpect to the various "duties of life. That the more they believed themſelves indebted to religion, the more they would "think due to their country; that the Principles of "Chriſtianity deeply engraved on the heart ſhould be "infinitely more powerful than the falſe honor of "Monarchies, than the human virtues of Republics, "or the ſervile fear of Deſpotic States."‖ And yet he lays aſide that religion, and continues to make this falſe honor and theſe human virtues the prime movers of Monarchies and Republics! He repreſents the Chriſtian religion as the moſt conſonant to Monarchy;¶ and he has ſaid before, "There is no great ſhare of

† Chap. 6, Book IV. ‡ See Feller's Hiſtorical Dictionary.
§ Ibid. ‖ Chap. 6, Book XXIV. ¶ Chap. 3, Book XXIV.

"probity or virtue neceſſary to ſupport a Monarchical "Government—That in well regulated Monarchies, "they are almoſt all good ſubjects, and very few good "men—That in a Monarchy it is extremely difficult for "the people to be virtuous;"* that is to ſay, that the Chriſtian religion is the moſt conſonant with Monarchies, but that it is the moſt difficult for the people to follow under that government. He writes in the midſt of a people then the moſt diſtinguiſhed for its love to its Sovereign, and his whole ſyſtem appears to be calculated for a nation enſlaved under the ſevereſt Deſpotiſm, and of which Terror is the prime agent. Certainly, either the beloved Monarch is not a Deſpot, or fear is not the prime agent of Deſpotiſm. Might not all this be compriſed under what D'Alembert calls *innocent artifices?* but another cauſe may be ſurmiſed.

Monteſquieu declared in his laſt moments, that if he had hazarded any expreſſions in his works which could caſt a doubt on his belief, "it was owing to a taſte "for novelty and ſingularity; to a wiſh of paſſing for "a tranſcendent genius ſoaring above prejudice and "common maxims; to a deſire of pleaſing and of ob-"taining the plaudits of thoſe men who directed the "public opinion, and who were never more laviſh of "theirs than when one appeared to authorize them to "throw off the yoke of all dependence and reſtraint."† This avowal would lead us to infer, that there was a greater taſte for novelty and ſingularity in his political ſyſtems than in his religious ideas. He always preſerved a ſufficiency of his religious education to reſpect Chriſtianity, though not enough to guard againſt thoſe political ſyſtems which might and really did gain him that applauſe which he ſo much ſought for, I mean that of the modern Sophiſters, who, with their new-fangled ideas of Liberty and Equality, thought themſelves authorized to ſhake off the yoke of all dependence. I cannot believe that he conſpired with them; but that he forwarded their plans is too certain. And ſuch will be our opinion till the before-mentioned letter can be authenticated.‡ He did not conſpire by

* Chap. 3 and 6, Book III. † See Hiſtorical Dictionary.

‡ It is certainly a moſt extraordinary coincidence, that while our Author, though obliged to ſtate the revolutionary principles laid down in Monteſquieu's works, does all he can to exculpate him from any evil intention, Bertrand Barrere, the ſanguinary

ſetting up his ſyſtems, but his ſyſtems formed conſpirators. He created a ſchool, and in that ſchool ſyſtems were formed, which, improving on his, rendered the latter more fatal.

Reporter of the ſucceſſive Committees of General Safety which have butchered France, and who was himſelf at length involved in the downfal of Robeſpierre, after having been his agent during his whole reign of terror, ſhould have been writing preciſely at the ſame time a long declamatory pamphlet under the title of *Monteſquieu peint par lui-meme*, claiming the honors of the Pantheon for him, as one of the Doctors of Democracy and a Progenitor of the French Revolution. He even declares his object to be no other than to form an Edition of Monteſquieu for the uſe of Republicans. Could it be poſſible that men of Barrere's ſtamp were the perſons whom D'Alembert meant to deſign when he ſaid, "All that may appear obſcure to common "readers *is not ſo to thoſe whom the author had particularly in* "*view*; beſides, a *voluntary obſcurity* ceaſes to be obſcure?" T.

CHAP. III.

Jean Jaques Rouſſeau's Syſtem.

HOWEVER cautiouſly Monteſquieu may have expreſſed himſelf, the grand principle of all Democratic Revolutions was nevertheleſs laid down in his writings. He had taught in his ſchool, "that in a "free ſtate, every man who is ſuppoſed a free agent "ought *to be his own governor.*"* This axiom evidently implies, that no man nor any people can believe themſelves free, unleſs they are their own legiſlators; and hence it was natural to conclude, that there hardly exiſted a nation on earth that had a right to believe itſelf free, or that had not ſome bonds to burſt in order to extricate itſelf from ſlavery.

Conſequences not obſerved, or paſſed over by Monteſquieu.

Scarcely could England even flatter itſelf with the real enjoyment of this liberty; and we ſee Monteſquieu not venturing to aſſert it when he adds, "It is "not my buſineſs to examine whether the Engliſh ac"tually enjoy liberty or not. It is ſufficient for my "purpoſe to obſerve, that it is eſtabliſhed by their "laws, and I inquire no farther."† Though this may have ſatisfied the maſter, it might not be ſufficient for all the diſciples; and ſome one of them might anſwer, that according to his principle the Engliſh laws were far from granting that liberty inherent to a people governing itſelf.

It is evident, that to believe in their own freedom the Engliſh were obliged to deny this principle as too general, and certainly they were entitled to reply, "With us liberty conſiſts in the right of freely doing "all that the law does not forbid; and every Engliſh"man, whether rich or poor, is equally free, whether "he have the requiſites for being an elector or not, "whether he make the law by his direct vote, or by "his deputies; or even if he does not in the leaſt con"tribute toward it. For in all theſe caſes he is certain "of being judged by the ſame law. The Foreigner "even is as free among us as ourſelves, when he is "willing to obſerve our laws, for he may do as freely "as ourſelves all that is not forbidden by the law."

* Chap. 6, Book XI. † Chap. 7, Book XI.

If England could justly reproach Montesquieu with the generality of his principle, what must have been the case with other nations, such as France, Spain, Germany, or Russia, where the people do not partake, either by themselves or by their representatives, of the power of enacting laws? What was to be said of all those republics, either in Switzerland or Italy, where the three powers are united in the senate, where, to use Montesquieu's expression, *the power being one*, he thinks *he discovers and dreads at every step a Despotic Prince?*

It was a necessary consequence, either that this principle must have been done away; or that all Europe, persuading itself that it groaned under slavery, would attempt, by a general Revolution in all Governments, to cast off the yoke. Some great genius must have arisen who could have counteracted the fatal shock given by this illustrious author. But for the misfortune of Europe the very reverse came to pass.

Montesquieu was not only admired and extolled, as he deserved, in consideration of many parts of his Spirit of Laws, but he was more especially venerated for those passages in which, by means of his principles on Liberty, Equality and Legislation, he aspersed the existing governments with the imputation of Slavery. The Sophisters easily overlooked his restrictions, his protestations, *his obscurities and his innocent artifices*, because they conceived it to be sufficient that he had opened the path, and shown how far it might lead.

Jean Jaques following up Montesquieu's principle, and more daring in his consequences.

The first who undertook to widen this path was Jean Jaques Rousseau, that famous citizen of Geneva, whom we have already seen so powerfully forwarding the conspiracy against the altar. He was in every shape the man of whom the Sophisters of rebellion stood in need to conduct them in their attack against the Throne. Born a citizen of a Republic, he imbibed with his milk, as he says himself, *the hatred of Kings*, as Voltaire had done that of Christ. He was better versed than Montesquieu in that dangerous talent of propagating errors with the tone of importance, or of presenting paradox as the result of deep thought. He possessed, above all, that boldness which neither admits principles by halves, nor shrinks at their consequences. He surpassed his master, and in his political theories greatly outstripped him.

The *Spirit of Laws* appeared in the year 1748, and The *Social Contract* in 1752. Montesquieu had revived the ideas of Liberty and Equality; but Jean Jaques construes them into supreme happiness. "If we examine," says he, "in what the *supreme happiness of* "ALL consists, which ought to be the grand object of "every legislature, it will appear to center in these two "points, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY. In *Liberty*, because all private dependence is so much strength subtracted from the body of the state; in *Equality*, because Liberty cannot subsist without it.'*

Man every where in slavery, according to Jean Jaques.

Montesquieu had not dared to decide whether the English were free or not; and at the very time when he was passing the most severe criticism on other governments, he sheltered himself under the intention of not wishing to *vilify* or *debase* any one. Jean Jaques was above such cautions; he begins his work by saying, *Man is born free, and yet we see him every where in chains.*†

Montesquieu had surmised, that to believe himself free it was necessary that *man should be his own governor*; that he should act according to his own laws, and according to his own will. But he judged the means of execution to be difficult in a small state, and impossible in a large one. Jean Jaques would have believed the principle false had he found it impossible in practice. But he believed the principle, as laid down by Montesquieu to be true in theory; and to surpass his master he had only to demonstrate its possibility, and to facilitate its execution. This constitutes his favourite problem:

Object of Jean Jaques's system.

To find a form of association which "will defend "and protect with the whole aggregate force the person "and property of each individual; and by which every "person, while united with ALL, *shall obey only* HIM-"SELF, *and remain as free as before the union*; such "is the fundamental problem, says Jean Jaques, of "which the Social Contract gives the solution."‡ This was in other terms precisely seeking to realize Montesquieu's principle; to give to each man who feels himself a free agent the means of being his own governor, and of living under no other laws than those which he has himself made.

His object erroneous.

How a man, after having entered into the Social Contract, is to find himself as free as if he had never enga-

* Social Contract, Chap. 11, Book II.
† Chap. 1, Book I. ‡ Chap. 6, Book I.

ged in it, is not eaſily conceived; or, how a man who has ſubjected himſelf to the will of the majority can be as free as when his actions were to be directed ſolely by his own will, is equally inconceivable. This was preciſely ſaying, that the object of civil ſociety is to preſerve that Liberty which is anterior to government, or of the ſtate of nature; though the Social Contract, according to all received ideas, expreſsly imports the ſacrifice of part of that Liberty to preſerve the reſt, and to obtain at that price, peace and ſecurity to one's perſon, property, and families; in ſhort, all the other advantages of civil ſociety.

The ſolution of this problem became more difficult when Jean Jaques aſſerted, that "it is evident, that "the firſt wiſh and intention of the people muſt be, "that the ſtate ſhould not periſh."† According to their ſecond maxim, it was not eſſentially neceſſary to be one's own governor, or to act always according to one's own will, and to live under laws enacted by oneſelf; but to have good laws, whoever might have been the legiſlator, and to be governed ſo as to ſave the State.

I. Conſequence. The people ſole legiſlator.

But contradictions could not thwart Jean Jaques in his career. He wiſhed to realize Monteſquieu's principle. He ſets off on the ſuppoſition, that every man, a free agent, is to be his own governor; that is to ſay, that every free people are to obey thoſe laws ſolely which they have themſelves enacted: and in future he never views the law in any other light than *as the act of the general will*. Such a propoſition immediately annuls all laws which had ever been enacted by any King, Prince, or Emperor, without the participation of the multitude; nor does Jean Jaques heſitate in ſaying, "It is unne-"ceſſary to inquire to whom belongs the function of "making laws, becauſe the laws are but the acts of the "general will. The legiſlative power belongs to the "people, and can belong only to them. Whatever "is ordered by *any* man of his own accord is not law. "For the people, to be ſubjected to laws, muſt enjoy "the right of making them.‡

II. The people ſovereign.

Such was the firſt principle which Jean Jaques deduced from his maſter's diſtinction of the three powers. The ſecond was not leſs flattering for the multitude. All Sovereignty, according to Jean Jaques, reſided in the power of Legiſlation. In giving this power to the

† Chap. 6, Book IV. ‡ Chap. 6, Book II.

people, he concluded *the people were Sovereign*; and so much so, that they had not the power *of submitting to another Sovereign.* All submiſſion on the part of the people is repreſented in this new ſchool as a violation of the very act by which every people exiſts; and to violate this act was to annihilate their own exiſtence; and as a further conſequence he concludes, that all ſubmiſſion on the part of any people is *null* in itſelf, for this great reaſon, that *by nothing nothing can be performed.*§

Leſt he ſhould not be underſtood, we ſee Jean Jaques frequently repeating both the principle and the conſequences. "The Sovereignty, he ſays, being no more "than the exerciſe of the general will, can never alien-"ate itſelf. If therefore a people promiſe uncondition-"ally to obey, the act of making ſuch a promiſe diſ-"ſolves their exiſtence, and they loſe their quality of a "people; for at the moment that there is a *maſter* "there is no longer a Sovereign, and the body politic "is deſtroyed of courſe."‖

It was impoſſible to ſay in a clearer manner to all nations, Hitherto you have been governed by Kings whom you looked upon as Sovereigns; if you wiſh to ceaſe being ſlaves, begin by taking the Sovereignty to yourſelves, that you may enact your own laws; and let your Kings, if you wiſh to keep them, be no more than ſervants, to obey your laws, and to ſee them obſerved by others.

III. The people infallible in their laws.

Monteſquieu feared that a legiſlative people would not be ſufficiently enlightened for the diſcuſſion of laws and affairs in general; but this fear had not made him relinquiſh the principle. Jean Jaques, inſiſting on the principle, could ſee nobody more proper than the people to carry both principle and conſequence into practice. In this new ſyſtem, the general will of the people was not only to frame the laws, but in the making of thoſe laws became infallible. For he ſays, "the "general will is always right, and tends always to the "public advantage. The people can never be bribed, "yet they may be deceived."* But in whatever manner they may be deceived, this *Sovereign people, by its nature, muſt, while it exiſts, be every thing that it ought to be.*†

IV. Sole repreſentative.

To compenſate for the incapacity of the people in the framing of laws, Monteſquieu propoſed repreſentatives, or men who ſhould make the laws for them. Jean Jaques would not allow theſe men to be repreſentatives

§ Chap. 7, Book I. ‖ Chap. 1, Book II.
* Chap. 3, Book II. † Chap. 7, Book I.

in any thing but in name: He contended, that Monteſquieu, in cauſing deputies to be choſen, placed the people under attornies and barriſters, that is to ſay, under men who were to plead their cauſe as a guardian does that of his ward. But neither attornies nor guardians could be looked upon as real repreſentatives. That theſe men, whoſe judgment the people would be obliged to receive as law, might differ both in will and opinion from the people; in fine, it was giving abſolute legiſlators to the people, and thereby diveſting it of the legiſlative power. He further obſerves, that the will of the people could be no more repreſented by theſe deputies than that of a ward by his guardian. And he adds, in ſpite of his maſter, "*The Sovereign*, (the "people) *which is only a collective being, cannot be repreſen-* "*ted but by itſelf; the power may be tranſmitted, but not* "*the will.* Beſides, the Sovereign power may ſay, "'my will at preſent agrees with the will of ſuch a "man, or at leaſt with what he declares to be his will;' "but it cannot ſay, 'our wills ſhall likewiſe agree to-"morrow,' as it would be abſurd to think of binding "the will for any time to come."*

V. The people above the laws.

From theſe reaſonings certain qualities and rights are inferred, which Monteſquieu would not perhaps have refuſed to the Sovereign people, but which he had not dared to expreſs. This Sovereign made the law; and, whatever might be the law made by the people, *it could not be unjuſt*, as no perſon can be unjuſt towards himſelf.

The Sovereign people make the laws, but no law can bind them. "For, continues Jean Jaques, in every "caſe the people are maſters, to change even the beſt "laws: for, if that body is diſpoſed to injure itſelf, "who has a right to prevent it?"†

VI. Aſſemblies of the people.

In ſhort the great difficulty which Monteſquieu found in free men being their own governors and legiſlators lay in the impoſſibility of holding, eſpecially in great ſtates, the aſſemblies of this legiſlative people. Theſe inconveniences, or even impoſſibilities, vaniſh before Jean Jaques, becauſe he felt that either the principle was to be abandoned, or the conſequences to be followed up; and neither Parliaments nor States General could ſuffice for him; he wiſhed for real aſſemblies of the whole people. "The Sovereign, having no other

* Chap. 1, Book II. † Chap. 12, Book II.

"force but the legiſlative power, acts only by the laws; "and the laws being only the authentic acts of the "general will, the *Sovereign can never act but when the* "*people are aſſembled.* Some will perhaps think, that "the idea of the people aſſembling is a mere chimera: "but, if it be ſo now, it was not ſo two thouſand "years ago; and I ſhould be glad to know whether "men have changed their nature? The limits of poſ-"ſibility, in moral things, are not ſo confined as many "are apt to ſuppoſe them: it is our weakneſs, our "vice, and our prejudice, that narrow the circle. The "abject mind diſtruſts the very idea of a great ſoul; "and vile ſlaves hearken with a ſneer of contempt "when we talk to them of Liberty."†

Examples of a ſovereign people falſe.

However confidently Jean Jaques may have laid down this doctrine, ſtill the examples which he adduces to corroborate it were far from demonſtrating that theſe aſſemblies of the Sovereign had ever exiſted. The citizens, for inſtance, of Rome or Athens were perpetually flocking to the forum; but thoſe citizens, eſpecially the people of Rome, were not the Sovereign people and every where Sovereign. The Empire was immenſe, and the people in this immenſe Empire, ſo far from being Sovereign, were a people enſlaved by a Deſpotic Metropolis, by an army *of four hundred thouſand ſoldiers* called Citizens, always ready to burſt forth from an entrenched camp called *Rome*, to cruſh any town or province which ſhould dare to aſſert its own liberties. Athens followed the ſame conduct with reſpect to its colonies and allied towns.

Theſe examples adduced by Jean Jaques only ſhowed what the French Revolution has, ſince, ſo well demonſtrated: that when the inhabitants of an immenſe town, like Rome or Paris, take up arms, they may ſtyle their Revolutions by the names of Liberty and Equality, but all the real diſtinction is, that in place of one King whom they may have baniſhed or murdered, the inhabitants are transformed into four or five hundred thouſand Deſpots and Tyrants over the Provinces, while they in their turn are tyrannized by their tribunes. Are not the aſhes of Lyons, are not the unfortunate people of Rouen or Bourdeaux the unhappy examples that may be cited to ſhow what fate awaited the miſerable town that might attempt to ſhake off the yoke of

† Chap. 12, Book III.

the ſuburbs of St. Marceau, St. Antoine, or of the citizens of Paris? And has not that immenſe town paid its tribute to a Robeſpierre at one time, and at another to the five Kings?

At ſome times, however, Jean Jaques was ſenſible of theſe inconveniences. But he would not on that account abandon his grand principle of the Sovereignty of the people, nor even the general aſſemblies. He would, after Monteſquieu's example, have recourſe *to the virtue* of Republics or of the Sovereign people; but he would even reproach Monteſquieu with a "frequent *want of preciſion* in not making the neceſſary diſtinctions, and not perceiving, that, the Sovereign authority being every where the ſame, the ſame principle muſt prevail in every well conſtituted ſtate." Then he would add, "that there is no government ſo ſubject to civil wars and internal agitations, as the democratic or popular one;" (that is to ſay, as the ſtate of which virtue is the baſis) "becauſe there is not one which has ſo ſtrong and ſo continual a tendency to change its form, which can only be preſerved by the vigilance and courage employed to maintain it."*

Jean Jaques reproaches Monteſquieu.

He even then confeſſes, that "if there were a nation of Gods, *they* might be governed by a Democracy; but ſo perfect a government will not agree with men."† Yet then, leſt, after Monteſquieu's example, he ſhould be wanting in preciſion, he proſcribes all great empires from the ſweets of liberty; he would allow of none but ſmall ſtates,‡ of one town in each ſtate; and capitals are in his plan particularly excluded.§

His doctrine on this point is preciſe enough, when he ſays, "no city, any more than a nation, can be lawfully ſubjected to another, becauſe the eſſence of the body politic conſiſts in the perfect union of obedience and liberty, and becauſe the words *Subject* and *Sovereign* are the identical co-relatives whoſe meaning is united in the word *Citizen*."‖ That is to ſay in a plain ſtyle, that all the Sovereigns and Subjects of a given ſtate are only the burgeſſes of the ſame town. That a *Citizen*, ſubject and ſovereign of London, has no authority at Portſmouth or Plymouth, and the citizens, ſubjects and ſovereigns of theſe latter or any other towns cannot be ſubject to a ſovereign which

VII. Diviſion of ſtates.

* Chap. 4, Book III. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Chap. 13, Book III. ‖ Chap. 13, Book III.

inhabits another town. And Jean Jaques continues, "It is always wrong to unite many cities in one (that "is to say in one empire;) it would be absurd to speak "of the abuses prevalent in great states, to those who "would wish to form only small ones. But it is proper "to consider, how sufficient strength can be communicated to small states, to defend them from the attacks of great ones? The reply here is, that they "must follow the footsteps of the Grecian cities, which "formerly resisted the power of the great King; and "of Holland and Switzerland who more recently withstood the house of Austria."† All which meant, that in this system of Liberty and Equality applied to the sovereign people it was necessary to subdivide the greater states into small federative democracies.

"In fine, if it be impossible to reduce a state within "proper limits, (notwithstanding his admiration for "Rome,) there is still one measure to be adopted— "that of not allowing a capital, or settled seat of government, but moving it in rotation to every city, "and assembling the states of the country alternately "in the same manner.‡"

Lest it should be objected to our Philosopher, that to form these little democracies, would only be subdividing the larger states into so many lesser provinces, which would be for ever a prey *to civil war and intestine divisions*, and always *tending to change their form*, which he declares to be the lot of all democracies, he is pleased to grant existence to aristocracies. These, and particularly "the Elective Aristocracy, which is the true "one, are the best of all governments."‖ But whether Democracy, Aristocracy, or Monarchy be adopted, the people always remain sovereign; the general assemblies of the sovereign are always requisite, and they were to be frequent, "and so ordered as to assemble of course "at the stated period, without being formally convened, not leaving it in the power of any Prince or "Magistrate to prevent the meeting *without openly declaring himself a violator* of the laws, and an enemy "to the state."§

VIII. Questions to be made at the assemblies of the people.

Jean Jaques, more consequent than his master, follows up the principle he had borrowed from Montesquieu, and continues, "at the opening of these assemblies, whose object is the maintenance of the social

† Chap. 13, Book III. ‡ Ibid.
‖ Chap. 5, Book III. § Chap. 18, Book III.

" treaty, two queſtions ſhould always be propoſed, and " never on any account omitted; and the ſuffrages " ſhould be taken ſeparately on each—The firſt ſhould " be, Does it pleaſe the Sovereign (the people) to pre- " ſerve the preſent form of government? And the " ſecond, Does it pleaſe the people to leave the ad- " miniſtration with thoſe who are at preſent charged " with it?"* That is to ſay, to continue the Magiſtrate, the Prince, or the King, whom they had choſen.

Theſe two queſtions in the ſyſtem of the ſovereignty of the people are only conſequences of the great principle laid down by Monteſquieu, *that every man feeling himſelf a free agent ought to be his own governor.* For this man, or people, feeling themſelves free agents, might not chuſe to be governed to-day after the ſame manner they were governed yeſterday. If they were unwilling, how could they be free agents, when obliged to maintain that government and thoſe chiefs which they had formerly choſen.

Such a conſequence would have made any Philoſopher leſs intrepid than Jean Jaques abandon the principle. Without pretending to Philoſophy, one might have told him, 'that every people which foreſaw the misfortunes that perpetual revolutions in their government expoſed them to, might without villifying or enſlaving themſeves, have choſen a Conſtitution and ſworn to maintain it. They might have choſen Chiefs, Magiſtrates, or Kings, who were bound by oath to govern according to that Conſtitution: a compact which it would be no leſs criminal to violate, than the moſt ſacred oath (and equally ſo to-morrow as to-day.) If the people are ſuppoſed to ſacrifice their Liberty by a compact of this nature, you will call every honeſt man by the degrading name of ſlave, who ſhall think himſelf bound by the promiſe he made yeſterday, or the oath he took to live according to the laws of the ſtate?' But ſuch reaſonings would have had little weight with Jean Jaques. In his opinion, it was a great error to pretend, that a Conſtitution equally binding for the people and their chiefs was a compact between the people and the chiefs they had choſen; becauſe (ſays he) " it would be abſurd and contradictory to ſuppoſe, that " the Sovereign ſhould give itſelf a ſuperior; and that, " to oblige itſelf to obey a maſter, would be to rein- " ſtate itſelf in the fulneſs of Liberty."†

* Chap. 18, Book III. † Chap. 16, Book III.

IX. Kings only provisional.

Such was the consequence naturally flowing from the idea of the sovereignty of the people, of the people essentially sovereign, who to be free must be their own governors, and who must retain, notwithstanding all their oaths, the right of annulling to-day those very laws, which yesterday they swore to maintain. This conclusion, however strange it may appear, is nevertheless that in the application of which the Revolutionary Sophister particularly exults when he says, "when it "happens therefore that the people establish an hereditary government, whether it be Monarchical in family, or Aristocratical in one order of Citizens, *it is "not an engagement which they make*, but a provisional "form given to Administration, until it shall please the "Sovereign to order otherwise."* That is to say, until it shall please the people to expel their Senate, Parliament, or King.

Let not the reader be astonished at seeing me insist so much in these memoirs on the exposition of such a system. The application of the causes to the effects will be more evident when the Historian treats of the acts of the French Revolution. But should he wish to know more particularly, how much our Philosopher of Geneva influenced the warfare which the Revolution had kindled against every throne, let him examine how this Sophister applies his principles to Monarchies, and the lessons that he teaches to all nations respecting their Kings.

X. Every Monarchy a real Democracy.

Here again it was Montesquieu who had laid the ground-work, and Jean Jaques raised the superstructure. He, walking in the footsteps of his master, admits the absolute necessity of separating the Legislative from the Executive Power, but, always more daring than Montesquieu, he scarcely leaves to Monarchy its very name. "I therefore denominate every State a "Republic which is regulated by laws, under whatever "form of administration it may be; for then only the "public interests governs, and the affairs of the public "obtain a due regard.—*To be legitimate*, the govern-"ment should not be confounded with the Sovereignty, "but be considered as its administrator; and then Mo-"narchy itself would be a Republic."†

These last words seem to imply, that Jean Jaques recognized at least the legitimacy of a King who would

* Chap. 18, Book III. † Chap. 6, and Note to Book II.

receive the law from the people, and who, acquiescing in their sovereignty, would submit to be a simple administrator, in a word their slave. For, according to this system, the only free man is he who makes the laws, and the only slave he who receives them. The people were to make the law, the King to receive it; the King therefore is only the slave of the sovereign people.

XI. To govern without Kings if possible.

On such conditions Jean Jaques consents to recognize a King in great empires; but he teaches the people at the same time, that it is owing to their own faults if a King be necessary in such a state. They would have learned to govern themselves without one if they had reflected, that *the greater the enlargement of the state, the more Liberty is diminished*;* that their real interest would have been to occupy a space of ground a hundred times less extensive, in order to become a hundred times more free; that if it be difficult for a large state to be properly governed, it is still more so for it to be *well-governed by one man.*

XII. Kings mere Officers which the People may depose.

In fine, whatever states these may be, we are never to forget, according to this Philosopher, that the whole dignity of those men called KINGS, "*is certainly no more* "*than a commission*, under which, simply as officers of "the sovereign power, they exercise in the name of "the Sovereign the power delegated to them, and "which may be limited, modified, or recalled at the "will of the Sovereign."†

Even on these conditions, had Jean Jaques succeeded according to his wishes, Kings, though reduced to mere Officers or Commissioners for the Sovereign people, would not have had a long existence. This wish is clearly expressed throughout the whole of his Chapter on Monarchy.‡ There he has heaped up every argument against Royalty, whether hereditary or elective; there, extolling the supposed virtues of the multitude, he beholds the throne invaded by Tyrants, or vicious, covetous and ambitious Despots. Nor did he fear to add, that if we were to understand by KING him who governs *only for the welfare of his subjects*, it would be evident that *there had never existed one from the commencement of the world.*‖

The direct consequences of this whole system evidently were, that every nation desirous of preserving its rights of Liberty and Equality, was in the first place to endeavour to govern itself without a King, and to

* Chap. 1, Book III. † Ibid.
‡ Chap. 6, Book III. ‖ Note to Chap. 10, Book III.

adopt a Republican Conſtitution; that nations who judged a King neceſſary, were cautiouſly to preſerve all the rights of Sovereignty, and never to loſe ſight, in quality of Sovereigns, of their inherent right of depoſing the King they had created, of ſhivering his ſceptre, and of overturning his throne, whenever, and as often as they pleaſed. Not one of theſe conſequences ſtartled the Philoſopher of Geneva. He was obliged to admit them, leſt it ſhould be objected (as he had done againſt Monteſquieu) that *he ſometimes wanted preciſion*: and once more to leave the world a prey to ſlavery. Had it been objected, that it was preciſely among thoſe nations who carried their ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Sovereignty to the greateſt lengths, that the greateſt number of ſlaves were to be found, he would have contented himſelf with anſwering, "Such, it is "true, was the ſituation of Sparta. But as to you, "people of the preſent day, you have no ſlaves, *but* "*are yourſelves enſlaved.* You purchaſe their Liberty "at the expence of your own. Forbear then to exult "in a preference which diſcovers, in my opinion, more "of indolence than of humanity."*

XIII. All nations ſlaves at preſent.

It is evident that Rouſſeau, always more lively and more daring than his maſter, could not ſuppreſs any of the conſequences which flowed from the principle laid down by Monteſquieu. He brands every nation, even the Engliſh, with ſlavery, declaring them all to be ſlaves under their Kings.

His religion Deiſm.

To have ſurpaſſed his maſter in politics was not ſufficient. Monteſquieu is often lax, even inſinuates error, and, notwithſtanding all the eulogy he beſtows on Chriſtianity, appears ſometimes to ſacrifice the religious virtues to politics; yet he appeared too timid to his diſciples. Jean Jaques, more dogmatic, declares openly that he knows of no Religion *more deſtructive of the ſocial ſpirit* than that of the Goſpel; and he paints a true Chriſtian as a being always ready to bend his neck under the yoke of a Cromwell or a Catiline.

Monteſquieu had mentioned the *Catholic Religion* as particularly adapted to moderate Governments and Monarchy; *the Proteſtant Religion* as appropriate to Republics.† Jean Jaques will neither allow of the Catholic nor of the Proteſtant Chriſtian, and finiſhes his ſyſtem with Bayle's famous paradox that Monteſ-

* Chap. 15, Book III.
† Spirit of Laws, Chap. 5, Book XXIV.

quieu had refuted. He conceived no Religion but Deiſm to be worthy a Sovereign, equal, and free people; and in order to undermine every throne, he baniſhes from the ſtate every altar where the God of Chriſtianity was adored.‡

This concluſion alone raiſed Jean Jaques far above Monteſquieu in the eyes of the Sophiſters. Time was to decide which of theſe two ſyſtems ſhould bear away the palm of victory. Let the hiſtorian compare the effects of each, obſerving their nature and ſucceſſive progreſs of opinion. He will then be leſs ſurprized at beholding that ſchool triumph which is regardleſs of the ſanctity of the Altar and of the authority of the Throne.

‡ See Social Contract, Chap. 8, Book IV.

CHAP. IV.

Third Step of the Conſpiracy.—The general Effect of the Syſtems of Monteſquieu and Jean Jaques.—Convention of the Sophiſters—The Coalition of their Plots againſt the Throne, with their Plots againſt the Altar.

Why Monteſquieu aims at Ariſtocracy.

IN comparing the two Syſtems that we have juſt expoſed, it is eaſy to remark, that the reſpective authors of thoſe Syſtems have been biaſſed in their application of the ideas of Liberty and Equality to polity by the different ſtations which they held in life. The firſt, born of that claſs in ſociety that is diſtinguiſhed by riches and honors, participated leſs of thoſe ideas of Equality which confound every claſs of citizens. Notwithſtanding his great admiration for ancient Republics, he obſerves, that "In every ſtate there are always "perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, riches, or honours; but were they to be confounded with the com- "mon people, and to have only the weight of a ſingle "vote like the reſt, the common liberty would be "their ſlavery, and they would have no intereſt in ſup- "porting it, as moſt of the popular reſolutions would "be againſt them."*

It was this ſyſtem which was at an after-period to induce the Jacobin Club to ſtyle Monteſquieu the *Father of Ariſtocracy*; and it appears that he was led to the adoption of this idea by the ſuppoſition that the claſs of citizens (the parliament) to which he belonged, would become legiſlators; and thus, enjoying his diſtinctive mark of liberty, would be their own governors, and would never obey any but their own laws. The care he had taken not to generalize his ideas, excepting when treating of the iſland where he had learned to admire them, ſcreened him from all cenſure, and removed any imputation of his wiſhing to overturn the conſtitution of his country, in order to introduce that of another. But ſuch a precaution did not repreſs that deſire which he had kindled in the breaſts of many of his readers, a deſire of ſeeing that conſtitution, which

* Spirit of Laws, Chap. 6, Book XI.

he ſo much extolled, eſtabliſhed in their own country, a deſire alſo of the only laws congenial to liberty, thoſe of a country where each perſon is his own governor.

Why his ſyſtem is extolled, and by whom.

The French at that period, little accuſtomed to political diſcuſſions, rather enjoyed the advantages of their government under the laws of their Monarch, than cavilled at his authority. They were free under their laws, nor did they loſe their time in diſquiſitions on the poſſibility of being ſo, though they had not participated in the making of them. The novelty of the ſubject irritated the curioſity of a nation with whom the bare title of *Spirit of Laws* was ſufficient to captivate their ſuffrages. Beſides, it contained an immenſe fund of learning; and in ſpite of many witty reflections, even bordering on epigram, a ſtrong feature of moderation and candour laid further claim to the public eſteem. The Engliſh alſo admired it. Notwithſtanding Monteſquieu's reſerves, it was but natural for them to extol ſo great a genius, whoſe chief error lay in having believed that their laws and their conſtitution were ſufficient to impart liberty to all nations, whatever might be their moral or political poſition on the globe.

The eſteem in which a nation, perhaps at that time its moſt worthy rival, had always held Great-Britain, added much to the high repute of the Spirit of Laws. It was tranſlated into ſeveral languages; and it would have been a diſgrace for a Frenchman not to have been acquainted with it. I hope the expreſſion I am going to make uſe of will be forgiven; that poiſon, that true ſource of the moſt democratic of all revolutions, infuſed itſelf without being perceived. The groundwork is entirely compriſed in the principle, that *Every man who is ſuppoſed a free agent ought to be his own governor*, which is abſolutely ſynonimous with another, viz. "*it is in the body of the people that the legiſlative* "*power reſides.*" Thoſe members of the ariſtocracy who admired Monteſquieu, had not ſufficiently weighed the conſequences of this grand axiom. They did not perceive that the Sophiſters of rebellion would one day only change the terms, when they proclaimed that the *law* was but the *expreſſion of the general will*, and hence conclude, that it is a right inherent in the people or multitude to enact or abrogate all laws; and that ſhould the people change and overturn every thing at pleaſure, they would do no more than exerciſe a right.

When Monteſquieu paſſed over theſe conſequences, or rather pretended not to ſee them; when, viewing the different Monarchies of Europe, he finds himſelf obliged to confeſs that he knew of no people, one excepted, who exerciſed the pretended right of governing themſelves, and of making their own laws; when he adds, that the leſs they exerciſed that right, the more *the Monarchy degenerated towards Deſpotiſm;* when, declaring that Liberty was at an end wherever thoſe powers which were generally concentrated in the perſon of the Sovereign, were not diſtinct, he ſeems to conſole nations, by flattering them with a greater or ſmaller portion of Liberty, for which they were indebted to what he calls prejudices, to their love *of the Subject's, the State's, and the Prince's glory;** in what cloud could he have enveloped himſelf? After having laid down principles which ſtigmatize all nations as in a ſtate of ſlavery, will he pretend to appeaſe their minds by ſpeaking of what little Liberty prejudice may have left them? Are not theſe ſome of the *voluntary obſcurities* which D'Alembert ſtyles *innocent artifices?* Or, are we to join with Jean Jaques in accuſing Monteſquieu *of not being preciſe, and being often obſcure?*

He forwards Democracy.

Be this as it may, ſuch were Monteſquieu's principles, that it was impoſſible to adopt them either in France or elſewhere, without inviting thoſe awful revolutions which, ſnatching the moſt important branch of the Royal prerogative from the Monarch, inveſt the people with his ſpoils. After the *Spirit of Laws* only one thing was wanting to operate ſuch a Revolution; and that was, a man who, ſufficiently daring, would aſſert theſe conſequences without fear, perhaps even complacently, becauſe he beheld in them a means of annihilating all titles or diſtinctions, which decorate ſtations of life ſuperior to his own. The ſon of a poor artizan, in a word Jean Jaques Rouſſeau, bred in a watchmaker's ſhop, proved to be this daring man. He graſped the weapons which Monteſquieu had forged to aſſert the privileges of the multitude, and aſcertain the rights of legiſlation and ſovereignty in the poor workman as the former had in the rich man; in the commoner as in the nobleman. The whole ariſtocracy of Monteſquieu was no more than a ſcaffolding for the Sophiſters of rebellion; and if he ever uſes the word

* Chap. 7, Book XI.

Ariſtocracy as expreſſing the beſt government, it was only in its original ſignification; he does not underſtand by it the government of the wealthy and noble claſſes, but that of the *beſt* of each, whether rich or poor, who were to be choſen magiſtrates by the people; and then in the very ariſtocracy he conſtitutes the people Legiſlators and Sovereigns.

Monteſquieu believed the Nobility to be neceſſary intermediates between the King and the People. Jean Jaques deteſted theſe intermediate bodies, and thought it abſurd that a ſovereign people ſhould ſtand in need of them. Monteſquieu parcels out the authority of Kings, to adorn the ariſtocracy of riches and nobility with one of its faireſt branches. Jean Jaques, pennyleſs, ſhivers the ſcepter of his King, and proſcribes the prerogative of nobility or wealth, and to aſſimulate himſelf to the Peer or Nobleman he inveſts the Sovereignty in the multitude. Both foreboded Revolutions; both taught nations that they labored under the yoke of ſlavery, whatever may have been their proteſtations to the contrary; both led nations to believe, that the liberty of the ſubject could never be aſcertained until they had adopted new Conſtitutions and new Laws, and had choſen chiefs, who, more dependent on the people, would enſure the liberty of the ſubject at the expence of their own.

Compariſon and natural effects of the two ſyſtems.

Both, in giving their ideas upon Liberty, inſtructed nations in what they ought to do to acquire this ſuppoſed Liberty. Public opinion, like the two ſyſtems, was to be reſtrained within certain limits with Monteſquieu, or expand itſelf to any lengths with Jean Jaques, according to the ſtrength, preponderance or multitude of diſciples which intereſt might have enrolled under the banners of either of theſe modern politicians. Every reflecting perſon could already foreſee, that all the rebels of Ariſtocracy would follow Monteſquieu as their chief, but that all the lower claſſes, and all the enemies of Ariſtocracy, whether from hatred or jealouſy, would fight under Jean Jaques.

Such muſt have been the natural effect of theſe two ſyſtems according to the progreſs they made in the public opinion. This effect, it is true, might have been counteracted by opinions ſtill predominant among many nations, whom theſe falſe ideas of Liberty had not miſled ſo far, as to make them believe they lived in ſlavery, becauſe they were governed by the laws of their Princes.

All theſe revolutionary principles muſt have been fruitleſs in nations whoſe religious tenets teach and ordain ſubmiſſion to their lawful Sovereign, in nations where the Goſpel was followed and reſpected, a Goſpel which equally proſcribes injuſtice, arbitrary and tyrannic power in the Prince, and rebellion in the Subject, which, teaching the true worſhip of the King of Kings, does not inſtil pride into nations by ſtunning them with the repeated proclamation of their ſovereignty.

But the Sophiſters of Impiety had undermined the foundations of the Religion of the Goſpel, and numerous were their impious adepts. Many had been led to impiety by their ambition, and by the jealouſy they had conceived againſt thoſe who enjoyed diſtinctions or exerciſed power, and they ſoon perceived that by means of theſe two ſyſtems, the ſame ideas of Liberty and Equality, which had proved ſuch powerful agents againſt Chriſtianity, might prevail alſo againſt all political Governments.

The Sophiſters conſpire, and adopt the ſyſtem againſt Kings.

Till this period, the hatred which the ſchool of Voltaire, or the brethren of D'Alembert, had conceived againſt Kings was vague and without any plan. In general, it was a mere thirſt after Liberty and Equality, or a hatred of all coercive authority. But the neceſſity of a civil government ſtifled all their cries. Here they were convinced, that to deſtroy was not ſufficient, and that in overturning the preſent laws, it was neceſſary to have another code to replace the former.—Their writings teemed with epigrams againſt Kings, but they had not attacked their rights; Deſpotiſm and Tyranny were repreſented in the moſt ſarcaſtic light, though they had not yet declared that every Prince was a Deſpot or a Tyrant. But this was no longer the caſe when theſe two ſyſtems had appeared; Monteſquieu taught them to govern themſelves, and make their laws in conjunction with their Kings; and Jean Jaques perſuades them to expel all Kings, and to govern and make their laws themſelves. The Sophiſters no longer heſitate, and the overthrow of every throne is reſolved on, as they had before reſolved on the deſtruction of every altar. From that period the two conſpiracies are combined and form but one in the ſchool of the Sophiſters. It is no longer the iſolated voice of a Voltaire, or of any particular adept who, following the exploſions of his brain, raiſes a ſarcaſtic cry againſt the authority of Kings; it is the combined efforts of the Sophiſters leagued in plots of

rebellion and impiety, aiming all their hatred, their means, their wiſhes and their artifices, at teaching all nations to deſtroy the throne of their Kings, as they had formerly excited them to overturn the altars of their God.

Such an accuſation is important, it is direct; and the proofs are taken from the words of the conſpirators themſelves. It is not only the ſimple avowal of the conſpiracy, but the exulting pride of the Sophiſter who glories in his crime. He paints the hypocriſy, the wickedneſs, the hideouſneſs of his crime in as glowing colours as if he had delineated the triumph of genius and wiſdom, in a word of true Philoſophy, in the cauſe of the happineſs of mankind. Let us attend, and we ſhall hear them tracing the hiſtory of their plots, which they repreſent as the climax of human underſtanding in Philoſophical learning.

Proofs of the conſpiracy.

The French Revolution had hurled the unfortunate Lewis XVI. from his throne, when the moſt unrelenting conſpirator, that monſter Condorcet, thinks it incumbent on him to celebrate the glory of Philoſophiſm, and trace the progeſs of this fiend which had kindled the torch of diſcord and had reared the Republic on crime, blood-ſhed, and the ruins of the throne. Leſt the ſchool whence theſe horrid deeds had iſſued, ſhould not be known, he deſcribes it from its origin, and hiſtoriſies all the monſters of iniquity and rebellion which each century had produced. He then deſcends to the new Republican æra. That hiſtory may carefully weigh his evidence and appreciate his avowal, his words ſhall ſuffer no alteration: without interruption from us he may extol his ſchool and its pretended benefactions. He ſuppoſes us at the middle of this century, conſiders his reader as arrived at that period when the delirium of ſuperſtition is diſpelled by the firſt rays of modern Philoſophy. Then it is that he developes the following plot as the hiſtory and triumph of his falſe Philoſophy.

Avowal of Condorcet.

" *There was a claſs of men which ſoon formed itſelf in* " *Europe* with a view not ſo much to diſcover and make " deep reſearch after truth as to diffuſe it: whoſe chief " object was to attack prejudices in the very aſylums " where the Clergy, the Schools, the Governments, " and the ancient Corporations had received and pro- " tected them; and made their glory to conſiſt rather " in deſtroying popular error than in extending the " limits of ſcience: this, though an indirect method

" of forwarding its progreſs, was not on that account " either leſs dangerous or leſs uſeful.

" In England Collins and Bolingbroke, in France " Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Monteſquieu, and *the* " *ſchools formed by theſe men*, combated in favour of " truth. They alternately employed all the arms with " which learning and Philoſophy, with which wit and " the talent of writing could furniſh reaſon. *Aſſuming* " *every tone, taking every ſhape*, from the ludicrous to " the pathetic, from the moſt learned and extenſive " compilation to the Novel or the petty Pamphlet of " the day, covering truth with a veil, which, *ſparing* " *the eye that was too weak*, incited the reader *by the* " *pleaſure of furmiſing it*, inſidiouſly careſſing prejudice " in order to ſtrike it with more certainty and effect ; " ſeldom menacing more than one at a time, and that " only in part ; ſometimes flattering the enemies of " reaſon *by ſeeming to aſk but for a half toleration in Religion* " *or a half Liberty in polity ; reſpecting Deſpotiſm when* " *they impugned religious abſurdities, and Religion when* " *they attacked tyranny ; combating theſe two peſts in their* " *very principles, though apparently inveighing againſt ri-* " *diculous and diſguſting abuſes ; ſtriking at the root of thoſe* " *peſtiferous trees, whilſt they appeared only to wiſh to lop* " *the ſtraggling branches ; at one time marking out ſuperſti-* " *tion, which covers deſpotiſm with its impenetrable ſhield,* " *to the friends of Liberty, as the firſt victim which they* " *are to immolate, the firſt link to be cleft aſunder ; at anoth-* " *er denouncing it to Deſpots as the real enemy of their pow-* " *er* and frightening them with its hypocritical plots " and ſanguinary rage ; but indefatigable when they " claimed *the independence of Reaſon and the Liberty of the* " *Preſs* as the right and ſafeguard of mankind ; inveigh- " ing with enthuſiaſtic energy againſt the crimes of " Fanaticiſm and Tyranny ; reprobating every thing " which bore the character of oppreſſion, harſhneſs, or " barbarity, whether in Religion, Adminiſtration, " Morals or Laws ; commanding Kings, Warriors, " Prieſts and Magiſtrates in the name of nature to ſpare " the blood of men ; reproaching them in the moſt " energetic ſtrain with that which their policy or in- " difference prodigally laviſhed on the ſcaffold or in the " field of battle ; in fine, adopting *reaſon, toleration,* " *and humanity* as their ſignal and watch-word.

" Such was the Modern Philoſophy, ſo much deteſ- " ted by thoſe numerous claſſes whoſe very exiſtence

" were drawn from prejudices—Its chiefs had the art " of eſcaping vengeance, though expoſed to hatred ; " *of hiding themſelves from perſecution, though ſufficiently* " *conſpicuous to loſe nothing of their glory.*"*

Result of this avowal.

Had rebellion, impiety, and revolt wiſhed to trace their means and aſcertain their object, could they have made a better choice than the pen of Condorcet to delineate the actors, deſcribe their deteſtable plots, and fix the epoch of their double conſpiracy, which, firſt aiming at the altar, is afterward directed and purſued with fury againſt all Kings and Rulers of nations. How could their means and plots have been rendered more manifeſt ? How could the hero of the plot, or the adept moſt intimately initiated in the myſteries of the conſpiracy, have more evidently pointed out the object, the double tendency of the Sophiſticated ſchool ; or ſhown in a clearer light the wiſh of deſtroying the throne ſpringing from the league which they had formed againſt the altar ?

Let the hiſtorian ſeize on this avowal or rather on this eulogy of plots. He will find concentrated and flowing from Condorcet's pen, every thing that the moſt daring and the deepeſt initiated conſpirator could have let fall, to characterize the moſt authenticated and moſt univerſal conſpiracy planned by thoſe men called Philoſophers, not only attacking the perſons of particular Kings but of every King, and not Kings only, but the very eſſence of Royalty and all Monarchy. The commencement of this conſpiracy was when Collins, Bolingbroke, Bayle, and other maſters of Voltaire, together with that Sophiſter himſelf, had propagated their impious doctrines againſt the God of Chriſtianity.

We ſee it faſt riſing into eminence when Monteſquieu and Jean Jaques, nearly his contemporary, applying their ideas of Liberty and Equality to Polity, had given birth to that diſquiet ſpirit which ſought to inveſtigate the rights of Sovereigns, the extent of their authority, the pretended rights of the freeman, and without which every ſubject is branded for a ſlave—and every King ſtyled a Deſpot. In fine, it is that period when their ſyſtems, by means of empty theories, furniſh the Sophiſters with a means of ſupplying the want of Kings in the government of nations.

Until that period the ſect ſeemed to have carried their views no farther, than to the eſtabliſhment of Phi-

* Eſquiſſe d'un tableau hiſtorique de l'eſprit humain, 9 Epoque.

loſophic Kings, or Kings at leaſt who would let themſelves be governed by Philoſophers; but, deſpairing of ſucceſs, they league in the oath of deſtroying all Royalty, the very inſtant they ſhall have found in any ſyſtem the means of governing without Kings.

The perſons who compoſe this ſchool of conſpirators are ſtrongly marked. They are the authors and adepts of this *Modern Philoſophy*, who, before they reſolved on the deſtruction of Monarchy, began by raiſing their heads againſt Religion; who, before they depicted every Government in the colours of Deſpotiſm and Tyranny, repreſent fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition as the ſole growth of Chriſtianity.

The extent, the means, the conſtancy of the conſpiſpiracy all are ſhown in the cleareſt light.—Our conſpiring Sophiſters pretend to *aſk but for a half-toleration in Religion or a half-liberty in Polity; reſpecting* authority of Kings *when they impugned Religion, and Religion when they attacked* Royalty. They pretend *to inveigh only againſt abuſes;* but both Religion and the authority of Monarchs *are but two peſtiferous trees,* at whoſe very *roots they ſtrike.* They are the two giants whom they combat in their principles, that every veſtige of their exiſtence might be annihilated.

They aſſume every tone, they take every ſhape, and artfully flatter thoſe whoſe power they wiſh to deſtroy. They ſpare no pains to deceive the Monarch whoſe throne they undermine. They *denounce* Religion *as the real enemy of their power,* and never ceaſe reminding their adepts, that it is Religion which covers Kings with an *impenetrable ſhield: That it is* the *firſt victim to be immolated, the firſt link to be cleft aſunder,* in order to ſucceed in ſhaking off the yoke of Kings, and in annihilating Monarchy, when once they ſhould have ſucceeded in cruſhing the God of that Religion.

The whole of this wicked game is combined among the adepts; their action, their union cannot be better delineated. Their watch-ward is *Independence and Liberty.* They all have their ſecret, and during the moſt vigorous proſecution of their plots *they ſedulouſly conceal them. They nevertheleſs covertly purſue them with an indefatigable conſtancy.* What can be called conſpiracy, if this is not conſpiring againſt all Kings; and how could the Philoſophers more clearly demonſtrate, that the war which they waged againſt Chriſt and his Altar,

againſt Kings and their Thrones, was a war of extermination?

I ſtill fear its being objected, that the Philoſophers did not mean to point at Royalty by the words *Deſpotiſm and Tyranny*. I have already ſaid, that the Deſpots and Tyrants whom the Sophiſters were to deſtroy could be no other than thoſe Monarchs under and againſt whom they did conſpire; and if the unfortunate Lewis XVI. was a Tyrant and a Deſpot in their eyes, the mildeſt and the moſt moderate of Monarchs muſt have been guilty of Tyranny and Deſpotiſm. But let it not be thought that theſe conſpiring Sophiſters were always reſtrained by a ſenſe of ſhame from caſting aſide the veil of Deſpotiſm and Tyranny with which they had ſhrowded the hatred they had conceived againſt Royalty. The ſame Condorcet who may be ſuppoſed (at the head of the Sophiſticated bands) to have attacked only Tyranny and Deſpotiſm, leaves us no room to doubt.

Scarcely had the original rebels called Conſtitutionaliſts left the name or phantom of a Monarch to France in the unfortunate Lewis XVI. ſo greatly had they abridged the regal authority; and moſt unjuſtly could that unfortunate Prince, in his degraded ſtate at leaſt, be accuſed of Deſpotiſm or Tyranny; nevertheleſs the deſigns of the Sophiſters had not been fulfilled, and it is Condorcet who undertakes to ſhew the extent of their views. Royalty was ſtill preſerved as to the name; and Condorcet now no longer exclaimed "Deſtroy the *Ty-*" *rant*, the *Deſpot*," but "*deſtroy the* KING." Speaking in the name of the Philoſophic ſect, he propoſes his problems on Royalty in the moſt direct language. He entitled them *Of the Republic*; and the firſt queſtion he propoſes is, *Whether a King is neceſſary for Liberty?* He anſwers it himſelf, and declares that Royalty is not only unneceſſaryand uſeleſs *but even contrary to Liberty*, that it is irreconcileable with Liberty; and after having ſolved this problem, he continues: "As to the reaſonings "which may be brought againſt us, we will not do "them the honour of refuting them; much leſs ſhall "we trouble ourſelves to anſwer that ſwarm of mer-"cenary writers, who have ſuch good reaſons for be-"lieving that a Government cannot exiſt without a "civil liſt, and we will give them full liberty to treat "thoſe perſons as madmen who have the misfortune to "think as the ſages of every age and nation have done "before them."*

* Of the Republic, by Condorcet, an. 1791.

It is thus that, from the mouth of that Sophister, who was the moſt deeply initiated of the adepts, we learn, without the leaſt ſubterfuge, the extent of their plots; ſuch were the wiſhes of his pretended ſages. It it not only Deſpotiſm but Royalty itſelf, it is even the empty name of an impriſoned King, that is incompatible with Liberty. What then is neceſſary to accompliſh their laſt views with reſpect to Kings as well as to the Prieſthood? Theſe views are not confined to France alone, no, not even to Europe; but they extend to all nations, to the whole globe, to every region on which the ſun ſhines. It is no longer a wiſh it is a hope, it is the confidence of ſucceſs, which makes the ſame Sophiſter, adopting the prophetic ſtrain, announce to Kings and the Prieſthood, that, thanks to the union, toils, and unrelenting warfare of the Philoſophers, "the "day will come when the ſun ſhall ſhine on none but "free men, a day, when man, recognizing no other "maſter than his reaſon, when Tyrants and their Slaves, "when Prieſts, together with their ſtupid and hypo-"critical agents, will have no further exiſtence but in "hiſtory or on the ſtage."* At length the whole extent of their plots is revealed, and revealed by that adept who was at the head of the Sophiſticated ſchool; by him, whom the original maſters had judged to be the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed them and as moſt ſtrongly fired with their ſpirit; by him, in fine, who proves to be their *greateſt conſolation* in their laſt moments, as they leave a chief to their ſchool worthy of themſelves.† That their conſpiracy might be complete, the *Royal Authority and the Prieſthood* were not to exiſt but in hiſtory or on the ſtage. In the former, as the ſubject of calumny and all the imprecations of the ſect; on the latter, as an object of public deriſion.

Evidence of many other adepts.

Condorcet is not, however, the only one of the Sophiſters, who, exulting in the ſucceſs of their double conſpiracy, lay open its ſource and ſhew it ſpringing from that concert and underſtanding of the Sophiſters, uniting their means, their labours, and directing them at one time againſt the throne, at another againſt the altar, with a common wiſh of cruſhing both the one and the other. Condorcet is, without doubt, the Sophiſter who betrays the greateſt vanity on the ſubject; becauſe he is the adept who, ſcoffing at all ſhame and

* Of the Republic, by Condorcet, epoch 10.

† Voltaire to D'Alembert, let. 101, anno. 1773.

diſclaiming every moral ſentiment, would bluſh the leaſt in deſcribing thoſe artifices which he ſo complacently relates; for it was he that could with the leaſt embarraſſment reconcile that atrocious diſſimulation, thoſe tortuous plans, thoſe ſnares laid at once for Prieſts, Kings, and Nations, to the rules of honour, probity, and truth; while the whole conduct of his ſchool exhibits a concatenation of guilt and cunning, unworthy of the Philoſopher, and becoming the odious conſpirator only. Many other adepts ſpeak their true ſentiments, when they declare their belief that the publication of their proceedings can be no bar to the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy.

La Harpe and Marmontel.

The Editors of the *Mercure*, La Harpe, Marmontel, and Champfort, had nearly been as explicit as Condorcet, when they publiſhed the following ſentence, "*It* "*is the arm of the people that executes Revolutions,* "*but it is the meditations of the ſage that prepare* "*them.*" Theſe adepts, like Condorcet, repreſent our pretended ſages as directing by ſilent and tortuous means, the minds of the people toward that Revolution which was to ſhiver the ſcepter of Lewis XVI. and whoſe grand object was to *break* the pretended *yoke of the Prieſthood* in order *to break that* of the Pretended *Tyrants*, of Tyrants ſuch as Lewis XVI. the moſt humane and juſt of Kings, and whoſe fondeſt purſuit was the happineſs of his ſubjects. Before Condorcet and our Sophiſters of the *Mercure* many other adepts had ſhewn this concert and union, and had claimed the honor of this Revolution menacing every throne, as the glorious atchievements of their ſchool. Let us hearken to a man illuſtrious in the annals of Philoſophiſm, and whom as ſuch we may ſuppoſe well informed as to their plots.

La Metherie.

Mr. de la Metherie is not one of the common claſs of adepts; on the contrary, he was one of thoſe who had the art of inſinuating Atheiſm with all the ſeduction of natural ſcience. So early as on the 1ſt of January 1790, this adept, who was deſervedly looked upon as one of the moſt learned of the ſect, begins his obſervations and memoirs with theſe remarkable words; "At length the happy day is come when Philoſophy "triumphs over all its enemies. They are obliged "to own, that it is the light which Philoſophy has "ſpread, more eſpecially of late years, that has produ-"ced *the great events which will diſtinguiſh the end of this* "*century.*" What are theſe great events which the

learned Atheiſt claims in the name of Philoſophy? They are thoſe of a Revolution which diſcovers man *breaking the ſhackles of ſlavery*, and ſhaking off the yoke with which *audacious Deſpots* had burthened them. It is the people recovering their *inalienable right*, of making alone the laws, of depoſing Princes, of changing or continuing them according to their will and pleaſure, and of viewing their Sovereigns in no other light than as men who cannot infringe theſe popular laws *without being guilty of treaſon to the people.* Leſt the principles on which theſe pretended rights were founded ſhould be forgotten, he repeats them with enthuſiaſtic eloquence; leſt the glory of ſuch leſſons and their conſequences ſhould be attributed to any but the maſters of his ſchool; leſt, in ſhort, the intention and concert of its authors ſhould not be ſufficiently evident, he tells us, and that at the very moment when the unfortunate Lewis XVI. is the ſport of that legiſlative and ſovereign populace, "It is theſe truths repeated thouſands and thouſands of "times by the Philoſophers of humanity, that have op- "erated thoſe precious effects, ſo long expected;" he carefully adds, that if France is the firſt to burſt the fetters of Deſpotiſm, it is becauſe the Philoſophers had prepared them for ſuch noble efforts *by a multitude of excellent writings.* And that we might be acquainted to what extent theſe ſucceſſes prepared by Philoſophy are to be carried by the concert of theſe leſſons repeated *thouſands and thouſands of times*, the adept La Metherie continues, "The ſame lights are propagating through- "out other nations, and ſoon they will cry out like the "French, *we are determined to be free*—Let the brilliant "ſucceſs *which Philoſophy has juſt gained* be a new ſpur "to their courage—*Let us be perſuaded that our labours* "*will not be fruitleſs.*"

The foundation of this hope (and never let the hiſtorian loſe ſight of this obſervation, ſince the Philoſophers inceſſantly repeat it) reſts on the proſpect of an approaching Revolution in religious matters. It is becauſe ſects equally inimical to Royalty and Chriſtianity are daily increaſing in numbers and ſtrength, particularly in *North-America* and in *Germany*. It is becauſe the new tenets *are ſilently propagated*, and that all theſe ſects unite their efforts with thoſe of Philoſophiſm.

He delineates the extent of their hopes, by declaring that Philoſophy, after having conquered Liberty in America and France, will carry its conqueſts on the

one ſide into Poland, on the other into Spain and Italy, and even into Turkey; nay, more, that it will penetrate into the moſt diſtant regions; and that Egypt, Syria, and India itſelf, ſhall be tributary to it.*

Were it neceſſary to ſeek further proof that this Revolution had been the work of the combined efforts, of the wiſhes and labors of our modern Sophiſters, La Metherie will tell us, that he had clearly announced it to all Sovereigns when he ſaid, "Princes, do not deceive yourſelves—TELL *raiſes the ſtandard of Liberty, and he is followed by his fellow citizens.* The whole power of Philip II. could not prevail againſt Holland; and a cheſt of tea liberates America from the yoke of the Engliſh. In all energetic nations Liberty raiſes itſelf on the ruins of Deſpotiſm; but Joſeph II. and Lewis XVI. were far from thinking this warning regarded them. May Kings, Ariſtocrats, and Theocrats profit by this example!" Should they continue deaf to his voice, the ſame ſage will ſhrug his ſhoulders, and, pitying, ſay, "Theſe priviſleged perſons are bad calculators of the courſe of the human mind and of the influence of Philoſophy; and let them remember that their fall in France was accelerated by the neglect of ſuch calculations."†

Gudin. Another Philoſopher not leſs vain than La Metherie, extolling and revealing the plans, intentions and plots of the ſect, with nearly as much perſpicuity as Condorcet, is alſo acknowledged by it for one of its profoundeſt adepts. This is Gudin, who, adding his reveries to thoſe of Jean Jaques, makes the glory of his maſters conſiſt not only in the principles and the wiſh of the revolution, but in all they had done to bring it about, and which enabled them *to announce it as infallible.*

This adept Gudin goes much farther; for he tells us, that it was not the intention of the Philoſophers to operate this Revolution by the arm of the people, but by means of the King and his Miniſters; that they had forewarned them that it was in vain for them to pretend to ſtop it. According to him, "thoſe ſame Philoſophers who, under the ancient order of things, had told the King, his Council, and his Miniſters, *that theſe changes would take place in ſpite of them, if they would not adopt them*, ſay at this preſent day to thoſe

* Obſervations on Experimental Philoſophy and Natural Hiſtory, January 1790. Preliminary Diſcourſe.

† *Idem*, January 1791, page 150.

"who oppoſe the conſtitution, that it would be impoſ-
"ſible to return to the old form of government, which-
"ever might be the party that carried the day, it being
"too imperfect and too much diſcredited even by the
"enemies of the new conſtitution."*

Theſe men therefore, whom we ſee to-day under the name of Philoſophers, ſo numerous and ſuch zealous partizans of that Revolution which dethrones Kings; which inveſts the Sovereignty in the hands of the people, and executes, ſyſtems the moſt directly oppoſite to the authority of Monarchs; theſe men, before they attempted to accompliſh their plans by the arm of the people, had already revolutionized the public opinion to that degree, and were ſo certain of their ſucceſs, that they boldly threatened both Kings and their Miniſters, if they would not adopt their Revolutionary ideas, with the completion of that long wiſhed for Revolution, in ſpite of all oppoſition.

It would be endleſs to quote the multitude of proofs which atteſt, that Philoſophiſm only waited for the ſucceſs of its plots, to glory in having contrived them. The hiſtorian will find thoſe proofs in the numerous diſcourſes pronounced by the adepts, either at the legiſlative club called National Aſſembly, or at the regulating club called the Jacobins; ſcarcely will he hear the name of Philoſophers pronounced in theſe revolutionary dens, without the grateful acknowledgment of their being the authors of the Revolution.

I could adduce proofs of a different nature. The adepts, for example, who many years before the Revolution entruſted with their ſecret thoſe whom they wiſhed to gain over to their party. I could name that Counſellor, that Sophiſter Bergier, whom Voltaire mentions as the moſt zealous adept.† I am acquainted with the perſon to whom this ſecret was entruſted five years before the Revolution, in the Park of St. Cloud, to whom Bergier without the leaſt heſitation ſaid, that the time was not diſtant when Philoſophy would triumph over Kings and the Prieſthood. That as to Kings, their Empire was at an end, and that the downfal of the grandees and nobility was equally certain. That the plans had been too well laid, and things were too far advanced, to leave room for any doubt of ſucceſs. But the man who has ſince entruſted me with theſe ſe-

Bergier.

* Supplement to the Social Contract, Chap. 2, Part III.
† Gen. Correſpondence.

crets, though he gave them to me in writing, will not consent to have his name mentioned. He, like many others, at that time believed the dogmatic assertions of the Sophister, whom he knew to be one of the most profligate of the sect, to be those of folly. And at present like many others, not conceiving how much it imports to history that facts of this kind should be authenticated by witnesses of known veracity, he sacrifices that grand object to the delicacy of not betraying what appears to have been but a confidential communication.

Alfonse Le Roi.

Bound by such scrupulosities, I am obliged to pass over many such anecdotes, that would show the Sophisters entrusting the secrets of their plots, and foretelling as clearly as Bergier did, the downfal of Kings and the triumph of Philosophy. I will consent even to suppress the name of a French nobleman who, resident in Normandy, received the following letter: "Monsieur "Le Comte, do not deceive yourself. This is not a "sudden storm. The Revolution is made and consummated. It has been preparing for these last fifty "years, and that by some of the greatest geniuses in "Europe. It has its abettors *in every cabinet.* There "will be no other Aristocracy but that of wit, and "you certainly will have a greater claim to that than "any body else." This letter was written, a few days after the taking of the Bastile, by Alfonse le Roi, a physician. It needs no comment.

Testimony of the repenting Le Roi.

It is now time to call my reader's attention to that other Le Roi whom we have mentioned in the first part of our Memoirs. He is not the vain Sophister glorying in his plots, not a Condorcet, a La Metherie, a Gudin, or an Alfonse, who exultingly behold the triumph of Philosophy in the crimes perpetrated and in the plots framed against the Altar and the Throne. No, this is the shamefaced and repenting adept, whom sorrow and remorse obliged to reveal a secret bursting from him in the agony of grief. But both the repentant and the proud adept perfectly agree in their evidence. For it would be a strange error to believe, that the declaration of Le Roi and the object of his remorse were confined to the Antichristian Conspiracy. At the period when he made his declaration neither the constitution nor the oath of apostacy had been decreed. It had not as yet been proposed to plunder and profane the temples, and to abolish the public worship. No blow

had been given to the ſymbol of Chriſtianity. All was prepared and daily ſtarting into exiſtence; but as yet the aſſembly had only treſpaſſed againſt the political authority and the rights of their Sovereign. It was at the ſight of theſe firſt crimes that Le Roi is reproached with the miſerable effects of his ſchool, and it was to this reproach he anſwered, *To whom do you ſay ſo? I know it but too well, and I ſhall die of grief and remorſe.* When he diſcloſed all the heinouſneſs of the plot framed by his ſecret academy at the Hotel d'Holbach, when he declares that it was there that the Conſpiracy, whoſe dire effects they then beheld, had been formed and carried on; the plots which he deteſts are thoſe that he ſees attacking the Throne. If he declares thoſe at the ſame time which had been formed againſt the altar, it is becauſe they had been the forerunners of the above, becauſe it was neceſſary to ſhow that the hatred which the people had conceived for their King, aroſe from that which had been inſtilled into them againſt their God. Thus while the declaration of this unhappy adept authenticates the conſpiracy of the Sophiſters againſt religion, it equally demonſtrates that contrived againſt the Throne.

It would be in vain to object that this unhappy man loved his King; he calls all preſent to witneſs that he is attached to the perſon of Lewis XVI. how could he then join in a conſpiracy againſt him? But it is in vain, all is conſiſtent, all is combined in this mind racked with remorſe. This unhappy Secretary of the Conſpiring Academy might have loved the perſon of the Monarch, but deteſted Monarchy, deteſted it at leaſt as it exiſted, and in the light in which his maſters had taught him to conſider it, that is to ſay, as irreconcileable with their principles of Liberty, Equality, and Sovereignty of the people. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that opinions differed very much in this ſecret academy. Some wiſhed to have a King, or at leaſt to preſerve the appearance of one in the new projected order of things; others, and they were to carry the day, objected to the very name or any appearance of Royalty, and both parties were unanimous in their attacks againſt Royalty as then exiſting. The one wiſhed for a Revolution partly combined of Monteſquieu's ſyſtem, partly of Jean Jaques's. The other wiſhed to eſtabliſh it on the conſequences which Jean Jaques had deduced from Monteſquieu's princi-

ples. But both were leagued in Rebellion, and both conſpired to bring about a Revolution. The repenting adept wanted a half Revolution, nor did he believe that the people, when put in motion, would proceed to thoſe exceſſes which he deteſted. He flattered himſelf that the Conſpiring Philoſophers who ſtirred up the populace would be able to direct its motions; that they would inſpire this populace with a proper reſpect for the perſon and even for the dignity of a Prince whom he loved and reſpected as a Frenchman and a Courtier, while as a Sophiſter he dethroned him. This is all that his remorſe and his proteſtations of attachment for the perſon of Lewis XVI. can indicate. He wiſhed to make him a King ſubſervient to the views and ſyſtems of the Sophiſters, and he reduced the unfortunate Monarch to be the object of the licentious outrages of the populace; ſuch are the real cauſes of his grief and remorſe.

But the more this remnant of affection for his King appears in his declaration, the more it corroborates his avowal. It is not without cauſe that a man accuſes himſelf of having pierced the boſom of the perſon he loves, or of having been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt a Monarch whoſe Throne he with regret beholds menaced with ruin. People do not accuſe themſelves of crimes which they deteſt. Let us weigh the declaration of the repenting adept. What has Condorcet, proud and vainly exulting in the Conſpiracy of Philoſophiſm againſt the Throne, told us, which the unhappy Le Roi ſinking under ſhame and remorſe has not confirmed?

Their teſtimonies compared.

The haughty adept tells us, that of the diſciples of Voltaire and Monteſquieu, that is to ſay, of all the principal authors of that impiety and ſophiſticated polity of the age, a ſchool or ſect was formed uniting and combining their labors and their writings to effectuate the ſucceſſive overthrow of the religion of Chriſt and of the Thrones of Kings. The repentant adept ſhows us theſe ſame diſciples of Voltaire, Monteſquieu, and Jean Jaques, uniting and coaleſcing under the fictitious name of Œconomiſts at the Hotel d'Holbach; and he ſays it was there that the adepts dedicated their labors and their lucubrations to the perverſion of the public opinion on the ſacred ſubjects of Religion and the rights of the Throne. "Moſt of thoſe works (his declaration "ſays) which have appeared for a long time paſt againſt "*religion, morality, and government*, were ours, or

" thoſe of Authors devoted to us. They were com-
" poſed by the members or by the orders of the ſocie-
" ty."* The unhappy Le Roi not only ſays againſt religion and morality, but alſo againſt *government*; and had he not ſaid it, the one would be the natural conſequence of the other; for the greateſt part of the writings iſſued from this club of the Baron d'Holbach unite both objects. Soon we ſhall ſee them equally aiming at the overthrow of the Throne and of the Altar. They were the ſame Sophiſters who had combined in one and the ſame plot the deſtruction of both.

The adept Condorcet complacently dwells on the art with which the coaleſced Sophiſters directed their attacks now at the Clergy then at Kings; covering truth with a veil which ſpared the eye that was too weak, artfully careſſing religious opinions, to ſtrike at them more ſurely, ſtirring up with ſtill greater art Princes againſt the Prieſthood, and the People againſt their Princes, fully reſolved to overturn both the Altar of the Prieſt and the Throne of the Prince. Are not theſe the ſame ſtratagems which the repenting adept deſcribes when he ſays, " before theſe impious and
" ſeditious books were ſent to the preſs, they were
" delivered in at our office. There we reviſed and
" corrected them, added to or curtailed them ac-
" cording as *circumſtances* required. When our Phi-
" loſophy was too glaring for the times, or for the ob-
" ject of the work, we brought it to a lower tint; and
" when we thought that we might be more daring than
" the Author, we ſpoke more openly."† As to its object, its means, and its authors, we ſee the account of this double conſpiracy perfectly coinciding, whether given by the haughty Condorcet or the repenting Le Roi. Both demonſtrate this ſchool conſpiring againſt their God and againſt their King, flattering themſelves with ſucceſs againſt Monarchy, and generating that Revolution which was to overturn their thrones, but not till that period when the faith of nations, long before diſordered, weakened, and at length miſled by the ſnares of the Sophiſters, threatened but a ſlight reſiſtance to their attacks either againſt the Altar or the Throne.

The enthuſiaſtic pride of Condorcet, and the ſhame and remorſe of the penitent Le Roi, certainly had never concerted this conſiſtency in their depoſitions. The

* See Part the 1ſt of theſe Memoirs, page 190. † Ibid.

one, hardened in impiety and rebellion, preſerves his ſecret till that period when he thinks he may violate it without endangering the ſucceſs of his wicked purſuits. He enjoys at length, he glories in this ſucceſs, and repreſents his accomplices as men to be revered as the benefactors of mankind. The other, as it were to extenuate his crime, the very inſtant his eyes are open to the heinouſneſs of his paſt conduct, names thoſe who have ſeduced him, diſcloſes the place where they conſpired, but to curſe it; and throws all the weight of his crimes on his perfidious maſters, on Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, and their accomplices. He beholds theſe men who have ſeduced him in no other light than as monſters of rebellion. When ſuch oppoſite paſſions, ſuch different intereſts and ſentiments agree in their depoſitions on the ſame conſpiracy, on the ſame means, and on the ſame conſpirators, truth can require no further proofs; it is evidence, it is demonſtration itſelf.

Firſt ſteps of the Conſpiracy compared.

Such then is the firſt problem of that Revolution ſo fatal to Monarchy. Voltaire forwards it with all his might in conſpiring againſt his God, in ſpreading his doctrine of modern liberty and in artfully attacking with his ſarcaſtic wit and ſatire the pretended deſpots of his own country and of Europe. Monteſquieu traced in his ſyſtems the firſt ſteps toward that diſorganizing liberty. Jean Jaques adopts Monteſquieu's principles and enlarges on their conſequences. From the Equality of the *legiſlative* people, he deduces the Equality and Liberty of the *ſovereign* people; from the people eſſentially free and exerciſing the right of depoſing their Kings at pleaſure, he teaches the people to govern without them. The diſciples of Voltaire, Monteſquieu, and Jean Jaques, united and coaleſced in their ſecret academy, league alſo in their oaths; and of thoſe oaths that of cruſhing Chriſt and of annihilating Kings form but one. Had the proofs of theſe plots been ſupported neither by the boaſting of the haughty Sophiſter exulting in ſucceſs, nor by the declaration of the penitent adept ready to expire at the ſight of ſuch ſucceſſes, ſtill what we have to unfold of this mazy coalition, would equally demonſtrate both its exiſtence and its object from the publicity of the means employed by the ſect.

CHAP. V.

Fourth Step of the Conſpiracy againſt Kings.—Inundation of Antimonarchical Books.—Freſh Proofs of the Conſpiracy.

The authors identically the ſame in both conſpiracies.

THE very fact of the Conſpiracy againſt Monarchy having been carried on by the ſame men and in the ſame ſecret academy where the Antichriſtian Conſpiracy had been debated and conducted with ſuch unrelenting fury, will induce the reader to ſuppoſe that many of the artifices employed againſt the Altar were equally directed againſt the Throne. The moſt fatal attack on Chriſtianity, and on which the Sophiſters had beſtowed their chief attention, was that which they made with the greateſt ſucceſs to imbue the minds of the people with the ſpirit of inſurrection and revolt. Nothing proves this with more certainty than the care with which they combined their attacks againſt the Throne with thoſe againſt the Altar, in that inundation of Antichriſtian writings which we have ſeen flowing like a torrent through every claſs of ſociety. This ſecond inundation of Antimonarchical writings, by which the Sophiſters were in hopes of perverting that ſentiment of confidence and reſpect, which the people had for their ſovereign, into hatred and contempt, was only a continuation of thoſe means which they had employed againſt their God. Theſe writings are iſſued from the ſame manufactory, compoſed by the ſame adepts, recommended and reviewed by the ſame chiefs, ſpread with the ſame profuſion, hawked about from the town to the village by the ſame agents of Holbach's Club, ſent free of coſt to the country ſchool-maſters, that all claſſes of people from the higheſt to the moſt indigent might imbibe the venom of their Sophiſtry. As it is certain that theſe writings were the grand means of the Sophiſters in their conſpiracy againſt Chriſt, ſo it is equally certain, that theſe ſame productions, monſtrous digeſts of the principles of impiety and of thoſe of rebellion, are irrefragable proofs that theſe ſame Sophiſters had combined the moſt impious of plots againſt their God with the moſt odious machinations againſt all Kings.

Why their attacks on the Throne are manifeſted ſo late.

One only difference is to be obſerved, that the firſt productions of the Secret Society were not ſo ſtrongly tainted with the blaſt of rebellion. The grand attack againſt Monarchy was reſerved until the ſect ſhould have reaſon to expect that their principles of impiety had prepared the multitude for their declamations againſt Royalty, as they had gradually ſwoln in thoſe againſt the pretended ſuperſtitions of Chriſtianity. Moſt of thoſe violent declamations againſt Sovereigns are poſterior not only to Monteſquieu's and Rouſſeau's ſyſtems, but even to the year 1761, when we beheld Voltaire reproaching the Sophiſters with ſeeing every thing topſy-turvy, becauſe in ſome of their writings they trenched upon the Royal Prerogative.

In the divers editions of the Encyclopedia.

The Philoſophers of the Encyclopedia had only alluded very faintly, in their firſt edition of that incoherent compilation, to the principles of that Liberty and Equality which have been ſince ſo much extolled by the enemies of Royalty; though it was a cauſe of reproach to D'Alembert, that even in his preliminary diſcourſe *he ſees but a barbarous right in the inequality of ſtations;* and though the Royaliſt or even the Subject of every ſtate, of every Government, might have objected to the inſertion in the Encyclopedia of that propoſition which the Jacobins have ſince ſo often repeated, "that "the ſubjection in which every man is born with reſ-"pect to his father or to his Prince, has never been "looked upon as a tie binding unleſs by his own con-"ſent."* In ſhort, though the Encyclopediſts were the firſt to enter the liſts in defence of Monteſquieu, yet the fear of alarming the public authorities made them act with great circumſpection during many years on this ſubject. It was neceſſary to wait for new editions. That of Iverdun was ſtill too early; and it was in the edition of Geneva that theſe revolutionary principles firſt made their appearance. Leſt they ſhould eſcape the notice of the reader, Diderot had repeated and condenſed the poiſon, had decked them with all the array of Sophiſtry in at leaſt three different articles.† There neither Monteſquieu, Jean Jaques, nor all the admirers of the legiſlative and ſovereign multitude, could have cavilled at a ſingle link in this brilliant con-

* See the Philoſophical Memoirs of the Baron XX. Chap. 2, on the Art. GOVERNMENT of the Encyclopedia.

† See Edition of Geneva Articles, DROIT DE GENS, EPICUREENS, ECLECTIQUES.

catenation of Sophiſms. This perhaps might have given riſe to thoſe fears which Voltaire expreſſes in his correſpondence with D'Alembert, leſt this edition ſhould not obtain the free circulation which he wiſhed for in France. Theſe fears, however, were ill grounded, for it became the moſt common in uſe; but at that period, that is to ſay, in 1773, the Conſpirators had begun the inundation of thoſe Antimonarchical Writings from the ſecret academy, which the ſlighteſt examination will prove to have had no other tendency, as Le Roi has ſince declared, than to overthrow religion, morals, and *government*, and particularly thoſe governments where the chief power is inveſted in the Monarch.

Concert of the Sophiſters againſt every government exiſting.

In order to ſhow their concert on this laſt object as we have on the other two, let us ſuppreſs, if poſſible, the indignation which muſt naturally ariſe on reciting the leſſons of the Sophiſters. Let us ſay to all ſubjects of Monarchies, to all ſubjects of Ariſtocracies, and even of all Republicans not as yet jacobinized, 'If you tremble at the ſight of revolutions which menace your government, learn at leaſt to know the ſect which prepares theſe revolutions by means of the principles which it artfully inſinuates.'

All religions and all governments are equally doomed to deſtruction by the Sophiſters. They wiſh to eſtabliſh every where a new order of things both in church and ſtate. We ſee them all, or nearly all, teaching us, that there ſcarcely exiſts a ſingle ſtate on the whole globe where the rights of the equal and ſovereign people are not moſt intolerably infringed. If we are to believe their writings and aſſertions, almoſt literally repeated by a ſwarm of theſe Sophiſters, "ignorance, "fear, chance, folly, ſuperſtition, and the imprudent "gratitude of nations, have every where directed the "eſtabliſhment as well as the reformation of govern-"ments." Theſe have been the ſole origin of all ſocieties, and of all empires which have exiſted until the preſent day. Such is the aſſertion of the *Social Syſtem* which the ſecret academy publiſhed as a Continuation of the Social Contract of Jean Jaques; ſuch are the leſſons taught *in the Eſſay on Prejudices*, which they gave to the public under the ſuppoſed name of Dumarſais; ſuch again is the doctrine of the *Oriental Deſpotiſm* which they attributed to Boulanger; ſuch in fine are the principles of the *Syſtem of Nature*, which Diderot,

with the chosen of the elect, after having given it existence, so carefully seek to circulate.*

Jean Jaques, teaching *that man is born free, and yet that he is every where in chains*, asks *how this happens;* and answers, that *he is ignorant.*† His disciples of the secret academy were become either more learned or more daring.

The most moderate of these Sophisters, or at least those who under the standard of the Œconomist Du Quesnay wished to appear so, did not give the people a more flattering account of the origin or of the present state of their governments. "It must be owned," they tell us by the insipid pen of Dupont, "that the "generality of nations still remain victims of an infi- "nitude of crimes and calamities, which could not "have happened if a well-conducted study on the law "of nature, on moral justice and on real and true "politics, had enlightened the majority of intellects. "Here prohibitions are extended even to thought; there "nations misled by the ferocious love of conquest, sac- "rifice the stock of which they stand most in need for "the cultivation of their lands, to these plans of usur- "pation. Men are torn from their half-inhabited de- "serts, and the scattered riches which had been spar- "ly sown are seized for the purpose of shedding the "blood of neighbouring states, and of multiplying else- "where other deserts. On one side on the oth- "er Elsewhere Elsewhere"

This sable picture is terminated by twenty or thirty lines of dots, leaving to the imagination of the reader to fill them up, or to tell us, as the gentle author will, "*Such is still the state of the world; such has always been* "*the state of our Europe, and nearly of the whole globe.*"‡

The reader will remark, that the men who broach such doctrines on Governments, and wish to instil them into the people, take care to insert them in those works which are peculiarly devoted to the instruction of country farmers. He will also remark how exactly they follow the steps of their master Jean Jaques. This latter, refusing to except England from the general sentence, that *man was every where in chains*, did not hesitate at

Particularly against the English government.

* See these works, particularly the Social System, Chap. 2 and 3, Vol. II.

† Chap. 1, Book I. Social Contract.

‡ Emphemerides du Citoyen, Vol. VII. Operations de L'Europe.

ſaying, " The people of England deceive themſelves " when they fancy they are free: they are ſo, in fact, " only during the interval between a diſſolution of one " Parliament and the election of another; for, as ſoon " as a new one is elected, *they are again in chains and loſe* " *all their virtue as a people.* And thus, by the uſe they " make of their few moments of liberty, they deſerve " to loſe it."*

Reflecting adepts would have queſtioned Jean Jaques to know how his equal and ſovereign people could enjoy a greater degree of Liberty than the Engliſh, and how it came to paſs that they were not as much enſlaved every where elſe as they were in their aſſemblies, ſince it was only in theſe aſſemblies that the people *could exerciſe their ſovereigty;* and in theſe aſſemblies even their ſovereignty was null, their acts were illegitimate and void unleſs they *had been convoked by the proper Magiſtrate;* ſince on all other occaſions the ſole duty of this ſovereign people was to obey?† But our paſſive adepts preferred viewing the Engliſh Government in the light of one that was to be cried down with the reſt. " Nations even that flatter themſelves with being the beſt " governed, ſuch as England, for example, *have no* " *further pleaſure* but that of perpetually ſtruggling a- " gainſt the Sovereign Power, and of rendering their " natural impoſts inadequate to the public expenditure. " —Of ſeeing both their preſent and future revenues, " the fortunes and manſions of their poſterity, in ſhort " of half their iſland, ſold and alienated by their re- " preſentatives, &c.—England at this price, too dear " by three fourths, forms a Republic, in which, luckily for her, *a couple of excellent laws* are to be found; " but as to her conſtitution, notwithſtanding all that " Monteſquieu has ſaid to the contrary, it does not ap- " pear much to be envied."‡

Our reſpect for that nation forbids us to continue our citations from this declamatory work.—What we have already quoted will ſuffice to ſhow how much the Sophiſters wiſhed by means of theſe ſcurrilous harangues to perſuade all nations, that, ſince the ſovereignty of the people was ſo ſtrangely violated even in England, and if it was neceſſary for her to overthrow her conſti-

* Social Contract, Chap. 15, Book III.
† Chap. 12 and 13, Book III.
‡ Dupont on the Republic of Geneva, Chap. IV.

tution to re-eſtabliſh the people in their rights, how much greater muſt be the neceſſity of a Revolution for all other nations being ther ſole hope of breaking their chains.

Hatred of the Sophiſters againſt all Kings.

This was only an indirect attack of the ſophiſters againſt Kings, under whoſe Government moſt nations live. Nor muſt the reader expect to ſee Philoſophiſm circumſcribing its effects to render every throne odious, within the narrow ſphere of commenting on the ſeditious parts of Monteſquieu, Jean Jaques, or Voltaire.

Helvetius and many others.

Monteſquieu had repreſented prejudice as the prime mover of Monarchies. He had declared that it was very difficult for *a people to be virtuous* under that form of Government. Helvetius, ſallying forth from his ſecret academy, and carry theſe principles to greater lengths, exclaims, "The true *Monarchy* is no more than a Conſtitution invented *to corrupt the morals of nations and to enſlave them*; witneſs the Romans when they gave a King or a Deſpot to the Spartans and Britons."*

Jean Jaques had taught nations, that if *the authority of Kings* came from God, it was by the ſame channel through which *ſickneſs* and other public ſcourges came.† —Raynal follows him to inform us, that "*theſe Kings are wild beaſts who devour nations.*"‡ A third Sophiſter preſents himſelf who tells us, all "*your Kings are the firſt executioners of their ſubjects; and force and ſtupidity were the founders of their thrones.*"§—Another tells us, "Kings are like Saturn in the Heathen Mythology, who devours his own children;" others again ſay, "the Monarchical form of Government, placing ſuch great force in the hands of one man, muſt by its very nature tempt him to abuſe his power; and by that means, placing himſelf above the laws, he will exerciſe *Tyranny and Deſpotiſm*, which are the *two greateſt calamities that can befal a ſtate.*"‖ The moſt moderate of their declamations on Royalty ſuppoſes *too great a diſtance between the Sovereign and the Subject* for it ever to be looked upon as a wiſe Government;¶ and that if a King be abſolutely neceſſary, we

* Of man, note to Sect. 9, Vol. II.
† Emile, Vol. IV. and Social Contract.
‡ Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory, &c. Book XIX. Vol. IV.
§ Syſtem of Reaſon.
‖ See Eſſay on Prejudice, the Oriental Deſpotiſm, and Social Syſtem, Chap. 2 and 3. ¶ Ibid.

never ſhould forget, that he only ought to be *the firſt Commiſſioner of the nation.***

But this neceſſity grieved the Sophiſters to ſuch a degree, that, to make their countrymen triumph over it, they inceſſantly repeat that France is under the yoke of *Deſpotiſm, whoſe peculiar property is to debaſe the mind and degrade the ſoul;* that their country even, governed by Kings, can find no remedy for its *misfortunes* but in falling *a prey to a foreign enemy;* that as long as they are ſwayed by the ſcepter of Kings, "they are *invincibly* "and by the *very form of government brought down to* "*brutal degradation.* That it is in vain to diffuſe light "on *the French*, as it will only ſhow them the misfor- "tunes of Deſpotiſm without enabling them to with- "draw from its oppreſſion."

What they ſay to their countrymen they proclaim to all the nations of the earth. They have conſecrated whole volumes to perſuade them *that it is a puſillanimous fear alone that has created and ſtill maintains Kings on their thrones.** They proclaim to the Engliſh, the Span- Raynal.
iards, the Pruſſians, the Auſtrians, indiſcriminately with the French, *that the people are as much ſlaves in Europe as they are in America;* that the only advantage *they enjoy over the Negroes is, that they may leave one chain to take another.* They proclaim that the *inequality of power* in any ſtate whatever, and particularly the re-union of the ſupreme power in their chiefs, is *the height of folly;* that that ſpirit of *Liberty* and of *Independence* which cannot bear with a ſuperior, much leſs with Kings and Sovereigns, *is the inſtinct of nature enlightened by reaſon.* They brandiſh that *parallel ſword* which was to glide along the heads of Kings, and mow off thoſe which *roſe above the horizontal plane.*†

If nations, wiſe in experience, and deſpiſing the declamations of a ſeditious Philoſophiſm, ſought an aſylum under the protection of a King, or if to cruſh anarchy they had extended the authority of the Monarch, it was then that one might behold the adepts exclaiming in their rage, "at this humiliating ſight (of "a nation of the North, of Sweden, re-eſtabliſhing "the rights of its Monarch,) who is there that does "not aſk himſelf, *what then is man?* What is that pro-

** Helvetius on Man.

* See the Oriental Deſpotiſm in particular.

† See Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory, by Raynal, &c. Vol. III. and IV. *paſſim.*

" found and original ſenſe of dignity with which he is
" ſuppoſed to be endowed? Is he then born for inde-
" pendence or for ſlavery? What then is that ſilly flock,
" called a nation. Mean populace! ſilly flock! What,
" content to groan when you ought to roar? cowardly,
" ſtupid populace! ſince this perpetual oppreſſion gives
" you no energy—ſince you are millions, and, never-
" theleſs, ſuffer a dozen of children (called Kings) ar-
" med with little ſticks (called Scepters) to lead you
" as they pleaſe; obey, but ſubmit without importu-
" ning us with your complaints, and learn to be un-
" happy, if you don't know how to be free."†

Had every nation murdered its Sovereign at the time when Philoſophiſm broached ſuch doctrine, what would they have done more than practiſe the leſſons of the Sophiſters? When we ſee that it was the very leaders of the ſect who held ſuch language, an Helvetius or a Boulanger, a Diderot or a Raynal; when we know that it was thoſe very productions in which ſuch ſentiments were advanced that endeared them to the ſect, what can we ſuppoſe was the meaning of this concert, of this union of the moſt celebrated adepts? What could be their plans? Where did they aim their blows, if not at the Throne as well as the Altar? Was it not againſt them that their rage was conſtantly let looſe? What other Revolution did they meditate, if not that which buries the altar and the throne beneath the ruins of the ſtate?

I know what is incumbent on Hiſtory to add with reſpect to ſome of theſe Sophiſters, to Raynal for example. I know that when this adept beheld the Revolution, he ſhuddered at the ſight of its exceſſes, that he even ſhed tears; and that when he appeared at the bar of the new Legiſlators, he dared reproach them with having o'er-ſtepped the limits which Philoſophy had preſcribed. But this apparition of Raynal at the bar, or rather this comic ſcene which had been vainly prepared by the humbled and jealous Revolutioniſts, in oppoſition to the Revolutioniſts triumphant in their ſucceſſes, only furniſhes us with a new proof of the plots of the Sophiſters.—For it was in their name that Raynal dares addreſs the new Legiſlators, ſaying, 'That is not what we wiſhed for; you have broken through the Revolutionary line which we

† See Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory, by Raynal, &c. Vol. III. and IV. *paſſim*.

had traced.'† What can such language mean, and are we not authorized to answer the man who holds it, 'These rebels do not follow the line which you and your sages had traced for the Revolution! There was then a Revolution which you and your sages had meditated and planned. Are the plans of Revolutions against Kings carried on without the plots of rebellion? Could those Revolutions which you planned differ from those which your lessons on Liberty and Equality prognosticated! or, when you brand every nation which suffers itself to be governed by its lawful King, or which *contents itself with groaning when it ought to roar* against its Sovereign, with the appellation of *a silly flock of cowards*?—And when these nations begin to roar why should you complain? So far from having transgressed the bounds you had prescribed, our Legislative Jacobins have not yet attained the goal you had pointed out. The *parallel sword* has not yet glided over the heads of Kings; wait then till there shall not exist a single King upon earth; and even then, so far from having overshot your doctrines, Jacobinism will only have followed them to the very letter.'

† Let the reader consult the discourse he pronounced at the bar of the National Assembly, and he will find that the whole drift of his speech turns on those two lines. I know that this Sophister at his retreat near Paris wept bitterly on the excesses of the Revolution, that he threw the fault principally on the French Calvinists, and cried out, "It is those wretches, I see it clearly, "it is those men for whom I have done so much, that plunge "us into all these horrid scenes." These words were related to me by an Attorney-General of the Parliament of Grenoble on the very day he had heard them, and a few days before the famous 10th of August 1792. But what do such tears prove? Without doubt Raynal and his brotherhood did not wish for all those butcheries, the infamy of which he wishes to throw upon the Calvinists. But Raband de St. Etienne, Barnave, and the other Calvinists, whether deputies, actors, or leaders, were not the only men formed by his Philosophy. The masters wished for a Revolution after their fashion, but the disciples consummate it according to their own ideas. And by what right can those men who have formed the rebel, complain of the excesses, crimes, and atrocious deeds of his rebellion! Observe—We are told also, that in the end Raynal returned to his religion. He would be another great example to be added to La Harpe. If this be really the fact, if even those who have so greatly contributed to the Revolution by their impiety acknowledge that to return to that God they began by deserting, is the only means of expiating their crime, how culpable is it in those who, after having fallen a sacrifice to that Revolution, expose even in exile their impiety to public view! How unfortunate is it for them to be at once the victim of the Jacobin and the scandal of the Christian?

To such an answer, which Raynal so richly deserved, the National Assembly might have added, 'Before you complain, begin by thanking us for the justice we have rendered you. One of our members,* friendly to Philosophers like you, has represented to us the injustice of Kings whom you had set at defiance, he has shown us in your person the sacred liberty of Philosophy oppressed by Despotism. At the very name of Philosopher, we discovered our master, the worthy rival of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Jean Jaques, and of so many others, whose writings and concert hastened our successes. We have listened to the prayer of your friends, we have restored you to Liberty under the eye of that very King, whom you taught us to revile, go and peacefully enjoy the advantages of friendship, and of the decrees of the national assembly, while it will continue to run the course which you have marked out.'

Thus even the vain protestations of humiliated Philosophism, reduced to blush at the excesses naturally attendant on its doctrines, every thing in short concurs to demonstrate the existence of their Conspiracies.

But partial attacks of the adepts are not sufficient; the reader must behold them encouraging each other, pressing the execution of their plots, and the insurrection of the people against their Sovereigns. Let him hear the same Raynal convoking the adepts, and calling out to them, "Sages of the earth, *Philosophers of* ALL NATIONS, make those mercenary slaves blush who are always ready to exterminate their fellow-citizens at the command of their masters. Make nature and humanity rise in their souls against such a perversion of the social laws. Learn that *liberty is the gift of God*, but *authority the invention of man*. Bare to the light *those mysteries which encompass the universe with chains and darkness*; and may the people, learning how much their credulity has been imposed upon, avenge the glory of the human species."†

The art and solicitude with which the Sophisters seek to preclude Kings from the succour they might one day have drawn from the fidelity of their troops, is worthy of attention. We see in these discourses by what means the French army first imbibed those principles which have been so often and so successfully employed by the revolutionists to restrain and damp their courage and

* The honour of Raynal's recal was attributed to Mr. Malouet.
† Ibid. Vol. I.

their activity. We see how they succeeded in representing as rebels so many of their brethren, against whom humanity, nature, and the social laws, forbad them to turn their arms, though it were to defend the life and authority of their lawful Sovereign. We see these Sophisters bearing down all opposition, and preparing a free course for all the fury of that horde of rebels or of pretended patriots, that they might brandish, without fear, the hatchet and the pike. The reader may observe them disposing the armies meanly to betray their Sovereigns under the pretence of fraternizing with rebels and assassins.

To these villainous precautions, which destroyed in the rebels the fear of the Royal forces, let us add the pains they took to rob Kings of what support religion and Heaven itself might have given them, that affectation of extinguishing all remorse in rebellion, and of pointing out the God who protects Kings as an object of detestation. How could it be possible for us to mistake the double tendency of doctrines at once dictated by the phrenzy of rebellion and of impiety!

Diderot's doctrines on kings.

"It is only in a numerous, fixed, and civilized state "of society, that, wants daily multiplying, and interests differing, Governments have been obliged to "have recourse to laws, public forms of worship, and "uniform systems of religion. It is then that the governors of the people invoke that *fear of invisible powers, to restrain them, to render them docile, and to oblige them to live in peace.* It is thus that morality and policy form a part of the religious system. *Chiefs of nations*, often superstitious themselves, little acquainted with their own interests, or versed in sound morality, and blind to the real agents, believe they secure their own authority as well as the happiness and peace of society at large, by immerging their subjects in superstition, by threatening them with their invisible phantoms (of their divinity) and by treating them like children, who are quieted by means of fables and chimeras. Under the shadow of such surprizing inventions, and of which the chiefs themselves are often dupes, transmitting them from generation to generation, Sovereigns believe themselves excused from seeking any farther instruction. They neglect the laws, they enervate themselves in luxury, and are slaves to their caprices. They confide in the gods for the government of their people. They de-

" liver over the inſtruction of their ſubjects to prieſts " who are to render them very devout and ſubmiſſive, " and teach them from their earlieſt youth to tremble " both before the viſible and inviſible gods.

" It is thus that nations are kept in a perpetual awe " by their governors, and are only reſtrained by vain " chimeras. When the happineſs of man ſhall become " the object of real inveſtigation, it will be with *the* " *gods of heaven* that the reform muſt begin. *No good* " *ſyſtem of government can be founded on a deſpotic god ;* " *he will always make tyrants of his repreſentatives.*"

Is it poſſible to combine their attacks in a more villainous manner againſt the God of heaven and the powers of the earth ? Tyrants or Kings have invented a god, and this god and his prieſts ſupport alone the authority of theſe Kings and Tyrants. This perfidious aſſertion is perpetually repeated throughout the famous Syſtem of Nature, and this is the work which the ſecret academy diſſeminates with the greateſt profuſion. But neither Diderot nor his aſſociates will heſitate at going to much greater lengths, notwithſtanding the height to which they had carried their hatred in this famous ſyſtem. If we are to believe them, all the vices and crimes of Tyrants, the oppreſſion and misfortunes of the People, all originate in the attributes of the juſtice of the God of the Goſpel. That God of *vengeance*, ſo terrible to the wicked; that God, the *remunerator*, the conſolation, and the hope of the juſt man, is in the eyes of the Sophiſter *no more than a chimerical and capricious being, ſolely uſeful to Kings and Prieſts.* It is becauſe Prieſts are perpetually ſtunning both Kings and People with this God of *vengeance* and *remuneration* that Prieſts are wicked, Kings deſpotic and tyrannic, in ſhort the people oppreſſed. It is on that account, we ſee that *Princes even the moſt abjectly ſuperſtitious are no more than robbers ; too proud to be humane, too great to be juſt ;* and who are inventing for their own uſe a particular code of perfidy, violence, and treachery. It is on this account, that nations, degraded by ſuperſtition, will ſuffer *children*, or Kings *made giddy with flattery, to govern them with an iron rod.* With this God of vengeance and remuneration, *theſe children*, or fooliſh kings *transformed into gods, are maſters of the law. It lies in their breaſt to decide what is juſt or unjuſt.* With this God *their licentiouſneſs has no bounds, becauſe they are certain of impunity—Accuſtomed to no other fear*

but that of God, they act as if they had nothing to fear. This God of vengeance and remuneration is the cause *why history swarms with wicked and vicious potentates.**

In transcribing these short extracts, we have abridged prolix chapters tending to infuse that hatred for God and kings into the minds of the people, which animated the leading adepts. Nobody could better express to what degree he was inflamed by it than Diderot himself. We have seen Voltaire, in a moment of phrenzy, wishing to see the last Jesuit strangled with the entrails of the last Jansenist. The same frantic rage had inspired Diderot with the same idea on Priests and Kings; and it was well known in Paris, that in his fits of rage he would exclaim, Ah! *when then shall I see the last King strangled with the bowels of the last Priest!*†

The reader may be surprized at hearing that the System of Nature was not the most virulent production which the Club of Holbach had published to incite the people to rebellion and to persuade them to consider their Kings and Princes in no other light than as monsters to be crushed. The adept or adepts who had composed the *Social System* availed themselves of the impression Diderot's work had made. They are more reserved on Atheism, only to be more virulent against Kings. The object of this work is to persuade the people that they are the victims of a long state of warfare, which ended by throwing them under the yoke of Kings. But they were not to abandon all hope of breaking their chains, and even of loading their Kings with them, though they had been hitherto unsuccessful. There the imagination is worked upon, and the meanest subject is taught to say to his Sovereign, "We have pro- "ved the weakest, we have submitted to force; *but* "*should we ever become the strongest, we would wrest* "*that usurped power from you* whenever you exercised "it for our unhappiness. It is only by your attention "to our prosperity that you can make us forget *the in-* "*famous titles* by which you reign over us. *If we are* "*not strong enough to shake off the yoke we will only bear*

Inflammatory doctrines of other adepts.

* Ibid. Vol. II. Chap. 8.

† It is with regret that I recollect having been credibly informed, that in the north of Ireland the disaffected part of the inhabitants frequently gave as a toast, *May the guts of the last Bishop serve as a rope to strangle the last King.* If this be true, the reader will not be at a loss to know whence they imbibed their principles. T.

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"*it with horror.* You ſhall find an enemy in each of "your ſlaves, and every inſtant you ſhall tremble on the "thrones which you have unlawfully uſurped."*

Such menaces will certainly be looked upon as the laſt ſtage of their conſpiring fury. Nevertheleſs they ſound a higher tone; and, to teach nations to ſhudder at the very name of Monarchy, they roar like monſters.

Many years before the French Revolution their productions had teemed with every thing that a Petion, a Condorcet, or a Marat could have invented in their frantic rage againſt Sovereigns to excite the populace to bring the head of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. to the ſcaffold; ſince many years after having told us, *that truth and not politeneſs ſhould be the chief object of man*, to practiſe this doctrine they addreſs Kings, ſaying, "*Ye tigers, deified by other tigers, you expect to paſs to* "*immortality? Yes*, anſwer they, *but as objects of exe-* "*cration.*"†

With the ſame exceſs of phrenzy, commenting on the axiom,

Some lucky ſoldier was the firſt of Kings,

full of his Voltaire, like the Pythoneſs inſpired by the devil, from the ſummit of his fiery tripod the ſame adept, addreſſing himſelf to all nations, tells them, "Thouſands of executioners crowned with laurel and "wreaths of flowers, returning from their expeditions, "carry about in triumph an *idol* which they call *King*, "Emperor, Sovereign. They crown this idol and "proſtrate themſelves before it, and then, at the ſound "of inſtruments, and of repeated, ſenſeleſs and barbarous acclamations, they declare it in future to be "the *Sovereign Director* of all the bloody ſcenes which "are to take place in the realm, and to be *the firſt executioner of the nation.*"

Then ſwelling his cheſt, foaming at the mouth, and with haggard eyes he makes the air reſound with the following frightful utterance:

"*To the pretended maſters of the earth*, ſcourges of "mankind, illuſtrious tyrants of your equals, *Kings*, "*Princes*, *Monarchs*, *Chiefs*, *Sovereigns*, all you, in "fine, who, raiſing yourſelves on the throne, *and a-* "*bove your equals*, have loſt all *ideas of equality*, equity, "*ſociability* and truth; in whom *ſociability* and good-

* Social Syſtem, Chap. 1, Vol. II. † Ibid. note.

" neſs, the beginnings of the moſt common virtues, " have not even ſhown themſelves, I cite you all at the " tribunal of reaſon. If this miſerable globe, ſilently " moving through the etherial ſpace, drags away with " it millions of unhappy beings fixed to its ſurface, and " fettered with the bonds of opinion; if this globe, I " ſay, has been a prey to you, and if you ſtill continue " to devour this ſad inheritance, it is not to the wiſdom " of your predeceſſors, nor to the virtues of the firſt " inhabitants, that you are indebted for it; but *to ſtu-* " *pidity, to fear, to barbarity, to perfidy, to ſuperſtition.* " *Such are your titles.* I am not the perſon who pro- " nounces againſt you; it is the oracle of ages, it is " the annals of hiſtory which depoſe againſt you. Open " them, they will aſſuredly furniſh you with better in- " formation, and the numerous monuments of our " miſeries and of our errors will be proofs which neither " political pride nor fanaticiſm can controvert.

" Deſcend from your thrones, and, laying aſide both " ſcepter and crown, go and queſtion the loweſt of " your ſubjects; aſk him what *he really loves, and what* " *he hates the moſt:* he will undoubtedly anſwer, that " he really *loves but his equals, and that he hates his maſ-* " *ters.*"*

It is thus that, aſſuming every tone from that of the epigram, pamphlet, romance, ſyſtem, or tragic ſentence, to the declamations of enthuſiaſm, or the roaring of rage, Voltaire's and Monteſquieu's ſchool, ſo well deſcribed by Condorcet, had ſucceeded in inundating all France and all Europe with works naturally tending to efface from the earth the very memory of a King. Conſequences of theſe doctrines and their concert.

To place in their true light the intention and the concert of the Sophiſters, the Hiſtorian muſt never loſe ſight of the den from whence theſe productions were iſſued, and of the art with which and the men by whom they were ſpread from the palace to the cottage: By the Secret Society of the Hotel D'Holbach, in Paris; by the numerous editions in the provincial towns; by the hawkers in the country; by D'Alembert's office of inſtruction, and tutors, in wealthy families; and by the country ſchool-maſters in the villages, and among the workmen and day-labourers.† In their various attacks, let him remark the uniformity of their principles, of their ſentiments, and of their hatred; and let him par-

* Social Syſtem, page 7 and 8.
† See Vol. I. Chap. XVI.

ticularly remember, that the ſame authors who declaim moſt virulently againſt Kings, had already diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their hatred againſt religion. Should he heſitate at declaring the Sophiſters of impiety to be alſo the Sophiſters of rebellion; ſhould the very evidence of the conſpiracy lead him to doubt of its reality; in that caſe let us not refuſe to ſolve even the doubts of the hiſtorian, and may the very objections be turned into freſh demonſtrations!

New proofs drawn from the objections.

I feel that it may be objected to me, that my proofs differ in their nature from thoſe which I had chiefly drawn from the very correſpondence of the Conſpirators. In anſwer, it may be remarked, that if any cauſe of ſurprize exiſted, it would not be, that the letters of the Conſpirators made public ſhould contain nothing reſpecting the conſpiracy againſt Kings; but it would be, on the contrary, that they had furniſhed us with ſo much evidence. We may be ſurprized at the aſſurance of the editors of thoſe letters, who ſhow us Voltaire conjuring D'Alembert not to betray his ſecret on Kings, who ſhow us Voltaire panting after Republics; Voltaire bewailing the departure of thoſe adepts who were expounding the new catechiſm of Republican Liberty in Paris itſelf; Voltaire praiſed by D'Alembert for the art he diſplays in combating Kings or pretended Deſpots, and in preparing Revolutions and their boiſterous ſcenes; Voltaire, in fine, regretting that they were ſtill too diſtant for him to flatter himſelf with living to ſee them. It is this ſame correſpondence which points out D'Alembert furious at his *hands being tied*, and at not being able to deal the ſame blows on the pretended Deſpots as Voltaire did, but ſeconding him at leaſt with his wiſhes in this rebellious warfare. When all theſe letters were made public by Condorcet and the other editors in 1785, Lewis XVI. was ſtill on the throne, and the Revolution at ſome diſtance. They had reaſon to fear the diſcovery of their plots; and it is eaſy to ſee, that many of the letters had been ſuppreſſed. Moſt certainly Condorcet, and the other adepts, muſt have had even then a ſtrange confidence in their ſucceſs, not to have ſuppreſſed many more. Beſides, had theſe letters been entirely ſilent as to the Conſpiracy againſt Kings, could even that ſilence invalidate the avowals of Condorcet, and of ſo many other adepts? The ſame artifices, the ſame calumnies, the ſame wiſhes againſt the Throne being combined with

thoſe againſt the Altar, in the productions of the ſect, could that ſilence weaken the evidence of the common plot for the deſtruction of both?

But if theſe plots were ſo viſible, it will be ſaid, are not the Magiſtrates to be blamed for their negligence and ſilence? How was it poſſible that theſe Conſpirators could have eſcaped the ſeverity of the laws? Here it would be ſufficient to recal the favorite maxim of the Conſpirators, *Strike, but hide your hand!* It would ſuffice, were we merely to repeat Condorcet's words when, after having expoſed in the cleareſt terms, the double conſpiracy, the labors, and the concert of the Philoſophers againſt the Altar and the Throne, he adds, that "the *Chiefs* of the Philoſophers *always had the art of* "*eſcaping vengeance, though they expoſed themſelves to hatred; and of eſcaping perſecution, though ſufficiently conſpicuous to ſuffer no diminution of their glory.*"* But this ſilence of the Magiſtracy is a falſe imputation. The Conſpirators may have concealed themſelves from the tribunals, but the Conſpiracy was not on that account leſs evident to the ſight of the Magiſtracy; and juridical denunciations will give new force to our demonſtrations. If ſuch proofs are neceſſary for the Hiſtorian, let us tranſcribe the words of a moſt celebrated magiſtrate; let us hearken to Mr. Seguier, Attorney-General of the Parliament of Paris, denouncing on the 18th of Auguſt 1770 this very Conſpiracy of the Philoſophers.

Conſpiracy denounced by the Magiſtrates.

"Since the extirpation of hereſies which have diſ-"turbed the peace of the church," ſaid the eloquent Magiſtrate, "we have ſeen a ſyſtem riſing out of dark-"neſs, far more dangerous in its conſequences than "thoſe ancient errors, always cruſhed as faſt as they "appeared. *An impious and daring ſect has raiſed its* "*head in the midſt of us, and it has decorated its falſe wiſ-*"*dom with the name of Philoſophy.* Under this authori-"tative title its diſciples pretend to all knowledge. Its "ſectaries have taken upon themſelves to be the in-"ſtructors of mankind. *Liberty in thinking* is their "cry, and this cry has reſounded from the northern to "the ſouthern pole. *With one hand they have fought to* "*ſhake the Throne, and with the other to overturn the Al-*"*tar.* Their object is to aboliſh all belief, and to in-"ſtil new ideas into the mind of man on *civil and reli-*"*gious inſtitutions*; and this revolution may be ſaid to

* Above, Page 74.

" have taken place; the proſelytes of the ſect have " multiplied, and their maxims are ſpread far and wide. " *Kingdoms have felt their ancient baſis totter;* and na- " tions, ſurprized to find their principles annihilated, " have aſked each other, by what ſtrange fatality they " became ſo different from themſelves.

" Thoſe who by their talents ſhould have enlightened " their cotemporaries, have become the leaders of " theſe unbelievers; they have hoiſted the banner of " revolt, and have thought to add to their celebrity by " this ſpirit of independence; numberleſs obſcure " ſcribblers, unable to attain to celebrity by their abili- " ties, have had the ſame preſumption. In fine, reli- " gion can number nearly as many declared enemies, " as literature can boaſt of pretended Philoſophers. " *And Government ſhould tremble* at tolerating in its " boſom ſuch an inflammatory ſect of unbelievers, " whoſe ſole object appears to be to *ſtir up the people to* " *rebellion, under pretence of enlightening them.*"*

This formal denunciation of the double Conſpiracy of the Sophiſters was grounded on the peculiar attention which they paid to the propagation of their impious and regicide principles in their daily productions, and more particularly in thoſe which this great lawyer preſented to the Court as moſt deſerving of animadverſion.

Foremoſt among thoſe productions ſtood a work of Voltaire's, the honorary preſident of Holbach's club. It was one of the moſt impious of all, and bore the title of " *God and Men.*" The ſecond, *Chriſtianity Unveiled*, had been written by Damilaville, a zealous adept of that club. The third, the pretended *Critical Examination*, was publiſhed by this ſame club under the name of Freret, as the repenting Secretary *Le Roi* declared. The fourth was the famous *Syſtem of Nature* written by Diderot, and two others of this ſecret academy. So true it is, that moſt of that peſtilential blight both of Impiety and Rebellion which has overſpread the greateſt part of Europe, proceeded from that den of Conſpirators.†

" From theſe different productions," continued the Magiſtrate, " a ſyſtem of the moſt flagitious doctrine

* Suit of the 18th Auguſt 1770.

† There were alſo ſome few books tranſlated from the Engliſh: But ſuch only as are caſt aſide with abhorrence in England for their impiety; that however was the greateſt of all recommendations with Voltaire and the club.

" may be collected, which *invincibly proves*, that their " propoſed object is not to deſtroy the Chriſtian Reli- " gion only—Impiety has not limited its plans of in- " novation ſolely to its dominion over the minds of " men. *Its reſtleſs and enterprizing genius, averſe to all* " *dependence, aſpires at the overthrow of every political* " *inſtitution, and its wiſhes will only then be fulfilled when* " *it ſhall have thrown the Legiſlative and Executive Pow-* " *ers into the hands of the People, when it ſhall have de-* " *ſtroyed the neceſſary inequality of ranks and ſtations,* " *when it ſhall have reviled the Majeſty of Kings, and* " *have rendered their authority precarious and dependent on* " *the caprice of a blind multitude; when, in fine, by theſe* " *aſtoniſhing changes, it ſhall have immerſed the whole* " *world in the horrors of Anarchy with all its concomitant* " *evils.*"

To theſe denunciations of the public Magiſtrate may be added thoſe of the general aſſemblies of the Clergy, thoſe of a great many Biſhops in their paſtoral letters, thoſe, in ſhort, of the Sorbonne and of every religious orator or author, who never ceaſed refuting the Sophiſters of the day, whether in their theſes, their writings, or from the pulpit. It would be vain to ſay, that theſe denunciations were only made by people ſeeking to ſtrengthen their own cauſe by confounding it with that of Kings. But are we not to hearken to an adverſary even, when he ſpeaks for us as well as for himſelf, and when he produces proofs. It would be imprudence in the extreme not to hearken, and even ſecond him, when he comes and ſays, ' You are leagued with my greateſt enemies, but they are equally yours; I fore- warn you of their hoſtile intentions; and if they have conſpired againſt me, it is only to aſcertain the ſucceſs of the plots they have formed againſt you.'* It would have been eaſy to diſcriminate, whether the Clergy denouncing theſe conſpiracies were actuated by ſelf-intereſt or the love of truth; a ſlight examination of the proofs adduced in teſtimony of their denunciations would have ſufficed. Theſe proofs were all drawn from the productions of the ſect, from productions replete with ſarcaſtic declamation and calumny againſt Sovereigns, with invitations to the people to rebellion, ſow-

* See the acts of the Aſſemblies of the Clergy, 1770. The paſtoral letters of Mr. de Beaumont, archbiſhop of Paris. The ſermons of Pere Neuville, the works of the Abbé Bergier and of many others.

ing in the ſame page the ſeeds of Anarchy with thoſe of Impiety. And theſe were evidently the two-fold productions of the ſame men, of the ſame academy of authors, of the ſame conſpirators. Were not the Clergy then authorized to point out theſe ſame Sophiſters as brandiſhing the torch, on one ſide to ſpread the blaze throughout the temple, on the other to kindle the flames which were to reduce the royal crown and ſceptre to aſhes?* Might they not be ſaid to have conſpired more deſperately againſt the throne than againſt the altar, and might not the latter conſpiracy have been merely a preparatory ſtep to the completion of the former? So far then from excluding the deſtruction of the Throne from their wiſhes, and confining them to the overthrow of Religion, ſay that to overturn Government was their chief object: Examine and compare their doctrines, behold their concert, their conſtancy, their aſſurance, and then candidly pronounce.

Teſtimony of the King of Pruſſia.

But the evidence of the Clergy ſhall, if it be required, be thrown aſide as ſuſpicious, though it is now too late to attaint it with falſhood. Will the teſtimony of a man who certainly had every reaſon to ſpare the ſect be alſo thrown aſide? I have heard it aſked, How it was poſſible, ſince the Sophiſters were ſaid to have conſpired againſt the throne, that Frederick II. the Royal Sophiſter, could have been deceived by and could have leagued during ſo long a time with the ſworn enemies of his throne, in ſhort with the Sophiſters of Rebellion? But ſuch an objection will only ſerve to throw new light on the Conſpiracy. Let the Royal Sophiſter be the accuſer, let him cover his Sophiſtical Maſters with ridicule. The inveteracy of his hatred againſt religion, his protection of the irreligious Encyclopediſts, all his conduct in ſhort, will corroborate his teſtimony when he paints theſe Sophiſters as empty ſages conſpiring equally againſt the altar and the throne. And the time came when Frederick II. perceived that his dear Philoſophers, by initiating him into their myſteries of Impiety, had let him into but half their ſecret; that by employing his power to cruſh Chriſt, they had planned the deſtruction of his throne and the extirpation of Monarchy. Frederick was not the repenting adept, like the unhappy Le Roi, for

* The burning of the crown and ſceptre, with the other attributes of ſovereignty, has been one of the favorite ceremonies of the Revolutionary Agents. In France the crown and ſceptre, at Venice and Genoa the chair and golden book were burnt. T.

his ſoul was too deeply immerſed in impiety; but he was certainly aſhamed of having been ſo ſtrangely duped. Indignation and revenge ſucceed his admiration, and he bluſhes at having been ſo intimate with men who had made him their tool to undermine that power which he was moſt jealous of preſerving.

He became the public accuſer of thoſe very Encyclopedifts who owed the greateſt part of their ſucceſs to his protection. He warned Kings, that the grand object of thoſe Sophiſters, was to deliver them over to the multitude, and to teach nations *that ſubjects may exerciſe the right of depoſing their Sovereign when they are diſpleaſed with him.** He gives notice to the Kings of France, that their Conſpiracy is more particularly aimed at them.

The denunciation is clearly and formally expreſſed in the following terms: " *The Encyclopediſts reform all* " *Governments. France* (according to their plans) *is to* " *form a great Republic, and a Mathematician is to be its* " *Legiſlator.*—Mathematicians will govern it, and work " all the operations *of the new Republic* by fluxions.— " *This Republic* is to live in perpetual peace, and ſup- " port itſelf without an army."

This ironic and ſarcaſtic ſtyle was by no means in Frederick's natural diſpoſition. The repute of the pretended wiſdom of the Sophiſters had given weight to the adepts, and contributed to the ſeduction of the people; and contempt was the moſt powerful weapon that could be employed againſt them. It is on this account that he repreſents theſe pretended ſages as puffed up with their own merits and their ridiculous pride. But whatever may be his ſtyle, it is to guard Kings and Nations againſt their plots that he writes. " The Encyclopediſts," ſays he, " are a ſet of pretended Philoſophers who have late- " ly ſtarted into exiſtence. They look upon themſelves " as ſuperior to every ſchool which antiquity has pro- " duced. *To the effrontery of the Cynic* they add the *im-* " *pudence* of uttering every parodox their brain can in- " vent. They are a ſet of *preſumptuous* men, who never " will own themſelves to be in the wrong. According " to their principles, the ſage can never be miſtaken, he " is the only enlightened perſon: It is from him that the " light emanates which is to diſſipate the dreary dark- " neſs into which the ſilly and blind multitude have

* See Refutation of the Syſtem of Nature by the King of Pruſſia.

" been deluded. And God knows how they enlighten " them. At one time it is by unfolding the *origin of* " *Prejudices*, at another, it is by a book *on the Mind*, or " a *Syſtem of Nature*; in ſhort, there is no end to them. " A ſet *of puppies*, whether from faſhion or an air they " aſſume, call themſelves their diſciples. They affect " to copy them, and take upon themſelves to be the " Deputy Governors of Mankind!"

While painting in ſuch colours the pretenſions and ridiculous pride of both Maſters and Scholars, Frederick declares that *the madhouſe* would be their moſt proper habitation, *where they might legiſlate over their crazy equals*; or elſe, to ſhow the ignorance of their ſyſtems, and what innumerable diſaſters they would engender, he wiſhes " that ſome province which deſerved *a ſevere* " *puniſhment* ſhould be delivered over to them. Then " they would learn, ſays he, by experience, after hav- " ing thrown every thing topſy turvy, that they were a " ſet of ignorant fellows; they would learn that to " criticize is eaſy, but that the art of criticiſm is diffi- " cult; and above all, that no one is ſo apt to *talk non-* " *ſenſe as he that meddles with what he does not under-* " *ſtand.*"*

Frederick, in ſupport of regal authority, would ſometimes lay aſide his epigrammatic ſtyle and think it incumbent on him to condeſcend to the refutation of the groſs calumnies which his Sophiſtical Maſters had invented againſt the throne. It is thus that we ſee him refuting the Syſtem of Nature and the *Eſſay on Prejudice*, which latter the ſecret academy had publiſhed under the name of Dumarſais. There he principally devotes himſelf to expoſing the cunning of the Sophiſters; he ſhows with what wicked art the Conſpirators, calumniating the Sovereigns and the Pontiffs, only ſeek to inſtigate the hatred of all nations againſt them. Among others we may diſtinguiſh the author of the Syſtem of Nature, who in an eſpecial manner has undertaken to diſparage all Sovereigns. " *I can venture to aſſert*," he ſays, " *that the Clergy have never ſpoken to Princes all* " *that nonſenſe* which the author pretends. If ever they " may have repreſented Kings as the images of the " Deity, it was doubtleſs only in an hyperbolical ſenſe, " to guard them by the compariſon againſt any abuſe " of their authority, and to warn them to be juſt and

* See Refutation of the Syſtem of Nature, by the King of Pruſſia:

" benificent, that they may imitate the general attri-
" butes given to the Deity by all nations. The author
" has dreamed, that treaties have been made between
" the Sovereign and the Eccleſiaſtic, in which Princes
" had agreed to honour and ſanction the power of the
" Clergy provided the latter preached ſubmiſſion to the
" people. I will venture to affirm, that this is a ſhal-
" low invention, and that nothing could be more ridic-
" ulous or void of foundation, than the ſuppoſition of
" ſuch a fact."*

Though Frederick expreſſes himſelf thus on the Eccleſiaſtics, ſtill the reader is not to ſuppoſe him more favourable to their cauſe. On the contrary, his Antichriſtian prejudices blind him to ſuch a degree, that he does not ſo much blame the Sophiſters for attacking Religion, as for having done it unſkilfully; he even points out the weapons with which he wiſhes it had been aſſailed. But the more inveterate his hatred againſt Chriſtianity, the more demonſtrative are the proofs he alledges againſt thoſe from whom he had imbibed it, and of their plots againſt the throne. He pardons their attack upon the altar, he even ſupports their advances, but he defends the throne. At length however he diſcovered and was convinced, that from the Conſpiracy againſt the Altar the Sophiſters paſſed to that againſt the Throne. It is this latter Conſpiracy which he wiſhes to lay open; and it is with theſe latter plots that he charges the whole ſchool in the perſon of Diderot, when he ſays, " The true ſentiments of the Author,
" on Governments, are only to be diſcovered toward
" the end of his work. It is there that he lays down
" as a principle that ſubjects ought to enjoy *the right*
" *of depoſing their Sovereigns* when diſpleaſed with them.
" And it is *to effectuate this* that he is perpetually cry-
" ing out againſt great armies, which would prove too
" powerful an obſtacle to his deſigns. A perſon would
" be tempted to think, it was Fontaine's fable of the
" Wolf and the Shepherd that he was reading. If
" ever the viſionary ideas of our Philoſophers could be
" realized, it would *be neceſſary to new-mould every Gov-*
" *ernment in Europe*, which would be a mere trifle. It
" would be neceſſary again, though perhaps impoſſible,
" that *ſubjects ſetting up as the judges* of their maſters
" ſhould be wiſe and equitable; that thoſe who aſpired

* See Refutation of the Syſtem of Nature, by the King of Pruſſia.

" to the crown ſhould be free from ambition ; and that " neither intrigue, cabal, nor the ſpirit of independence " ſhould prevail."*

Nothing could have been more maſterly applied in theſe obſervations than the compariſon of the Wolf and the Shepherd. Frederick perfectly comprehended that the object of theſe declamatory repetitions of the ſect againſt the vain-glory of war, was not ſo much to inſtil the love of peace into the minds of the Sovereign, as to deprive him of the neceſſary forces to repreſs that rebellious ſpirit which Philoſophiſm ſought to infuſe *into* the people. He overlooked all thoſe common truths on the miſeries of war, which the Sophiſters deſcribed, as if ſolely capable of deſcribing them; but when he clearly perceived their plots, the hatred he conceived for the ſect made him dedicate his talents to counteract the Philoſophiſts in his own ſtates, and to render them elſewhere as contemptible as he judged them dangerous.

It was then, that he compoſed *thoſe Dialogues of the Dead*, between Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Lichtenſtein, in which he particularly developes the ignorance of the *Encyclopediſts* ; their abſurd pretenſion of governing the univerſe after their own new-fangled doctrines ; and, above all, their plan for aboliſhing the Monarchical form of Government, and of beginning by the ſubverſion of the throne of Bourbon to transform France into a Republic.

At that period it was in vain for Voltaire or D'Alembert to ſolicit his protection for any of the adepts. Frederick would anſwer in *a dry and laconic ſtyle*, ' Let the ſcribblers of the ſect go and ſeek a refuge in Holland, *where they may follow the ſame trade with ſo many of their equals.*' His indignation and contempt was expreſſed in ſuch ſtrong terms, that D'Alembert often thought it neceſſary to ſoften the expreſſions in his correſpondence with Voltaire.†

Then it was that D'Alembert perceived the *great miſtake* which Philoſophiſm had committed in re-uniting the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power againſt them. It was then that Diderot and his co-operators in *the Syſtem of Nature* were nothing more than a ſet of *blunderheads*. Then it was that Frederick loſt his title of *Solomon of the North*, and D'Alembert depicts him as a *peeviſh man*, or

* See Refutation of the Syſtem of Nature, by the King of Pruſſia.

† Letter of D'Alembert to Voltaire, 27th December 1777.

as a ſick perſon whom the Philoſophers might accoſt as Chatillon does Nereſtan :

My Lord, if thus it is, your favour's vain.

" Beſides, he ſays, Mr. Deliſle (the adept who was " recommended and ſo ill received) might not have " been happy in the place we wiſhed to procure for " him (to attend on the King of Pruſſia.) *You know as* " *well as I do what a maſter he would have had to do* " *with.*"* As to Voltaire, who was equally in diſgrace, he conſoles himſelf by writing to D'Alembert, " What can we do, my dear friend ; we muſt take " Kings as they are and God too."†

It is worthy of remark, that neither D'Alembert nor Voltaire ſeek to deceive Frederick as to the double Conſpiracy which he attributed to their ſchool. Silence, it is to be ſuppoſed, was judged the moſt prudent ; and it really was ſo for men ſenſible that Frederick might bring further proofs, which would only expoſe their plots in a clearer light, and that before they could exult in their completion.

However numerous the proofs may be that we have already adduced of the Conſpiracy againſt the Throne, whatever evidence may reſult from the wiſhes and the ſecret correſpondence of Voltaire and D'Alembert, whatever may be the combination of the Syſtems adopted by the ſect, on one ſide throwing the authority of the laws into the hands of the people to conſtitute the Monarch the Slave of the multitude ; on the other eraſing the very name of King from the governments of the earth ; however inconteſtible the object of thoſe writings, all, or nearly all, iſſued from the ſecret academy of the Sophiſters may be,‡ all breathing hatred to Kings and annihilation to the Throne as well as to the Altar ; whatever may be the force which the declarations of the penitent adepts, or of the accomplices exulting in their

* Letter 24th January 1778.

† Letter, 4th January 1778.

‡ After ſuch a variety of proofs, and the declaration of the adept Le Roi reſpecting the hiding-place of the Sophiſters at the Hotel d'Holbach, it would be uſeleſs for us to ſeek any further teſtimonies. Nevertheleſs, we think it incumbent on us to ſay, that ſince the publication of the firſt volume we have met with ſeveral people, who without being acquainted with all the particulars that we have given, knew the chief object of that meeting to have been the contriving and forwarding of the double conſpiracy. I met with an Engliſh Gentleman in particular, who

ſucceſſes, may add to our demonſtrations; however authentic the evidence of the public tribunals may be, denouncing to the whole univerſe the Conſpiracy of the Sophiſters againſt Monarchy: In ſhort, however aggravating the indignation and denunciations of the royal adept againſt his former maſters of impiety (reduced as he is to tear off their maſk, to preſerve his own throne) may be for the conſpiring Sophiſters, ſtill theſe are only the beginning of the proofs which the Hiſtorian may hereafter collect from our Memoirs. We ſtill have many gradations of the conſpiracy to inveſtigate, and each ſtep will add new force to our demonſtrations.

heard the academician Duſaux poſitively aſſert, that the major part of thoſe books, which have operated ſo great a change in the minds of the people with reſpect to Monarchy and Religion, had been compoſed in that club of the Hotel d'Holbach. And certainly the teſtimony of Mr. Duſaux, a man ſo intimately connected with the Sophiſtical Authors of the Revolution, is as much to be depended upon at leaſt as that of the repentant or exulting adepts of the ſect.

CHAP. VI.

Fifth Step of the Conſpiracy againſt Kings.—The Democratic Eſſay at Geneva.

AT the very time when Frederick II. was denouncing this impious ſect (which he had heretofore protected with ſo much tenderneſs) as inimical to all authorities, he was far from being acquainted with the real depth of their plans. It is chiefly to Voltaire that we ſee him complain of the temerity of thoſe philoſophers againſt whom he was obliged to defend his Throne;* and that at a time when Voltaire and the other Encyclopedian adepts, more particularly the Œconomiſts, were making the firſt eſſay that ever was made of the ſyſtems of the ſect.

Government of Geneva before the Revolution of 1770.

Geneva, that town where none but a few *beggarly fellows* believed in Chriſtianity,† had been choſen for this firſt eſſay. The democracy which Calvin had eſtabliſhed in that Republic was not in uniſon with their new rights of man. They beheld the people ſubdivided into different claſſes. The firſt claſs was that of citizens or burgeſſes, and comprehended the deſcendants of the ancient Geneveſe, or thoſe received into this claſs, and it was from among them alone, that the councils and other officers of the Republic were choſen. They particularly had their vote in the general council. Three other claſſes had been formed of thoſe who were more recently annexed to the Republic, or who had never been incorporated into the claſs of citizens. Theſe were the natives, the mere inhabitants of the town, and the ſubjects. All theſe could, under the protection of the Republic, with very few exceptions, follow their divers trades and profeſſions, acquire and cultivate lands, &c. but were excluded from the councils and principal dignities of the Republic.

However odious ſuch diſtinctions may have appeared to the Sophiſters, nevertheleſs the man who appeals to ſound judgment and real principles will eaſily agree, that a Republic, or any State enjoying Sovereignty, has a right to admit new inhabitants on certain conditions

* Letter to Voltaire, 7th July 1770, and Correſpondence of Voltaire and D'Alembert, 1770. † III. Part. page 20.

which may be juſt and oftentimes neceſſary, without eſtabliſhing on that account a perfect equality between the real and the adoptive children of the State. He who aſks to be admitted knows the conditions of his admiſſion, and the exceptions he is expoſed to. He was perfectly free to accept, to refuſe, or to ſeek an aſylum elſewhere; but certainly, having once accepted and admitted of theſe exceptions, he has no further right to create diſturbances in the Republic, on pretence that, all men being equal, the adoptive child is entitled to the ſame privileges as the ancient children of the State.

But ſuch ſelf-evident principles were not conſonant with thoſe of the ſect. Even Voltaire had laid them aſide. From the perpetual repetition of his Liberty and Equality applied to religion, he had adopted the ſame doctrine with reſpect to politics. At the diſtance of ſix miles he had long ſince been obſerving the feuds which had ariſen between the citizens and the magiſtrates, and thought that by working a political revolution there, he might add new laurels to thoſe which he had gained by the religious revolution in which he ſo much gloried.

Parts acted by Voltaire and the other Sophiſters.

Hitherto theſe diſputes between the magiſtrates and the citizens had been confined to the interpretation of certain laws, and of the conſtitution. The natives, and other claſſes who were excluded from the legiſlative power, were only ſpectators of the quarrel, when Voltaire and the other Sophiſters judged this a favorable moment to change the very conſtitution of the Republic, and to make an eſſay of their new Syſtems of Liberty and Equality, of the Legiſlative and Sovereign people.

All Europe is acquainted with the troubles which agitated Geneva from the year 1770 till 1782. The public prints were filled with accounts of the diſordered ſtate into which the conſtitution of Geneva had been thrown; but the public prints have been entirely ſilent as to the part which the Sophiſters took in it, and which it will be the particular object of our Memoirs to reveal. We ſhall lay open thoſe intrigues and ſecret artifices, by which they hoped to eſtabliſh an abſolute Democracy according to the ſyſtem of Jean Jaques Rouſſeau.

To form a ſound judgment on theſe occult dealings, let men be queſtioned who, preſent on the ſpot, were

capable of obſerving, and who acted the part of real citizens. Such has been the plan that we have adopted, and ſuch inquiries will atteſt the authenticity of the accounts which we have followed.

Moſt certainly the ſyſtems of Jean Jaques, their countryman, firſt gave riſe to the pretenſions of the natives or inhabitants of Geneva to the legiſlative power. They were ſtimulated by the inſinuations of Voltaire and of the other adepts who flocked to ſecond him.

The part which Voltaire acted was, on one ſide to encourage the citizens in their diſputes with the magiſtrates, whilſt on the other he would inſinuate to the natives and inhabitants that they had rights to aſſert againſt the citizens themſelves. He would invite firſt one party, then the other to his table, and to each he broached the ſentiments which he wiſhed to inſtil into them. To the citizens he would urge, that their legiſlative power abſolutely made the magiſtrates dependent on them; and he would perſuade the natives or inhabitants, that living in the ſame Republic and ſubject to the ſame laws, the equality of nature aſſimilated their rights to thoſe of citizens; that the time was come when they ſhould ceaſe to be ſlaves, or to obey laws which they had not made; that they were no longer to be victims of ſuch odious diſtinctions, or ſubject to taxes diſgraceful, inaſmuch as they were levied without their having conſented to them.

Such inſinuations acquired new vigour from the numerous pamphlets flowing from the fertile pen of the Premier Chief. Under the name of a Geneveſe he publiſhed the *Republican Ideas*, which will always bear teſtimony of his hatred for Kings, and ſhow how much ground Republican Liberty had gained in his heart as he advanced in years.

As to this hatred, he expreſſes it in the above pamphlet, by ſaying, " There never yet has exiſted a perfect " government, becauſe men are prone to their paſſions. " —*The moſt tolerable, without doubt, is the Republican,* " *becauſe, under that form, men approach the neareſt to the* " *equality of nature.* Every father of a family ſhould be " maſter in his own houſe, but is to have no power over " the houſe of his neighbour. Society being an aggre- " gate of many houſes, and of many lands belonging " to them, *it would be* a contradictory propoſition to " pretend that *one man* ſhould have the ſole dominion

" over all thoſe houſes and lands; *and it is natural, that* " *each maſter ſhould have his vote for the general welfare of* " *ſociety.*"*

This article alone was ſufficient to incite the Geneveſe to revolt, particularly the natives and others who had acquired lands under the dominion of the Republic. He told them, that to deprive them of the right of voting was to rob them of a natural right inherent to them. But to expreſs himſelf in ſtill clearer terms, the true diſciple of Monteſquieu and Jean Jaques, he repeats their fundamental tenets; he tells the Geneveſe, " that " civil government *is the will of* ALL, executed by *one* " or *many*, by virtue of *laws which* ALL *have enacted.*"† With reſpect to finance, it is well known, that it is the right of the citizens to regulate and determine what is to be granted for the expences of the State.‡

It was not poſſible to tell all thoſe, who lived under the Geneveſe dominion without having voted at the enacting of the laws, or at the impoſition of the taxes,

* Republican Ideas, No. 43. Edit. of Kell. † Ibid. No. 13.

‡ Ibid. No. 42. Many people cannot conceive that Voltaire could have fallen into ſuch Democracy. Let them read his latter works with attention, and particularly thoſe from which we have made the above extracts, and they will find that he is even violent againſt the diſtinction of *Noble* (he who holds lands by knights ſervices) and *Roturier* (who holds lands in ſoccage.) He even declares the origin and real ſignification of theſe two words to be no other than Lord and Slave.

Let them read *his Commentary on the Spirit of Laws*, and they will ſee in what a light he viewed that nobility, among whom he nevertheleſs numbered ſo many admirers, and to whom he was ſo much indebted for the propagation of his Philoſophiſm. Is it not hatred which makes him ſay in this Commentary, " I " could wiſh that the author (Monteſquieu,) or any other writer " poſſeſſing ſuch abilities, had explained more clearly why *the* " *nobility* are eſſential to the Monarchical form of government. " One ſhould rather be tempted to believe, that it was the ef- " fence of the Feudal Syſtem, as in Germany, or of Ariſtocracy " as at Venice." (No. 111.)

To us it appears, that, whether young or old, Voltaire often confounds all his ideas. The idea of nobility, in general, re-repreſents to us the children of men diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices either civil or military, forming a body in the ſtate whoſe ſentiments and education, whoſe very intereſt, often fits them for thoſe employments which are at the diſpoſal of the Sovereign. Undoubtedly ſuch a diſtinction may take place without the Feudal Syſtems of the Germans, or the Ariſtocracy of the Venetians. It is poſſible indeed to conceive a Monarchy without a body of nobility; but moſt certainly ſuch a diſtinction greatly tends to form a body of men more attached to the Monarch, and very uſeful to the State in thoſe ſtations for which the general education of the multitude can ſeldom be a ſuitable preparative.

that they were bound by no tie under their preſent government, and that no government could exiſt for them until the ancient conſtitution was overthrown. Let the reader judge what an impreſſion ſuch writings muſt have made, profuſely ſpread about, and diſtributed with that art which we have ſeen Voltaire deſcribing, when he wiſhed to infuſe his venomous doctrines into the loweſt claſſes of the people.

But means ſtill more perfidious were made uſe of. The Sophiſters have been ſeen extolling the generoſity of their Premier; and, as a proof, they cite the multitude of Geneveſe artizans who taking refuge at Ferney found a new country and protection in Voltaire's little province, and partook ſufficiently of his riches to continue their trades and ſupport their families. But when we interrogate thoſe who on the ſpot could obſerve the ſecret motives of ſuch a perfidious generoſity, we hear them anſwer, "Voltaire, it is true, has been in ſome ſort the founder of Ferney, of a new town; but they will add, how did he people it, if it was not with thoſe factious citizens whom he had ſtirred up againſt their country, and which he reunites at Ferney and Verſoi to form a focus of inſurrection, which was to force the unhappy Republic, by the deſertion of its natives and inhabitants, to receive the law from the Sophiſters, and to ſubſtitute their ſyſtems to the ancient laws of the Republic?"

Notwithſtanding all theſe means and intrigues, the levelling ſect had other agents who forwarded the revolution at Geneva. It had already acquired that Clavière, who was hereafter to contine his revolutionary career at Paris; it had acquired a ſort of petty Syeyes in the perſon of Berenger, and a true firebrand in Segère; but above all it gloried in ſeeing a French magiſtrate leaving his country, and laying aſide the comely habit of the bench for the filthy round head of the Jacobin. This was Mr. de Servan, that Attorney-General of Grenoble, whom Voltaire in his correſpondence with D'Alembert repreſents as one of the *greateſt proficients* in modern philoſophy, and as one of thoſe who had chiefly *forwarded its progreſs*. It is remarkable, that this letter bears date the 5th of November 1770, the very year of the Geneveſe Revolution. Like a true apoſtle of Liberty and Equality, Mr. Servan had hurried away to Geneva to unite his efforts to thoſe of Voltaire. But Philoſophiſm had not confined its ſuccours

Meſſ. Servan and Bovier.

to his talents and reputation alone. An attorney of the name of Bovier of the ſame parliament, powerfully aided it with his pen. He appeared with all the arms of Sophiſtry. Whilſt the other adepts were ſtirring up, in their clubs and private companies, the citizen againſt the magiſtrate, and the native and inhabitant againſt the citizen, Bovier, to raiſe his conſtitution of Equality from the midſt of diſcord and civil broils, pretends to aſſert the real rights of the ancient conſtitution, not to form a new one; and from antiquity alone he appears to draw all his arguments in favour of the Equality and Sovereignty of the People.

The moſt revolutionary among the Geneveſe were ſuprized to ſee a foreign Sophiſter informing them, that till then they had been ignorant of ther own laws; that all thoſe diſtinctions of citizens, inhabitants, or natives, and all the privileges of the firſt, were novelties which had been uſurped and introduced into the Republic ſo lately as the year 1707; that before that period a very ſhort reſidence entitled every new comer "to the rights of citizen, and to be admitted into the "general *ſovereign and legiſlative* council. That after "one year's reſidence at Geneva, every man enjoyed "his ſhare of Sovereignty in the Republic; in ſhort, "that the moſt perfect equality had reigned among all "the individuals of the State, whether of the town or "country."*

This was nearly the ſame plan which the ſect followed at that time in France, always calling for the States-General in order to re-eſtabliſh the pretended conſtitution of the Sovereign and Legiſlative people. Bovier was refuted in the moſt complete manner, but the Sophiſters knew too well that a people in a ſtate of revolution ſwallow every falſehood that favours their Sovereignty. They ſucceeded in putting them in motion, nor were they ignorant of the means of accelerating and perpetuating their vibrations.

Parts acted by the Œconomiſts, and particularly by Dupont de Nemours.

At that time they publiſhed at Paris a periodical work under the title of *Ephémérides du Citoyen*. The Œconomiſts had the direction of it, and that claſs of adepts was perhaps the moſt dangerous. They, with all the appearance of moderation, with all the ſhow of patriotic zeal, forwarded the revolution more efficaciouſly than the frantic rebels of Holbach's Club. The ſect

* See the Memorial of Bovier from page 15 to 29; and the refutation of the natives of Geneva.

had ordained that this journal ſhould ſupport the efforts of Voltaire, Servan, and Bovier, until they had ſucceeded in their democratic eſſay on Geneva. It was the hypocritical and ſmooth-tongued Dupont de Nemours, who was entruſted with the care of giving monthly a new ſhock to the Revolutioniſts. His periodical publications, carefully directed towards that object, were regularly ſent from Paris to Geneva to ſecond the fury of the Democratizing Zealots.

To form a proper judgment of the artful manner in which Dupont fulfilled his truſt, it would be neceſſary to run over all the articles which the *Ephemerous Citizen* has given us under the head *of Geneva*. There we ſhould ſee the humane citizen lamenting the troubles which had already ſhortened the lives of ſome natives, and had baniſhed many others from their country; then, fired by that love of peace and humanity which conſumes the philoſophic breaſt, he inſinuates exactly ſuch remedies as may throw the whole Republic into a flame. He repreſents their conſtitution as that of the moſt oppreſſive *Ariſtocracy*. He aſſimilates the natives and inhabitants of Geneva to the *Helots* or the ſlaves of Greece, who, under the dominion of free citizens, have nothing but the moſt abject ſlavery to look up to in the very heart of a Republic.* Then for the inſtruction of the Geneveſe *Helots* he lays down what he calls principles, or rather leſſons of rebellion; ſuch for example as theſe given to a people in the moſt violent ferment. "To ſay that men can tacitly or formally "conſent for themſelves or their deſcendants to the "privation of the *whole* or *part* of their liberty, would "be to ſay, that men have the right to ſtipulate againſt "the rights of other men, to ſell and cede what be"longs to others, to alienate their happineſs, and per"haps deſtroy their very lives:—and of what others? "of thoſe whoſe happineſs and whoſe lives ſhould be "the moſt ſacred to them—of their poſterity. Such "a doctrine would be a libel on the dignity of human "nature, and an inſult to its Great Creator."†

This certainly was inſulting both reaſon and ſociety in the groſſeſt terms; for if every man who ſubjects himſelf to the empire of civil laws does not ſacrifice a part of his liberty, he is then as free to violate thoſe laws, though living in ſociety, as he would be were he

* Ibid. Chap. 1. and note. † Ibid. Chap. 2.

living among the ſavages in the woods of America. But it was through pity and humanity that they fed this people, in open revolution, with the moſt frantic licentiouſneſs. It was to ſpare the effuſion of blood in Geneva that Dupont taught the multitude of *natives*, *inhabitants*, and *burgeſſes*, to ſay to the ſenators, "Do "you imagine the exerciſe of Sovereignty to be ſuffi- "cient, as if the proper exerciſe of it were not an ob- "ligation. Do you know that when the people have "once *recognized* your authority, you are imperatively "and ſtrictly obliged, under pain of the moſt deſerved "execration, to render them happy, to protect their "liberty, to guarantee and defend their rights of prop- "erty to the utmoſt extent. Republicans, if you "wiſh your fellow-citizens to exerciſe Sovereignty, re- "member that even Kings only enjoy their power on "theſe terms.

"Would you wiſh to be worſe Sovereigns than the "arbitrary Deſpots of Aſia? And when even thoſe "who reign over nations buried in ignorance and fa- "naticiſm abuſe their monſtrous power to a certain "exceſs They are called tyrants. Do you "know what happens to them? Go to the gates of the "ſeraglios of the Eaſt, *behold the people calling for the* "*HEADS of the Viſirs and Athemadoulets*; and ſome- "times ſtriking off thoſe of the Sultans and Sophis. "Now reign arbitrarily if you dare. Yes, dare it in "your town, where the people are far from being ig- "norant, and, brought up with you from your child- "hood, have had many occaſions, ſetting aſide your "dignity, to know that you are no better than they."*

Thus we ſee that our moderate and humane Sophiſters would not loſe an occaſion, any more than Raynal, or Holbach's Club, of teaching the people to roar rather than to groan, and to wade through carnage preceded by terror to the conqueſt of their pretended rights.

Such leſſons were intermixed with thoſe which the Economiſts pretended to give to Sovereigns on the adminiſtration of finances. "One ſaw them, ſay the "memoirs of the man who followed their operations "with the greateſt accuracy during the whole of this "Revolution,—one ſaw them inſinuating themſelves "into all the affairs of the State, to ſeize every oppor- "tunity of infuſing the doctrines of the ſect. Amidſt

* Ibid. Chap. 2.

" their leſſons on œconomy, that on the razing our for-
" tifications is not to be forgotten; their pretence was
" the great expence and little utility of them. Gene-
" va, they would ſay, cannot be conſidered as a ſtate
" capable of defending a fortreſs ſhould it be at war
" with any of the neighbouring States; and with reſ-
" pect to a ſurprize, it is the inhabitants of the coun-
" try that are to prove its defence :† A moſt abſurd
" propoſition for a State about a league ſquare. But
" that was not their object; they wiſhed to eſtabliſh
" the general principle, and to apply it hereafter to
" France, or any other State, when the opportunity
" ſhould offer." In other words, it was the means of expoſing the Sovereign to all the fury of a revolted people reclaiming by force of arms that Liberty and Equality which the Sophiſters were perpetually repreſenting to them as their inherent rights. This alſo was the object of thoſe perfidious leſſons which they pretended to give to the magiſtrates, repreſenting them as oppreſſors, and pre-ſuppoſing the exiſtence of that hatred againſt them which the adepts themſelves had infuſed into the minds of the people. With the ſame art they thus again addreſſed us, ſays our obſerver: " The
" natural defenders of Geneva are the people of the
" country, the ſubjects of the Republic. It is poſſi-
" ble, nay, it is eaſy, to attach them ſo much to the
" Republic, that they would form the moſt ſecure ad-
" vanced poſts poſſible. But it would be neceſſary that
" their country ſhould be far otherwiſe than a *harſh, ſe-*
" *vere, and exacting maſter;* it would be neceſſary to
" reſtore them to the free exerciſe of the natural rights
" of man, and to guarantee their poſſeſſion."*

The ſect reaped a twofold advantage from this journal. Firſt, by ſpreading it through France, and preparing the multitude to hold at a future day a ſimilar language to their Kings; ſecondly, to kindle anew the flame of

† Ephem. du Citoyen, 1771. Vol. I.

* Ephem. du Citoyen, page 176. I have ſought in vain to learn what ſpecies of oppreſſion the people of Geneva ſuffered under their magiſtrates; I have found that it was not poſſible for a people to be more fondly or more juſtly attached to their government; that the union between the magiſtrates and the ſubjects reſembled that of a numerous family with its Chiefs. The Sophiſters knew this too well; but they were not ſpeaking for the Geneveſe alone. They pre-ſuppoſed diſcord, that they might create it where it did not exiſt, and add to it where it already began to ſpread.

diſcord at the beginning of every month among the unfortunate people of Geneva, for whom it appeared to be written. The brotherhood at Paris continued this work until Servan, and the other agents of the ſect, had ſeen their plots effectuate a Revolution in Geneva, and a total overthrow of the ancient laws of that Republic.

It is true, the Sophiſters did not long enjoy their ſucceſs, as Mr. de Vergennes, who at firſt had viewed this Revolution with indifference, ſoon learned its importance. Evidence at length convinced him that all that had come to paſs at Geneva was nothing more than an eſſay which our modern Sophiſters were making of their principles and ſyſtems; that neither their plans nor their plots were to be concluded by theſe firſt ſucceſſes; that they were nothing more than a prelude to the revolutionary ſcenes with which they threatened all Europe, and which might ere long involve France itſelf in the common maſs of ruin.

The Sophiſters had the mortification to ſee theſe firſt fruits of their revolutionary principles blaſted by a few battalions of French troops. It was reſerved to Clavierre, and afterwards to Robeſpierre, to reſume their plans, and to ſend the apoſtate Soulavie to conſummate them by murder and exile, in ſhort by all the revolutionary means which Philoſophiſm had invented in the Caſtle of Ferney for the future benefit of the Jacobinical den.*

* The above Chapter, whether with reſpect to the general conduct of the Sophiſters, or more particularly with reſpect to the conduct of Voltaire, Servan, or Dupont de Nemours, during the Revolution of Geneva, has been entirely formed on memoirs with which eye-witneſſes have favored us, and on the writings of the Sophiſters, which have been quoted with the greateſt preciſion.

CHAP. VII.

Ariſtocratical Eſſay in France.

Object of this eſſay.

IN laying before the reader the proofs of the Conſpiracy formed againſt Monarchy we have ſaid, that there exiſted a ſet of Philoſophers who held themſelves ſo ſecure of bringing about a Revolution, that they had not ſcrupled to adviſe both the King and his Miniſters to make the Revolution themſelves, leſt Philoſophy might not be ſufficiently powerful to direct the motion when once imparted. Among this claſs of Philoſophers, who wiſhed to be ſtyled the *Moderates*, but whom Jean Jaques calls the *Inconſiſtents*, we are to diſtinguiſh Mr de Mably, the brother of Condillac, and one of thoſe Abbés who bore nothing of the Eccleſiaſtic but the dreſs, and who, beſtowing great application on prophane ſciences, was almoſt entirely ignorant of thoſe neceſſary for an Eccleſiaſtic.

Mably and his errors, and his adherents.

Without being impious like a Voltaire or a Condorcet, even though adverſe to their impiety, his own tenets were extremely equivocal. At times his morality was ſo very diſguſting, that it was neceſſary to ſuppoſe that his language was ambiguous, and that he had been miſunderſtood, leſt one ſhould be obliged to throw off all eſteem for his character. At leaſt ſuch has been the defence I have heard him make to juſtify himſelf from the cenſures of the Sorbonne. He had the higheſt opinion of his own knowledge in politics, and during his whole life that was his favourite topic; he believed himſelf tranſcendant in that ſcience, and he met with others who were led to the ſame belief. His *mediocre* talents would have been better appreciated, had he been viewed in the light of a man led away by the prejudices he had imbibed from a ſcanty knowledge of antiquity, and who wiſhed to reduce every thing to the ſtandard of his own ideas.

Mr. de Mably had alſo been led away by all thoſe Syſtems of Liberty, of the Sovereignty and Legiſlative authority of the people, of the rights of ſelf-taxation and of contributing to the public expences only in as much as they had voted the monies themſelves or by

their repreſentatives. He was perſuaded that he had found theſe Syſtems of Government among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and more particularly among the ancient Gauls. He was perfectly perſuaded, that without the States General the French Monarchy could not exiſt; and that to re-eſtabliſh the ancient and real Conſtitution, it was neceſſary to reſume thoſe States General.*

Mably and his diſciples, or more properly the adherents of Monteſquieu, deteſted the feudal laws; but they did not reflect that it was to thoſe very laws the States General owed their former exiſtence. When Philip Le Bel and ſome other Princes had found themſelves under the neceſſity of applying to thoſe States for ſubſidies, the reaſon was, becauſe under the feudal ſyſtem the King, like the Counts of Provence, Champagne, and Thouloufe, or the Dukes of Brittany, had their fixed revenues and particular deſmenes which were ſuppoſed to ſuffice for the exigencies of the ſtate. And in fact wars of the longeſt duration could be carried on without its being neceſſary to augment the revenues of the Sovereign. Armies at that time were compoſed of the Lords and Knights ſerving at their own expence and defraying that of their vaſſals whom they led after them into the field. Neither Mably nor his diſciples would reflect that at a period when France had acquired ſo many new Provinces, when the armies, general officers, and ſoldiers, waged war ſolely at the King's expence, it was impoſſible for the ancient crown lands to ſupply the wants of Government. They could not conceive, that in the new ſyſtem of politics, it would have been the height of imprudence for the Monarch in France to be dependent (every time he found it neceſſary to repel or anticipate an attack of the foreign enemy) on the great and jealous Lord, on the ſeditious tribune, or on the furly deputy, perhaps even in the intereſt of the enemy, for the neceſſary ſubſidies on ſo preſſing an occaſion. Such reflections as theſe never occurred to the minds of our Sophiſters.

At what period, and why they call for the States General.

Filled with the idea, that Revolution and the States General were neceſſary to break the chains of the French people, we are told by his ſtrongeſt adherents, that Mably went ſtill farther than merely inviting the Sovereign and his Miniſters to commence the Revolu-

* See his Rights of the Citizen.

tion themſelves: "He upbraided the people in his "Treatiſe *on the Rights of Citizens*, written *in the year* "1771, with having miſſed the opportunity of making "the Revolution; and he lays down the means of ef- "fecting it. He adviſed the Parliament in future to "refuſe to enregiſter any burſal edict, to delare to the "King that he had no right to impoſe taxes on the "people, who alone were veſted with the fiſcal power, "*to aſk pardon of the people* for having co-operated du- "ring ſo long a time in the levy of ſuch unjuſt taxes, "and to ſupplicate his Majeſty to convoke the States "General. *A Revolution*, he adds, brought about by "ſuch means would be the more advantageous as it "would be founded on the love of order and of the "laws, and not on licentious liberty."*

This ſyſtem of a Revolution to be accompliſhed, according to Monteſquieu's ideas, by veſting the legiſlative and fiſcal powers in the hands of the people, or of their repreſentatives in the States General, found many ſupporters and abettors; and particularly among the Ariſtocracy, as the diſtinction of the three ſtates was ſtill preſerved. All that claſs of men which impiety had enrolled under the banners of Sophiſtry from among the Duke de la Rochefoucault's ſociety, viewed this as a means for the Grandees to re-aſſume their ancient influence in the ſtate, and to conquer from the King and Court, that power which they had gradually loſt under the preceding reigns. They were ignorant that other Sophiſters were already prepared to enforce their ſyſtems of Equality in thoſe States General, and to aſſert, that *the three eſtates being ſeparate, of oppoſite intereſts, and jealous of each other, mutually deſtroyed each other's ſtrength; and that to this diſtinction was to be attributed the inefficacy, and the very little good that had ariſen from all the former States General.* The Grandees did not perceive this ſnare which the levelling Sophiſters had laid for them; the levellers had conceived the greateſt expectations from the diſſentions which reigned at that period between Lewis XV. and the Parliaments, and believed themſelves on the eve of obtaining the convocation of thoſe States General where they were to conſummate their revolution.

Theſe diſſentions were principally owing to an opinion originating in Monteſquieu's ſyſtems, which had

* Gudin's Supplement to the Social Contract, 3d Part, Chap. 1.

crept into the firſt tribunals of the ſtate. Such magiſtrates as, according to that ſyſtem, believed Liberty to be entirely annulled in every ſtate where the people or its repreſentatives did not partake of the legiſlative and fiſcal powers with the King, had conſtrued their Parliaments into the repreſentatives of the people, and pretended that the different Parliaments, though diſperſed in different towns throughout the ſtate, conſtituted but one and the ſame body, holding their powers directly from the people, whoſe perpetual repreſentatives they pretented to be, whoſe rights they were to ſupport againſt the encroachments of the crown, and exerciſing for them that inalienable and indefeaſable right of making laws and voting ſubſidies; although they were reſident magiſtrates and fixed in different towns by the King to adminiſter juſtice in his name.

This was a ſyſtem of Parliaments very widely different from the idea which the French Kings, who had created them without even taking the ſenſe of the nation, had conceived of theſe Judiciary Courts. It was indeed extraordinary, that tribunals either ambulent or ſtationary, and which the Kings had created at their own will and pleaſure, ſhould belong to the very eſſence of the Conſtitution; that a body of Magiſtrates all named by the King ſhould pretend to be the free choſen repreſentatives of the people, and a magiſtracy ſo much at the diſpoſition of the Sovereigns, that they had ſold the offices; could then theſe men pretend to aſſimilate themſelves to repreſentatives deputed by the people to the States General.*

* The denomination of *Parlement* (Parliament,) which had been given to the firſt Tribunals of the ſtate, had greatly contributed to the illuſion, which might have been eaſily avoided had the old term of *Plaid (court leet)* been preſerved, which in the ancient hiſtory of France denotes ſometimes thoſe great aſſemblies which the King deliberated with on important queſtions reſpecting the ſtate, at other times thoſe ambulatory tribunals which adminiſtered juſtice. It was theſe latter only that our Kings had perpetuated under the name of Parliaments. The difference is the more evident, as thoſe great Aſſemblies or States General never meddled with the Judiciary Power, the exerciſe of which conſtituted the ſole functions of the ambulent Magiſtracy. In thoſe great Aſſemblies or *National Plaids* the Clergy was always admitted as the firſt order of the ſtate; whereas by the very nature of its duties, it was excluded from the *Judiciary Plaids* (ſee the Preſident Hainault, an. 1137, 1319, *& paſſim;*) how then was it poſſible to confound the States General with the Judiciary Plaids or Parliaments?

The ſtates themſelves never viewed the Parliaments in any other light, which is eaſy to be ſeen by what the Preſident Hainault ſays on the ſtates held in 1614: "On this occaſion I muſt ſay, that as we recognize no "other authority in France but that of the King, it is "by his authority that laws are made. *As wills the "King ſo wills the Law.* On that account the States "General can only remonſtrate and humbly ſupplicate. "The King hearkens to their grievances and prayers in "his prudence and his juſtice.—For, was he obliged to "grant all that was aſked of him, ſays one of our moſt "celebrated authors, he would ceaſe to be their King. "*It is for that reaſon that during the ſittings of the States "General the authority of the Parliament ſuffers no dimi-"nution,* as exerciſing no other power but that of the "King, which may be eaſily ſeen in the minutes of the "laſt ſtates"*

It was therefore a moſt extraordinary claim of theſe Parliaments, all created by, and exerciſing the authority of the King only, to pretend to be the repreſentatives of the people in order to reſiſt the power of that ſame King; ſtyling themſelves the habitual and permanent repreſentatives of the States General, who had never formed the leaſt idea of ſuch repreſentatives, and who had always looked upon them as the King's Magiſtrates. But when new ſyſtems had ſpread diſquietude in every breaſt, and produced the thirſt of Revolution, illuſion eaſily baniſhed truth. The moſt reſpectable Magiſtrates, overpowered by the weight of Monteſquieu's authority, and ſpurred on by the Sophiſters, were eaſily perſuaded that every country was enſlaved, and groaned under the moſt ſevere deſpotiſm, where the legiſlative and fiſcal powers were not in the hands of the people or of their repreſentatives. And, leſt the whole code of laws which the Kings had made and the Parliaments proclaimed, ſhould ſuddenly become null and void, theſe Magiſtrates, who had enregiſtered and proclaimed them, conſtituted themſelves the repreſentatives of the people.

Theſe claims ſerved as a pretence for the moſt invincible reſiſtance to the orders of their Sovereign. The King's council, and particularly Mr. de Maupou, furniſed a coalition aiming at nothing leſs than to diſorder the Monarchy, to diminiſh the authority of the throne, to put the Sovereign under the habitual dependence of

* Hiſtory of France, anno 1614.

the Twelve Parliaments, and to create diſturbances and diſputes between the King and his Tribunals as often as any factious Magiſtrate, aſſuming the character of a tribune of the people, ſhould oppoſe the pretended will of the nation to his Sovereign. Lewis XV. reſolved to annihilate ſuch Parliaments, and to create new ones more limited in their powers, and which might be reſtrained within the bounds of their duty with greater eaſe.

This reſolve was being put in execution, and the Sophiſters rejoiced to ſee the diſputes daily increaſe. Convinced that theſe diſſentions would neceſſarily oblige the King to aſſemble the States General, where they ſhould be able to find means of publiſhing their plans and of operating, at leaſt in part, the Revolution they ſo ardently wiſhed for, they brought forward that ſame Maleſherbes, whom we have ſeen ſo active in ſeconding the Sophiſters of Impiety. He was at that time Preſident of the *Cour des Aides*, the firſt tribunal in Paris after the Parliament. He engaged his *company* to make the firſt ſignal ſtep towards oppoſing the States General to the authority of the Monarch. He formed thoſe remonſtrances ſince ſo famous among the Philoſophers, becauſe, under the cloak of a few reſpectful expreſſions, he had broached all the new principles of the ſect and all their pretenſions againſt the authority of their Sovereign.

Maleſherbes and the Parliaments aſk for the States General.

In thoſe remonſtrances we ſee the demand for the States-General couched in the following terms; "Until this period at leaſt the reclamations of the Courts "ſupplied, though imperfectly, the want of the States-"General; for, notwithſtanding our zeal, we cannot "pretend to ſay, that we have been able to make a-"mends to the nation for the great advantages which "muſt have accrued to it, by the intercourſe between "its repreſentatives and the Sovereign. *But at preſent* "*the ſole reſource* which had been left to the people is "torn from them. By whom ſhall their intereſts be "aſſerted againſt the miniſter? The people diſperſed "have no common organ by which they may prefer "their complaints. *Sire, interrogate then the nation it-*"*ſelf*, ſince that alone remains to which your Majeſty "can hearken."*

* Remonſtrance of the Cour des Aides, Feb. 28, 1771.

The other parliaments who followed Maleſherbes's example were ignorant of the intentions of the ſect which had prompted him to act. They abandoned themſelves to the torrent, and were hurried away by the impulſe given by the Sophiſters and by the public opinion, which the ſyſtem of Monteſquieu on the Legiſlative and Fiſcal Powers had new-modelled.

Miſled by Maleſherbes's example, the Parliament of Rouen alſo aſked for the States-General in their remonſtrances of the 19th March 1771. "Sire, Since the "efforts of the Magiſtracy are fruitleſs, deign to con- "ſult the Nation aſſembled." But the former colleagues of Monteſquieu, the Parliament of Bourdeaux thought it incumbent on them to ſhow more than ordinary zeal for his principles, as is to be ſeen by the preſſing ſtyle in which their remonſtrances of the 25th February 1771, are couched.

"If it be true (ſay theſe Magiſtrates,) that the Par- "liament, become ſedentary under Philip le Bel, and "perpetual under Charles VI. is not the ſame as the "Ambulent Parliament convoked during the firſt years "of Philip le Bel's reign, under Lewis IX. under Lewis "VIII. and under Philip Auguſtus; the ſame as the "*Placita* convoked under *Charlemagne and his deſcend-* "*ants*; the ſame as thoſe ancient aſſemblies of the "Francs of which hiſtory has preſerved the memory "both before and after the conqueſt; if the diſtribu- "tion of this Parliament to different diſtricts has chan- "ged the *eſſence of its Conſtitution*, in ſhort, Sire, "though your Courts of Parliament ſhould not have "the right of examining and verifying the new laws "which your Majeſty may pleaſe to propoſe, *ſtill the* "*nation cannot be deprived of that right, it is a right that* "*cannot be loſt; it is inalienable. To attack that right is* "*not only to betray the Nation but the King himſelf.* It "would be to overthrow the conſtitution of the king- "dom. It would be to attack the authority of the "Monarch in its very principles. Will it be believed, "that the verification of the new laws being made by "your Courts in Parliament *does not compenſate for this* "*primitive right of the nation?* Can public order be "benefited by this power being once more exerciſed by "the nation? Should his Majeſty deign to re-eſtabliſh "the people in their rights, he would ſee us no longer "claiming that portion of *authority* which the Kings,

" your predeceſſors, have entruſted us with; as ſoon as " the nation aſſembled ſhall exerciſe that power itſelf."

It is thus that the Parliaments, a prey to a faction with whoſe dark deſigns they were wholly unaquainted, were craving pardon as it were of the people for having forgotten their inherent and inalienable rights of Legiſlation and of Sovereignty, at leaſt in part, in the Aſſembly of the States General. They did not foreſee that a day would come when they would have to aſk pardon of the people for having called for thoſe ſame States General, ſo fatal to the King, to themſelves and to the nation.

How this demand prepared the way for the Revolution.

The Revolution would have been accompliſhed at that time had Lewis XV. ſhown leſs reſolution. It was preciſely at that period when the ſect, painted in ſuch true colors a few months before by the Attorney General of the Parliament of Paris, " *was ſeeking to* " *excite the people to revolt under pretence of enlightening* " *them;* when its diſquiet and daring genius, inimical " to all dependence, aſpired at the overthrow of every " political conſtitution, and whoſe views would only " be accompliſhed when they had ſucceeded in throw- " ing the legiſlative and executive powers into the " hands of the multitude, *when the Majeſty of Kings* " *had been reviled, and their authority had been rendered* " *precarious and ſubordinate to the capricious ſtarts of an* " *ignorant mob.*"

It was at that period " when the numbers of the " proſelytes were increaſing and the maxims of the " ſect were ſpreading far and wide, when kingdoms " felt themſelves ſhaken in their foundations; when " nations, aſtoniſhed, aſked each other, whence aroſe " the extraordinary changes which had been operated " among them?" In a word, it was at that period when Mably and his diſciples were conjuring a Revolution, when the Œconomiſts were circulating and infuſing their principles into every claſs of the people, when the Philoſophers *foreſaw the Revolution, foretold it,* and propoſed *the manner of accompliſhing it by means of a combination with the people.**

From that period the convocation of the States-General muſt have infallibly brought about the Revolution. The Sophiſters needed no longer to inſpire the Magiſtracy with their ſyſtems. The principles were admitted,

* See Gudin, Suppl. to the Social Contract.

though the application of them might vary. The right of verifying and examining the laws had been recognized as *a primitive and inalienable* right inherent to the people. If the parliament in the days of its illuſion only held this language to their Sovereign to aſſert their authority againſt his Miniſters, ſtill the Sophiſters wiſhed for no further declarations, *to revile the Majeſty of Kings, and to render their authority precarious and ſubordinate to the capricious ſtarts of an ignorant mob.* From the right of examining to the right of rejecting, or to the right of inſurrection, in ſhort, to all the rights of the Revolutionary Code, there was but one ſtep further; and the Sophiſters at the head of the multitude were ready prepared to bear down every oppoſition to that meaſure. Almoſt every exiſting law was null, becauſe it had been made by the King without conſulting the people; and all laws might be ſet aſide, becauſe the people had a right to examine them anew and hence proſcribe them, if ſuch was their will and pleaſure.

Of thoſe who ſeconded the Revolution.

Such a one, nevertheleſs, was to be a moderate Revolution in the language of the Sophiſters. It was not only thoſe Magiſtrates who, wreſting from the Sovereign his rights and transferring them to the people, and hoping by that means to enjoy the whole power in their aſſemblies, were the abettors of this Revolution; but alſo that numerous claſs of the Ariſtocracy, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter carrying to the States-General all thoſe ſyſtems of the legiſlative people; of a people preſerving all the hierarchy of birth in their legiſlative aſſemblies; of a people adopting Monteſquieu's principles only in as far as they applied to, and threw the power into the hands of the Ariſtocracy; in fine, this revolution was forwarded and ſupported by all that claſs of Sophiſters who, contented with having aſſerted the principles of the *Legiſlative and Sovereign people*, were pleaſed to continue the name of King to the firſt miniſter of that people.

It is averted by Lewis XV.

Lewis XV. was perfectly aware that he was on the eve of loſing the moſt precious rights of his crown. Naturally humane, and an enemy to all acts of authority, he was nevertheleſs determined to tranſmit whole and unimpaired to his ſucceſſor the power which he had received on aſcending the throne. He wiſhed to die as he had lived, a King: He diſſolved the Parliaments, refuſed to convoke the States-General, and never permit-

Bohemian Sophiſters againſt the Nobility.

even to Hungary and Tranſylvania, will be extracted from two Memorials, with which we have been favoured by perſons who, being on the ſpot, were enabled to obſerve with the greateſt preciſion the one the cauſes, the other the effects, which enabled the German Sophiſters to glory in having preceded our Carmagnols and Septembrizing butchers in their Revolutionary depredations.

Scarcely had the French Philoſophiſm penetrated to the banks of the Moldaw, when thoſe baneful principles of *Liberty and Equality* which formerly had led the Huſſites and Thaborites to the enthuſiaſtic murder of the Clergy and Nobility, to the laying in aſhes the Caſtles and Monaſteries, were ſeen to ferment anew. A conſpiracy was formed at Prague, and it was to break out on the 16th of May. It was cuſtomary on that day for multitudes of the common people to throng into town, to celebrate the feaſt of St. Jean Nepomucene. At the time of this immenſe concourſe of people from the country, ſome thouſands of armed Conſpirators were ſuddenly to appear; others were to make themſelves maſters of the bridge and gates; others again were to mix among the people; to harangue them, to announce the dawn of riſing Liberty, and to exhort them to throw off the yoke of Slavery, and to take poſſeſſion of thoſe lands which they had ſo long watered with the ſweat of their brows, and whoſe fruit only enriched a ſet of tyrannical, haughty, vain, and idle Lords.

Such language, it may eaſily be conceived, muſt have made a ſtrong impreſſion on men who, for the greateſt part, cultivated lands which they only held at the pleaſure of the Lord, in conſideration of ſo many days work every week, employed in the culture of the Lord's lands.* Arms were to be diſtributed to this

* The peaſantry called *Robota* were not all in an equal degree of ſlavery. Some held their lands for three, others for four days labour per week. However juſt the conditions of ſuch a ſervitude were in themſelves, it was nevertheleſs difficult for the traveller accuſtomed to other governments not to be perſuaded, that theſe men were very unhappy. I was of that opinion, when an unexpected ſight nearly reconciled me to that mode of adminiſtration. It was an immenſe granary belonging to the Lord. In the middle of a large hall were vaſt heaps of corn; around the place as many diviſions as there were families in the village, and each diviſion contained the corn belonging to one family. An overſeer attended at the diſtributions, which were made once a week. If the ſtock of any particular diviſion was exhauſted, the neceſſary quantity was taken from the Lord's heap for the

populace ſuddenly heated by the cry of Liberty and Equality. The Lords and the rich were to fall the firſt victims of their fury; the lands diſtributed to the murderers, and Liberty proclaimed, we ſhould have beheld Bohemia the firſt Republican offspring of Philoſophiſm.

Secretly however as this plot was carried on, ſome of the adepts ere long betrayed the ſecret.—Maria Thereſa, the Empreſs Queen, found means of ſtifling the whole, and her council behaved with ſo much prudence and dexterity, that the public journals of the time ſcarcely mention it. Perhaps the court judged wiſely, and thought it prudent to gain over the chiefs, rather than by executions to call the attention of the public to principles which have but too often ſtained Bohemia with the blood of its beſt inhabitants.

New plans of the Auſtrian Sophiſters.

Notwithſtanding the very ſmall ſucceſs that had attended their attempt, the Sophiſters of the Danube and Moldau did not loſe all hopes of effectuating their ſchemes of Equality. They invented a plan which drew the Empreſs Queen into the deluſion, and ſtill more her ſucceſſor Joſeph II.—The apparent object of this plan was, that proprietors whoſe lands were ſo extenſive that they were unable to cultivate them, ſhould be obliged to cede a part of ſuch lands to the peaſantry. Theſe, in return, were to pay an annual rent to the former proprietors equal in value to the eſtimated revenue. Each community was to engage to puniſh ſeverely every peaſant who ſhould neglect either the cultivation of the land ceded, or the payment of the ſettled rent.

This plan was preſented to the Empreſs Queen with ſo much art, that ſhe was perſuaded it had no other view than the enriching of the ſtate by favouring the induſtry and encouraging the emualtion of the real cultivators. She therefore gave orders to various agents of government to ſend in Memorials on the ſubject: and herſelf tried the experiment by ceding ſome of the crown lands on the aforementioned conditions.

family in need, who were to replace the corn ſo taken at the enſuing harveſt. By this means the pooreſt peaſant was certain of his ſuſtenance. Let the reader decide, whether ſuch a government may not be as good as others, where the poor man may often ſtarve in the poſſeſſion of perfect Liberty. I know what might be wiſhed for under every adminiſtration; but it is not the part of true Philoſophy to overthrow exiſting governments in the chimerical idea of reducing, ſome day or other, every thing to its own plans.

The Sophiſters feared the delay attendant on ſuch deliberations; and, to haſten the general execution of their projects, they ſpread their propoſitions and plans among the peaſantry. Their moſt ardent miſſionary was an intriguing prieſt, who ran to and fro throughout the country, preaching up this reformation of property which he thought admirable. He found it no difficult taſk to infuſe a portion of his enthuſiaſm into his ruſtic auditors. The Nobles, viewing this plan in no other light than as a means of deſpoiling them of their property under the pretence of a juſt compenſation, objected that the peaſantry, become maſters and proprietors of the land, would ſoon find means of turning the whole profit to their own uſe; and that Philoſophiſm would ſoon invent new reaſons for paying no retribution whatever to the Lords (for would it not be doubly unjuſt to carry any part of the produce of lands to Lords who neither cultivated nor had any *property* in them;) in fine, ſhould it ever pleaſe the peaſantry to league together and refuſe all payments, the Lords would have loſt both their lands and money, and the Nobility, thus reduced, would be able to find no other means of ſubſiſtence than by entering into the ſervice of their *quondam* tenants.*

Inſurrection in Bohemia.

This oppoſition only contributed to ſtimulate the zeal of the levelling apoſtles. They had given the peaſantry every hope of ſucceſs, and it was eaſy to irritate them againſt their opponents. It was ſoon to be perceived that thoſe vaſſals who had always been ſo mild and humble with reſpect to their Lords had now aſſumed a haughty and inſolent mien. It was neceſſary to reſort to puniſhments, which only added to their complaints

* This may ſerve to explain the theory of the French Emigration. A friend of mine, who had exerciſed an almoſt boundleſs charity in the manor of which he was Lord, was nearly murdered in the general inſurrection of 1789, by that peaſantry which he had preſerved from the inclemency of the foregoing winter. He was however fortunate enough to eſcape the hands of the aſſaſſins, and returning to his former manſion, was received with acclamations of joy. On expoſtulating with his tenants on the treatment he had lately received they begged his pardon in theſe words: ſaying, "Ah Sir, we were miſled; we were made to "believe that if we burnt your title deeds and got rid of you, we "ſhould have nothing to pay, and ſhould remain proprietors of "the lands we hold; but we aſk pardon," &c. He thus eſcaped the agents, but was afterwards purſued by the revolutionary leaders called Deputies, and is at preſent involved in the general decree of death pronounced againſt the Emigrants. T.

and murmurs. The Empreſs Queen, ſtill miſled by the apparent juſtice of the plan, and the Emperor, whoſe Philoſophiſm and ambition ſecretly enjoyed the hopes of humiliating the Nobility, were imprudent enough to receive the complaints of thoſe whom the Lords had thought neceſſary to puniſh. This ſort of connivance gave our ruſtic revolters reaſon to believe, that they had nothing to fear on the part of government. The Sophiſtical emiſſaries perſuaded them, that they ought to obtain by force what in juſtice could not be refuſed them. Such inſinuations naturally produced violence, and in 1773, the inſurrection of the peaſantry againſt the Nobility was almoſt univerſal throughout Bohemia.

The ruſtics already began to burn and pillage* the caſtles; the Nobility and the rich proprietors were menaced with a general maſſacre. The Empreſs Queen came to a tardy ſenſe of the fault ſhe had committed; but then at leaſt ſhe loſt no time to cruſh the growing evil. An army of 28,000 men received orders to march and to quell the rioters. The Sophiſters had not had the time neceſſary to organize their Revolutionary bands, and the revolters were ſoon defeated.

Thoſe parts of Pruſſia and Sileſia which border on Bohemia had felt the commotion, and it was then that Frederick firſt divined the intentions of the Sophiſters. He had not courted them ſo far as to diſband his army. He was even more reſolute than the Empreſs Queen in eradicating the ſpirit of revolt. He immediately hung up the mutineers; and our levelling Philoſophiſts were ſtill obliged quietly to behold thoſe diſguſting diſtinctions of Lords and peaſants, of Nobles and rich. But they were only pacified for the moment, and never loſt ſight of their plans. The death of the Empreſs Queen gave them an occaſion of making ſtill more perfidious eſſays for the deſtruction of the Nobility.

Joſeph II's prevention againſt the Nobles, and plan for humbling them.

Initiated in the Sophiſticated myſteries, Joſeph II. had found means of combining the ideas of Liberty and Equality with thoſe of the Deſpot; and under pretence of reigning like a Philoſopher, levelled every thing around him, that he and his ſyſtems might tower alone above the ruined plane. With his pretended liberty of conſcience, he would have been the greateſt perſecutor of his age, had not the French Revolution

* The fate of France 1789.

followed him so closely. With his pretended equality, he only sought to vilify and plunder the Nobility, and to fling their fortunes into the hands of their vassals, in order to overthrow the laws of the Empire, and those of property as well as those of religion, that he might not meet with a greater opposition from the Nobility than he would from their vassals. With all his pretensions to genius, the most awful lessons were necessary to persuade him that the real tendency of this Philosophism of Equality and of religious and political Liberty, was the destruction of the throne as well as of the altar.

Such was the Philosophy of that Prince: whatever may have been his intentions, his innovating genius was unfortunate enough to furnish the pretext for a most cruel insurrection against the Nobility of a large portion of his dominions. The celerity with which he was accustomed to make himself obeyed, may cast cruel doubts on the dilatory manner in which he went to the succour of the unhappy victims.

All that I am about to relate concerning this memorable event, the atrocious memory of which the court of Vienna vainly attempted to stifle, shall be extracted from a relation written by Mr. J. Petty, an English gentleman whom I knew to be one of those who had escaped from the massacre, and is now living at Betchworth near Darking, in the County of Surry. It was to his memorial I alluded when I spoke of one more particularly instructive as to effects. The other, from which I have extracted the greater part of what has been already seen in this Chapter, has a greater application to causes, and shows the connection between those facts and the progress of Philosophism and Jacobinism in the Austrian dominions. On considering these two memorials collectively, we see that it was at Vienna where the Sophisters, under the cloak of Humanity and Liberty, were inventing every means either for the destruction of the Nobility, or to oblige the Lords to renounce their ancient rights over their vassals and villains, and that the orders given by Joseph II. for the mode of defence of the frontiers of Transylvania furnished the means or the occasion for executing their plans. These orders were such, that they were calculated either to rob the Hungarian Lords of their vassals, or to throw them into open rebellion against their masters.

Antecedent to this new plan adopted by the Emperor, the chain of troops deſtined for the guard of the Turkiſh frontiers was compoſed of peaſants or villains, who were exempted from a part of their ordinary labours in conſideration of this military duty; but were not on that account exempt from dependence on their maſters. In the ſpring of the year 1781, Joſeph II. ſent the Major General Geny to Hermanſtadt, with orders to augment the number of theſe guards, and to put them on the ſame footing as the reſt of the Imperial troops; that is to ſay, in a ſtate of perfect independence on their former Lords. The propoſed indemnifications did not, however, prevent numerous reclamations being made. What ſeemed to juſtify this oppoſition, and what was eaſy to be foreſeen (which perhaps might have been the real object of the Sophiſters,) was, that the peaſantry flocked in crouds to be enrolled, and by that means enfranchize themſelves from all ſubmiſſion and from any ſervices or duties to their Lords.—I muſt own with truth, and in uniſon with Mr. Petty, that the fate of the peaſantry or villains was much aggravated by the harſhneſs of ſome of their maſters.

Inſurrection occaſioned in Tranſylvania by this new plan.

In the mean time, until an anſwer to the reclamations of the Nobility and proprietors could be obtained from Vienna, the commander in chief at Hermanſtadt thought it incumbent on him to declare, that theſe new enrollments ſhould be conſidered as operating no change in the political ſituation of the peaſantry, until further orders and inſtructions ſhould be received from the Emperor. But thoſe orders did not arrive, and the commander in chief had made his declaration too late.—Thoſe villains who had enrolled themſelves not only looked upon their enfranchizement as complete, but committed ſuch exceſſes againſt their former maſters, that the Magiſtrates were obliged to apply to the commander in chief for the revocation of all the enrollments, as the only method of reſtoring order. But the revocation proved uſeleſs; it was well known that the Emperor had returned no anſwer. The peaſantry, in lieu of peaceably ſubmitting to their injured Lords, perſiſted in looking upon themſelves as independent ſoldiers, when on a ſudden there appeared a Valachian peaſant of the name of Horja who gathered a multitude of them around him. He, decorated with a large ſtar and bearing a patent written in golden letters, declared himſelf

ſent by the Emperor to enrol them all. He offered to put himſelf at their head and to reſtore them to their liberty. The peaſantry flocked to their new general. The Lords and proprietors ſent daily information to the government and to the commander in chief at Hermanſtadt of what was paſſing; of the ſecret committees which were held in different parts, and of the inſurrection which was on the eve of burſting forth. Reproaches for their apprehenſions and timidity were the only anſwers they received.

Maſſacre of the Nobility of Tranſylvania.

The day marked out by the Conſpirators was approaching, and on the 3d November 1784 Horja appeared at the head of four thouſand men. He formed different detachments and ſent them to burn the caſtles and murder the Lords and proprietors. Theſe forerunners of the Jacobin Galley Slaves of Marſeilles executed his orders with that ſanguinary fury which they had imbibed againſt the Nobility from the doctrines of Equality, and the rebels ſoon counted 12,000 men following their levelling ſtandards. In a very ſhort ſpace of time fifty Noblemen were murdered. Carnage and deſolation now ſpread from county to county; the houſes of the Nobility were every where burnt and ranſacked, and mere aſſaſſination could no longer ſatiate their ſanguinary fury. The unhappy Noblemen who fell into their hands were put to the moſt excruciating tortures. Some were impaled alive, their hands and feet cut off, and roaſted at a ſlow fire, for ſuch is the humanity of levellers!!—But we will not attempt to comment on the relation we have before us; to extract is a taſk ſufficiently diſtreſſing. "Among the caſtles which were reduced to aſhes the "moſt remarkable were thoſe of the Counts D'Eſterhazy and Tekeli; and of the Noblemen who were "murdered the moſt diſtinguiſhed were the two Counts "and Brothers Rebiezi. The eldeſt was ſpitted and "roaſted; many others of the ſame family, men, women and children, were cruelly maſſacred. The unfortunate Lady Bradiſador, with whom I had ſpent a "few days (ſays Mr. Petty,) alſo fell a melancholy victim.—Theſe barbarians ſeized her, cut off her hands "and feet, and then left her to linger in that ſtate till "ſhe expired. But let us turn from ſuch horrid ſubjects: They recal to my mind perſons forever dear to "me, who fell a moſt wanton ſacrifice to cruelty, on "which I have not the courage to dilate."

We alſo would gladly have withheld ſuch bloody recitals from our readers; but, when compared to our Septembrizing Jacobins, they become marking features in hiſtory. And how much more ſtriking would theſe leſſons be, was it here the place to enumerate the many ſimilar attacks againſt the nobility with which our Memoirs on Ancient Jacobiniſm are replete. We ſhould there ſee that ſame Philoſophiſm of Liberty and Equality forming the ſame plots and perpetrating the ſame atrocities againſt that part of ſociety diſtinguiſhed by its titles, rank, or riches; and the Ariſtocracy may learn from their own hiſtory the danger of encouraging ſophiſticated levellers, who never fawn on them but in hopes of tearing to pieces and devouring the whole of that claſs which is diſtinguiſhed by riches and honors.

The connection between the ancient and modern inſurrections againſt the Nobility.

In making a compariſon between the Jacobins of the preſent day and their forefathers, I ſhould not conceal thoſe horrid ſights of noblemen roaſting, of women mutilated, of whole families maſſacred, or of the palpitating members of fathers, mothers and children in Tranſylvania. Nor ſhould I paſs over thoſe cannibals of the *Place Dauphine* burning at a ſlow fire (on the 3d of September 1792) the Counteſs of *Perignan* and her daughters, Madame *de Chevres*, and ſo many other victims, offering the fleſh of thoſe whom they had already butchered as food to thoſe whom were next to be ſacrificed. Such horrid deeds are far from being novelties in the annals of the ſect.* Nor was it reſerved to the Carmagnols of Paris or of Tranſylvania to ſhow the example of ſuch cruelties.

* In our *Hiſtory of the Clergy during the French Revolution*, we mentioned theſe atrocious facts of the Place Dauphine, which ſome of our readers called in queſtion, becauſe they had not witneſſed them, though in Paris at the time; but let it be recollected, it was a time when terror would ſcarcely permit them to raiſe their heads from their hiding places. Let them conſult the writings of Mr. Girtanner, a Swiſs phyſician, who was an eye witneſs to what he relates. They will learn that the work from which I had made the extract was only a tranſlation from his work, nor did I know at that time that the *Baron de Peleſſier Vien* was the tranſlator, as I have ſince learned from himſelf. I have alſo ſeen Mr. Cambden, chaplain to one of the Iriſh regiments. He had printed the ſame account a Liege, and declared to me that he had only publiſhed it on the teſtimony of twenty different witneſſes, who all aſſured him that Mr. Girtanner and myſelf had been ſo far from exaggerating the fact, that we had ſtopped far ſhort of the horrors of that ſanguinary ſcene.

Theſe ſtatements I know will make my reader ſhudder with horror, but it is a ſalutary tremor. At length perhaps they will ceaſe to hearken to thoſe Sophiſtical Apoſtles of a Liberty and Equality leſs chimerical than atrocious, and whoſe ſyſtems aſſimilate man to the ferocious beaſts of the foreſt. The error is too fatal; let us therefore guard againſt the deluſions of pride by the remembrance of deeds humiliating to nature itſelf. We have witneſſed the ſanguinary conſequences of theſe vain ſyſtems of Liberty and Equality in our own times; let us venture to examine for a moment what courſe they took in the days of our anceſtors.

In 1358 France had its Jacobins, and their ſyſtem was *Liberty and Equality*. Froiſſard, one of the moſt eſteemed French Hiſtorians, paints their conduct as follows:

"In the month of May 1358 France was ſtricken "with a ſtrange deſolation. Some country people, "without a chief, and at firſt not one hundred in num- "ber, aſſembled in the Beauvoiſis, declaring that the "nobility were a diſhonor to the nation, and that it "would be a meritorious act to deſtroy them all. Their "companions anſwered, 'It is true, and evil fall upon "the man who ſhall not do his utmoſt to deſtroy the "nobility.' They then gathered together, having no "other arms than ſticks tipped with iron, and knives, "and immediately proceeded to the neighbouring man- "ſion of a nobleman. After having murdered him, "his wife and childern, not ſparing the infant babes, "they ſet fire to his houſe. They then proceeded to "another caſtle, where ſeizing on the Chevalier, they "offered violence to his wife and daughter, and after- "wards murdered them in his preſence, with the reſt "of his children; they then butchered him, and lev- "elled his caſtle with the ground. They treated ſeve- "ral other country houſes and caſtles in the ſame man- "ner. Their numbers increaſed to ſix thouſand, and "they were joined every where as they went by their "equals; the others fled through terror, carrying their "wives and children with them to the diſtance of ten "or twenty leagues, leaving their houſes and valuables "at the mercy of the robbers. Theſe wicked wretches, "without chiefs, buffetted, burnt, and maſſacred eve- "ry nobleman they met with, and offered the moſt un- "heard-of violences to the wives and daughters of "their victims. He who committed the greateſt ex-

"ceſſes and horrors (deeds that neither can nor ought "to be deſcribed) was the moſt exalted among them, "and looked upon as the moſt diſtinguiſhed leader. "I could not dare recite the treatment which women "met with from them. Among other horrors which "they committed, they ſeized a nobleman, murdered "him, ſpitted him, and roaſted him in the preſence of "his wife and children.* They forced this unhappy "woman to eat of the fleſh of her huſband, and then "made her undergo a moſt ſhocking death.

"Theſe wicked wretches burnt and deſtroyed above "ſixty caſtles in the Beauvoiſin and in the neighbour-"hood of Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier. They "deſtroyed above a hundred in the county of Valois, "and the biſhopricks of Laon, Noyon, and Soiſſons."†

It is worthy of remark, that when theſe wretches were aſked what induced them to commit ſuch horrors, they anſwered, 'That they did not know.' Such was the preciſe anſwer which our firſt incendiaries gave when aſked why they burned the caſtles; ſuch alſo would have been the anſwer of our Tranſylvanian Carmagnoles. Whence did that clown who became their chief procure his ſtar and his patents written in golden letters? Who had forged them, if not the ſame ſect that in 1789 forged the pretended orders of Lewis XVI. ſent to the peaſantry in Dauphiné to burn the caſtles and chaſe the nobles? The pretext was every where the ſame, and the like evils flowed from the ſame, though *hidden, ſource.*

Beſides, there is a moſt terrible cloud impending over this inſurrection of the peaſantry in Tranſylvania againſt

* When the unfortunate Chevalier Dillon was murdered by his own ſoldiers at Liſle, after having made him languiſh from nine in the morning till ſeven at night with a broken thigh from a piſtol ball which one of the cuiraſſiers under his command had fired at him in the field. As he entered the gates of Liſle he received three more ſhots, which put an end to his exiſtence, and his body was dragged to the *Grande Place, where it was roaſted, and pieces of his fleſh ſold for two-pence and three-pence to the ſtanders-by.* On the 11th of Auguſt, I was eye-witneſs to the burning of the bodies of many of the Swiſs in large bonfires, made of the wood-work of the guard-houſes and out-houſes of the Thuilleries, while men covered with blood and ſmoke were beating down with long poles the fleſh which bloated up from the heat. Large piles of burnt bones lay by the fires, which had been kindled ſoon after the attack upon the palace the day before, which proved that ſuch had been their amuſement during the preceding night. T.

† Froiſſard's Chronicle, Ed. of Lyons 1559, Chap. 182.

the nobility. In the commencement the government of Hermanſtadt refuſed to ſend ſuccours on pretence that their alarms were groundleſs, when it was impoſſible to deny the horrors committed by the inſurgents. Soldiers were ſent, but without orders to act. At firſt appearance one would have thought they were in an underſtanding with the banditti, who continued their devaſtations without fearing to be repreſſed by the ſoldiery. The troops, having no orders, were reduced to be tranquil ſpectators of the caſtles in flames (the incendiaries even marching before them,) and heard the unhappy victims calling for ſuccour in the agonies of death, but in vain; they had not the power to act. At length ſuch of the nobles as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, being joined by thoſe of the neighbouring counties, formed themſelves into a body, marched againſt the inſurgents, and defeated them in various encounters; and Horja, with his followers who were ſtill numerous, was obliged to retire into the mountains. He there gathered freſh forces, and renewed his devaſtating and ſanguinary courſe. Then at leaſt it was impoſſible not to give the troops orders to act. But the cloud becomes ſtill more impenetrable. When the inſurgents pillaged Abrud-Banga the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* belonging to the Royal Chamber fell into their hands; but they would not touch it becauſe it belonged to the Emperor: And ſoon after a detachment of a Lieutenant and only *twenty-four* men came to eſcort the cheſt to Zalatna. On their march a numerous party of Horja's followers might have ſeized it again, when one of the inſurgents advancing propoſed a parly between their Chief and the Lieutenant. The Chief advanced, ſaying, "We are not to be conſidered as "rebels. We love and adore the Emperor in whoſe "ſervice we are. Our ſole object is to throw off the "tyrannical yoke of the nobility, which we can bear "no longer. Go and tell the Officers of the Chamber "of Zalatna, that they have nothing to fear from us."

Notwithſtanding the fidelity with which they adhered to their promiſe, it was neceſſary to order the troops to act; and in various encounters many priſoners were made from the inſurgents. I could wiſh that it had fallen to my taſk to praiſe the generoſity of the nobility on this occaſion. But my Hiſtorian accuſes them of having cruelly revenged themſelves on a multitude of unhappy perſons, who had only joined the revolters thro'

compulsion. A cruel Magistrate condemned them all indiscriminately, and in such numbers, that an Austrian Major threatened to make him responsible to the Emperor for all the innocent blood which he had spilt.

This harsh treatment of the prisoners stimulated Horja and his followers to new cruelties against the nobility. He entrenched himself again in the mountains, and they in vain offered him a general amnesty. He was beginning to renew his depredations the following year, when he was taken by a stratagem. The insurgents, disconcerted, craved peace, and laid down their arms.

Such was the conclusion of a conspiracy, which was no more than an essay made in those distant provinces by the Sophisters of Liberty and Equality of what they were contriving elsewhere, to level every head which towered above the vulgar. The apparent cause, and which might have greatly contributed in reality, was the excessive abuse of their rights and the oppression over their vassals exercised by the nobility of Transylvania. The tone of moderation and veracity with which the relation we have followed is written, leaves no room to doubt of these oppressions; and in that point of view this terrible insurrection would be foreign to the object of our memoirs. But the insurrection of the negroes may also be attributed to the harshness of the treatment they underwent; yet it is nevertheless universally known, that all the atrocious crimes and barbarities committed by the insurgent slaves against their masters at St. Domingo, Martinico, and Gaudaloupe are to be traced to the plots combined by the levelling Sophisters in Paris.

It is precisely in a similar light that the insurrection in Transylvania is represented in a narrative which we received from a person who was more in the way of observing the progress of Philosophism in Vienna and the other Austrian dominions. He was acquainted with their plots, he refuted the pretences, and foresaw the fatal consequences; he even more than once declared them to the Austrian government; but he was not more hearkened to than many others whose words have been but too fatally verified by the horrid Revolution.

In the memoirs of this accurate observer on the insurrection of Transylvania, I see him combine the efforts of our modern Sophisters with those of a sect long since lurking in the Occult Lodges of Free-masonry.

At the epoch we are now deſcribing ſuch in deed was the union between the Sophiſters and the Craft, and ſuch was the mutual ſuccour which they lent to each other, that it was impoſſible to develope the progreſs of the one without ſeeking the origin of the other, without expoſing their common hatreds and common ſyſtems, and the combinations of their mutual plots into one and the ſame conſpiracy againſt Chriſt and his altars, againſt Kings and their thrones. Our object therefore in the remaining chapters will be, to reveal the myſteries of Free-maſonry, to explain the means and ſuccours it afforded to the modern Sophiſters in the French Revolution, and to ſhow how fatal their union has already been, and how much it threatens the ſocial order of the whole world.

CHAP. IX.

Of the General Secret, or Leſſer Myſteries, of Free-maſonry.

Diſtinctions and exceptions to be made among the Free-maſons.

IN treating of Free-maſonry truth and juſtice rigorouſly compel us to begin with an exception that exculpates the greater part of thoſe brethren who have been initiated, and who would have conceived a juſt horror for this aſſociation, had they been able to foreſee that it could ever make them contract obligations which militated againſt the duties of the religious man and of the true citizen.

Of Engliſh Maſons.

England in particular is full of thoſe upright men, who, excellent Citizens, and of all ſtations, are proud of being Maſons, and who may be diſtinguiſhed from the others by ties which only appear to unite them more cloſely in the bonds of charity and fraternal affection. It is not the fear of offending a nation in which I have found an aſylum that has ſuggeſted this exception. Gratitude on the contrary would ſilence every vain terror, and I ſhould be ſeen exclaiming in the very ſtreets of London that England was loſt, that it could not eſcape the French Revolution, if its Free-maſon Lodges were ſimilar to thoſe of which I am about to treat. I would ſay more, that Chriſtianity and all government would have long been at an end in England, if it could be even ſuppoſed that her Maſons were initiated into the laſt myſteries of the ſect. Long ſince have their Lodges been ſufficiently numerous to execute ſuch a deſign, had the Engliſh Maſons adopted either the means or the plans and plots of the Occult Lodges.

This argument alone might ſuffice to except the Engliſh Maſons in general from what I have to ſay of the ſect. But there exiſt many paſſages in the hiſtory of Maſonry which neceſſitate this exception. The following appears convincing.—At the time when the Illuminés of Germany, the moſt deteſtable of the Jacobin crew, were ſeeking to ſtrengthen their party by that of Maſonry, they affected a ſovereign contempt for the Engliſh Lodges. In the letters of Philo to Spartacus we ſee the Engliſh adepts arriving in Germany from London dawbed all over with the ribbands and emblems of

their degrees, but void of thoſe plans and projects againſt the altar and the crown which tend directly to the point. When I ſhall have given the hiſtory of theſe Illuminés the reader will eaſily judge what immenſe weight ſuch a teſtimony carries with it, in favour of the Engliſh Lodges. It is glorious for them to ſee themſelves deſpiſed by the moſt unrelenting enemies of the altar, of the throne, and of all ſociety.*

Exceptions with reſpect to other countries.

For a conſiderable length of time a ſimilar exception might have been made of the generality of Lodges both in France and Germany. Some of them not only publiſhed proteſtations, but receded from Maſonry as ſoon as they perceived it to be infected by thoſe revolutionary principles which the Illuminés had infuſed among the brethren.† In ſhort the number of exceptions to be made for upright Maſons is beyond the conception of thoſe who are not thoroughly acquainted with the principles and proceedings of the ſect.—In fact, how is it poſſible to conceive, that in ſo numerous an aſſociation, where its members are united by bonds and oaths to which they are moſt religiouſly attached, ſo very few of its adepts ſhould be acquainted with the grand object of the aſſociation itſelf? This enigma would have been eaſily underſtood had we publiſhed (as we hope to do) the hiſtory of ancient Jacobiniſm with that of the middle age, before we had digeſted theſe memoirs of modern Jacobiniſm. But to ſupply this deficiency, and to methodize our ideas on this famous aſſociation, we will begin by treating of the ſecret which is common to all the degrees, that is to ſay, of what may be called the leſſer myſteries; and thence proceeding to the ſecret and doctrine of the Occult Lodges, we will treat of the grand Myſteries of Maſonry. We will alſo treat of its origin and of its propagation; in fine, of its coalition with the conſpiring Sophiſters, and of the means it afforded them of executing their plans againſt the altar and the throne.

The general ſecret diſcovered by the Maſons themſelves.

Until the 12th of Auguſt 1792, the French Jacobins had only dated the annals of their Revolution by the years of their pretended *Liberty*. On that day Lewis XVI. who had been declared forty-eight hours before to have forfeited his right to the crown, was carried priſoner to the Tower of the Temple (ſo called becauſe it formerly belonged to the Knights Templars.) On

* See letter of Philo to Spartacus.

† See the ſpeech of a Maſter pronounced in a Bavarian Lodge.

that day the rebel assembly decreed, that to the date of *Liberty*, the date of *Equality* should be added in future in all public acts, and the decree itself was dated the fourth year of *Liberty*, the first year and first day of *Equality*.

It was on that day, for the first time, that the secret of Free-masonry was made public; that secret so dear to them, and which they preserved with all the solemnity of the most inviolable oath. At the reading of this famous decree, they exclaimed, 'We have at length succeeded, and France is no other than an immense lodge. The whole French people are Free-masons, and the whole universe will soon follow their example.'

I witnessed this enthusiasm, I heard the conversations to which it give rise. I saw Masons, till then the most reserved, who freely and openly declared, "Yes, at "length the grand object of Free-masonry is accom-"plished, EQUALITY and LIBERTY; *all men are equal* "*and brothers; all men are free.* That was the whole "substance of our doctrine, the object of our wishes, "THE WHOLE *of our* GRAND SECRET." Such was the language I heard fall from the most zealous Masons, from those whom I have seen decorated with all the insignia of the deepest Masonry, and who enjoyed the rights of *Venerable* to preside over Lodges. I have heard them express themselves in this manner before those whom Masons would call *the prophane*, without requiring the smallest secrecy either from the men or women present. They said it in a tone as if they wished all France should be acquainted with this glorious atchievement of Masonry; as if it were to recognize in them its benefactors and the authors of that Revolution of *Liberty and Equality* of which it had given so grand an example to all Europe.

Such in reality was the general secret of the Free-masons. It was similar to what in the games of the ancients were called the lesser mysteries, common to all degrees; and though the word expressed the whole, it was not wholly understood by all. Its progressive explanation, while it renders it innocent in some, renders it monstrous in others. In the mean time, before we have accounted for this difference, let not the Mason, whatever may be his degree, inculpate us if as in Paris this famous secret ceases to continue one. Too many of the prophane were acquainted with it in that Revo-

lutionary country, for it to remain a ſecret in others. Even thoſe in England who may ſtill wiſh to keep it, will vainly object that we have been miſled; they will ſoon ſee whether it was poſſible for us to be ſo. Were we deſtitute of other evidence, we might ſafely aſſert, that thoſe Maſons did not miſlead us, who were actuated by no other paſſion than that of the glory of the ſect when they revealed thoſe myſteries which when ſecure of their execution ceaſed to be myſterious. Thoſe again did not miſlead us, who, formerly initiated into thoſe myſteries, at length owned that they had been dupes: That all that Liberty and Equality which they had treated as mere play had already proved a moſt deſperate game for their country, and might bring ruin on the whole univerſe. And I have met with many of theſe adepts ſince the Revolution, both in France and elſewhere, who had formerly been zealous Maſons, but latterly confeſſing with bitterneſs this fatal ſecret, which reduces the whole ſcience of Maſonry, like the French Revolution, to theſe two words *Liberty and Equality*.

I once more conjure the upright Maſons not to look upon themſelves as accuſed of wiſhing to eſtabliſh a ſimilar Revolution. When I ſhall have verified this article of their doctrine, the eſſence and the baſis of all their myſteries, I will ſhow how it came to paſs that ſo many noble and virtuous characters were initiated without even ſuſpecting the ultimate deſign. But for the hiſtory of the Revolution, it is neceſſary that the moſt diſtant doubt ſhould not ſubſiſt as to this *fundamental ſecret*. If this were not made clear, it would be impoſſible for the reader to comprehend the help which the Sophiſters of Rebellion and Impiety acquired from Maſonry. I ſhall therefore ſeek other proofs beſide theſe avowals, which many others muſt have heard like me from the adepts, ſince their ſucceſſes in France had made them regard ſecrecy in future as ſuperfluous.

Other proofs of the ſecret.

Antecedent to theſe avowals, there was an eaſy method of diſcovering that Liberty and Equality were the grand objects of Maſonry. The very name of *Free*maſon carries with it the idea of Liberty; as to *Equality* it was diſguiſed under the term *Fraternity*, which has nearly a ſimilar ſignification. But who has not heard the Maſon brag of the Equality which reigned in their Lodges, where Princes and Nobles, the rich and the poor, all were *equal*, all were brothers: That diſtinctions

of rank no longer exiſted when once paſſed the Tyler;* and that the ſole appellation uſed among them was that of Brother, the only name alſo which gives us an idea of perfect Equality.

It is true, that it was expreſsly forbidden to any Maſon ever to write theſe two words *Liberty and Equality* conſecutively, or give the leaſt hint that their ſecret reſided in the union of theſe two grand principles; and that law was ſo exactly obſerved by their writers, that I do not remember ever to have ſeen it tranſgreſſed among the numerous volumes which I have read, though of the moſt ſecret ſort, on the different degrees. Mirabeau himſelf, when he pretended to reveal the ſecrets of Maſonry, only dared reveal them in part. The order of Free-maſonry, which is ſpread all over the world, he ſays, has for its objects, Charity, *Equality of ſtations*, and perfect harmony.†—Though *this Equality of ſtations* ſeems pretty well to denote the Liberty which muſt exiſt in this Equality, ſtill Mirabeau, who was a Maſon himſelf, knew that the time was not yet come, when his brethren would pardon him for avowing that in theſe two words conſiſted their general ſecret; but this very reſervedneſs ſufficiently denotes how much both the one and the other were held precious in their myſteries. If we refer to the hymns and ſongs ſung in chorus at their feſtivals, we ſhall generally find ſome verſes or ſtanza in honour of Liberty or of Equality.‡ In the ſame way we may often remark either the one or the other to be the ſubject of the diſcourſes they have pronounced, and which are ſometimes printed.

Were I even deprived of theſe proofs, ſtill it would be incumbent on me to declare what perſonal knowledge I may have acquired.

Though I have ſeen ſo many Maſons who ſince the famous decree of *Equality* have ſpoken in the moſt open manner of this famous ſecret (though the oath which

* The Officer ſtanding at the door with a drawn ſword to receive the ſign, and admit only the real Members.

† Eſſay on the Illuminés, Chap. 15.

‡ It is for this reaſon, that amidſt all their encomiums on benevolence, which is the chief object of their ſongs, we ſee the Engliſh always add ſome lines in the ſenſe of the following:

Maſons have long been free,
And may they ever be, &c.
Princes and Kings our brothers are, &c.

Theſe lines, however, notwithſtanding their tendency to Liberty and Equality, are not to be underſtood in a Jacobinal light in the mouth of an Engliſh Maſon.

they had taken ſhould have made them more reſerved on it than me, who never took any oath either in their Lodges, or to the Revolution of Liberty and Equality,) I ſhould nevertheleſs be perfectly ſilent on all that I have witneſſed, were I not thoroughly convinced how much it imported all nations, to be acquainted with the ultimate tendency of Maſonry. I ſhould be ſorry to ſee thouſands of upright Maſons, eſpecially in England, take offence at the diſcovery of their ſecret; but ſuch virtuous and upright men are not thoſe who would prefer the vain-glory of their ſecret to the public welfare, or to the proper precautions to be taken againſt the abuſes of Maſonry; in a word againſt an abominable ſect who, under the pretence of virtue, wiſh to miſlead the univerſe. I ſhall ſpeak openly and without the fear of diſpleaſing thoſe Maſons whom I eſteem and revere; and ſhall but little trouble myſelf about the diſpleaſure of others whoſe perſons I contemn and whoſe plots I abhor.

The Author admitted to the Lodges, and how?

During the laſt twenty years it was difficult, eſpecially in Paris, to meet perſons who did not belong to the ſociety of Maſonry. I was acquainted with many, and ſome were my intimate friends. Theſe, with all that zeal common to young adepts, frequently preſſed me to become one of their brotherhood. As I conſtantly refuſed, they undertook to enroll me notwithſtanding my refuſal. The plan ſettled, I was invited to dinner at a friend's houſe and was the only prophane in the midſt of a large party of Maſons. Dinner over and the ſervants ordered to withdraw, it was propoſed to form themſelves into a Lodge, and to initiate me. I perſiſted in my refuſal, and particularly refuſed to take the oath of keeping a ſecret, the very object of which was unknown to me. They diſpenſed with the oath, but I ſtill refuſed. They became more preſſing, telling me that Maſonry was perfectly innocent, and that its morality was unobjectionable: In reply, I aſked whether it was better than that of the Goſpel. They only anſwered by forming themſelves into a Lodge, when began all thoſe grimaces and childiſh ceremonies which are deſcribed in books of Maſonry, ſuch as Jachin and Boaz. I attempted to make my eſcape, but in vain; the apartment was very extenſive, the houſe in a retired ſituation, the ſervants in the ſecret, and all the doors locked. I am queſtioned, and anſwer moſt of the queſtions laughing. I am received *Apprentice,*

and immediately after *Fellow-craft*. Having received theſe two degrees, I was informed that a third was to be conferred on me. On this I am conducted into a large room. There the ſcene changes, and takes a more ſerious appearance. And though they diſpenſed with my undergoing all the more toilſome teſts, they nevertheleſs were not ſparing in a multitude of tireſome and inſignificant queſtions.

On finding myſelf obliged to go through this farce, I had taken care to ſay, that ſince they had cut off every means of retreat, I was forced to ſubmit; but that, if I perceived any thing either againſt honour or conſcience, they ſhould ſoon find with whom they had to deal.

As yet I had only perceived a mere childiſh play and burleſque ceremonies, in ſpite of all the gravity which the brethren affected; but I had given no offence by any of my anſwers. At length the Venerable with the utmoſt gravity put the following queſtion: "Brother, are "you diſpoſed to execute all the orders of the Grand-"Maſter, though you were to receive contrary orders "from a King, an Emperor, or any other Sovereign "whatever?" My anſwer was "*No.*"—"What *No,*" replies the Venerable with ſurprize! "Are you only "entered among us to betray our ſecrets! Would you "heſitate between the intereſts of Maſonry and thoſe "of the prophane? You are not aware then that there "is not one of our ſwords but is ready to pierce the "heart of a traitor." Notwithſtanding the gravity with which this queſtion was put, and the menaces which accompanied it, I could not perſuade myſelf that he was in earneſt; but I ſtill continued to anſwer in the negative, and replied, as may eaſily be imagined, "That "it was rather extraordinary to ſuppoſe that I who had "only been brought in by force could ever have come "there in order to betray the ſecrets of Maſonry. You "talk of ſecrets, and you have told me none. If in "order to be initiated I muſt promiſe to obey a man "that I know not, and if the intereſts of Maſonry can "be a bar to any part of my duty, good day to you "Gentlemen. It is not too late as yet. I know noth-"ing of your myſteries, nor do I wiſh to know more "of them."

This anſwer did not diſconcert the Venerable in the leaſt, and he continued to act his part perfectly well; he preſſed me more earneſtly, and renewed his threats. I certainly believed the whole to be a farce; but even

in joke I would not promiſe obedience to their Grand Maſter, eſpecially on the ſuppoſition that his commands could ever be contrary to thoſe of the Sovereign. I replied once more, "Gentlemen, or Brethren, I told "you before, that if there was any thing in your games "either againſt honor or conſcience, you ſhould learn "whom you had to deal with. We are now come to "the point. You may do what you pleaſe with me, "but you ſhall never make me aſſent to ſuch a propoſi-"tion; and once more I ſay *No.*"

Every one kept the moſt profound ſilence except the Venerable, though they were much amuſed with the ſcene. It at length grew more ſerious between the Venerable and me. He would not give up the point, and, renewing his queſtion over and over again, he was in hopes, by tiring my patience, to extort a YES. At length I found myſelf quite wearied out. I was blind-fold, I tore off the bandage, threw it upon the ground, and ſtamping with my foot, called out No, with every ſign of impatience. Immediately the whole Lodge clap their hands in ſign of applauſe, and the Venerable compliments me on my conſtancy. "Such are the men for "us, men of reſolution and courage."—What," ſaid I, "men of reſolution! And how many do you find who "reſiſt your threats! You yourſelves, gentlemen, have "not you all ſaid YES to this queſtion: and if you "have ſaid it, how is it poſſible that you can perſuade "me that your myſteries contain nothing againſt honor "or conſcience."

The tone I aſſumed had thrown the Lodge into confuſion. The brethren ſurrounded me, telling me I had taken things too much in earneſt, and in too literal a ſenſe: that they never had pretended to engage in any thing contrary to the duties of every true Frenchman, and that in ſpite of all my reſiſtance I ſhould nevertheleſs be admitted. The Venerable ſoon reſtored order with a few ſtrokes of his mallet. He then informed me that I was paſſed to the degree of *Maſter*, adding, that if the ſecret was not given to me, it was only becauſe a more regular lodge, and held with the ordinary ceremonies, was neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion. In the mean while he gave me the ſigns and the paſs words for the third degree, as he had done for the other two. This was ſufficient to enable me to be admitted into a regular Lodge, and now we were all brethren. As for me, I had been metamorphoſed into *apprentice, fellow-*

craft, and *maſter* in one evening, without having ever dreamt of it in the morning.

I was too well acquainted with thoſe who had received me, not to believe their proteſtation ſincere, when they declared that they had never pretended to engage in any thing contrary to their duty. And in juſtice I am bound to declare, that, excepting the Venerable, who turned out a violent Jacobin, they all ſhowed themſelves loyal ſubjects at the Revolution. I promiſed to be preſent at a regular meeting, provided the oath was never mentioned to me. They promiſed that it never ſhould be inſiſted on, and they kept their words. They only requeſted that I would inſcribe my name on the liſt, that it might be ſent to the Grand Lodge of the Eaſt. I refuſed again, and aſked time to conſider of it; and when I had ſufficiently attended to ſee what theſe Lodges were I retired, without even conſenting to inſcribe my name.

On my firſt appearance in a regular Lodge, I was quit for a fine ſpeech on Maſonry, of which I knew but little at that time, ſo chiefly dwelt upon fraternity, and on the pleaſure of living with brethren.

They had agreed on that day to receive an apprentice, who was to have the ſecret given him with all the ordinary forms, in order that I might learn it, though only a ſpectator. It would be uſeleſs to ſwell this chapter by deſcribing the ceremonial and the trials on ſuch occaſions. In the firſt degrees, they appear to be nothing more than a childiſh play. I may refer my readers to the Key of Maſonry (La Clef de Maçons) or to the Free-maſons Catechiſm, and ſome other books of the ſort, which are perfectly exact as to the ceremonial of the three degrees which I received and ſaw conferred upon others, excepting in ſome very ſmall points of no conſequence.

The grand object for me was to learn the famous ſecret of Maſonry. The moment at length comes when the poſtulant is ordered to approach nearer to the Venerable. Then the brethren who had been armed with ſwords for the occaſion drawing up in two lines held their ſwords elevated, leaning the points toward each other, and formed what in Maſonry is called the *arch of ſteel*. The candidate paſſes under this arch to a ſort of altar elevated on two ſteps, at the fartheſt end of the Lodge. The Maſter, ſeated in an arm chair, or a ſort

of throne, behind this altar, pronounced a long diſcourſe on the inviolability of the ſecret which was to be imparted, and on the danger of breaking the oath which the candidate was going to take. He pointed to the naked ſwords which were always ready to pierce the breaſt of the traitor, and declared to him that it was impoſſible to eſcape their vengeance. The candidate then ſwears, "that rather than betray the ſecret, he conſents "to have his head cut off, his heart and entrails torn "out, and his aſhes caſt before the wind." Having taken the oath the Maſter ſaid the following words to him, which the reader may eaſily conceive have not eſcaped my memory, as I had expected them with ſo much impatience, "My dear brother, the ſecret of Maſonry "conſiſts in theſe words, EQUALITY AND LIBERTY; "*all men are equal and free; all men are brethren.*" The Maſter did not utter another ſyllable, and every body embraced the new *brother equal and free.* The Lodge broke up, and we gaily adjourned to a Maſonic repaſt.

I was ſo far from ſuſpecting any further meaning in this famous ſecret, that I could ſcarcely refrain from burſting into a fit of laughter on hearing it, and with the greateſt ſimplicity told thoſe who had introduced me, if that was all their ſecret I had known it a long time.

And certainly there was no occaſion for being a maſon to learn that man is not born for ſlavery, but to enjoy a *true Liberty* under the empire of the laws; or if they underſtand *by Equality* that as we are the children of one common parent, the creatures of the ſame God, we are to love and help each other as brethren; ſuch truths certainly are better taught in the Goſpel than by the childiſh rites of Maſonry. I muſt ſay, that though the Lodge was numerouſly attended, I did not ſee a ſingle craftſman who gave any other interpretation to this famous ſecret. The reader will ſee that it was neceſſary to go through many other degrees before they were initiated into a very different Liberty and Equality, and even that many who roſe to higher degrees were never initiated into the ultimate ſenſe of their famous ſecret.

Let not people be ſurprized that Engliſh Maſonry ſhould be chiefly compoſed of good and loyal ſubjects, whoſe main object is mutually to help each other on the principles of Equality, which with them is nothing more than Fraternity. Few Engliſh craftſmen are acquainted with more than the three firſt degrees already

mentioned; and the reader may reſt aſſured, that with the exception of the imprudent queſtion on obedience to the Grand Maſter of the Order, there is nothing which can render the ſecret dangerous, were it not for the Jacobin interpretation. The Engliſh good ſenſe has baniſhed ſuch an explanation. I have even heard of a reſolution taken by ſome of the chief craftſmen, of rejecting all thoſe who might ſeek to introduce the revolutionary liberty among them. I have read moſt excellent diſcourſes and lectures on the avoiding of abuſes, in the hiſtory of their Maſonry. I have there ſeen the Grand Maſter telling the brethren that the true Equality of the craft, does not authorize the brother when out of the Lodge to derogate from that reſpect and deference due to the rank which any perſon bears in the world, or their different political degrees and titles. I have alſo remarked in the ſecret inſtructions of the Grand Maſter many excellent lectures to conciliate the Liberty and Equality of the craft, with fidelity and ſubmiſſion to the laws, in ſhort, with all the duties of a loyal ſubject.* Hence it ariſes, that though the Engliſh have every thing in common with the craft of other nations, as far as the degree of Maſter incluſive; though they have the ſame ſecret, the ſame word, and the ſame ſigns to know each other by, yet as they generally ſtop at this degree, they never are initiated into the grand myſteries; or we ſhould perhaps be more correct, if we ſaid they had rejected them. They have found means of purifying Maſonry. We ſhall ſoon ſee how little theſe grand myſteries could agree with the character of a nation which has given ſo many proofs of its wiſdom.

* See the 1ſt part of the Hiſtory of Engliſh Maſonry.

CHAP. X.

Of the Grand Myſteries or Secrets of the Occult Lodges.

WE comprehend under the deſignation of Occult Lodges, or the higher degrees of Maſonry, all Free-maſons in general who, after having paſt the firſt three degrees of *Apprentice*, *Fellow-craft*, and *Maſter*, ſhow ſufficient zeal to be admitted into the higher degrees, where the veil is rent aſunder, where emblematical and allegorical figures are thrown aſide, and where the twofold principle of Liberty and Equality is unequivocally explained *by war againſt Chriſt and his Altars, war againſt Kings and their Thrones ! ! !* In demonſtrating that ſuch is the reſult of the grand myſteries of the Craft, it will not be the want, but the multiplicity of proofs that will embarraſs us. Theſe alone would fill a large volume, and we wiſh to comprize them in this chapter. The reader will at leaſt diſpenſe with the emblems, oaths, ceremonies, and trials which are peculiar to each of theſe higher degrees. To ſhow their laſt object and to develope their doctrine is the eſſential point, and what we ſhall always have in view. We ſhall begin by general obſervations, which will enable the reader to follow theſe myſteries more accurately, according as they are explained.

Object of theſe myſteries.

Notwithſtanding that in the firſt degrees of Maſonry every thing appears to partake of puerile inventions, they nevertheleſs contain many things which the ſect have thrown out, merely to obſerve the impreſſion which they made on the young adepts, and to judge from thence to what lengths they may be led.

General reaſons for miſtruſting theſe myſteries.

1ſt. It declares the grand object it has in view to be at one time, *the raiſing of temples to virtue, and the excavating of dungeons for vice;* at another, to bring the adepts *to light*, and deliver them from the darkneſs with which the *prophane* are encompaſſed; and by the *prophane* are underſtood the remainder of the univerſe. This promiſe is contained in the firſt Catechiſm of the Craft, and none will deny it. Nevertheleſs, this promiſe alone ſufficiently indicates that the Craft acknowledge a morality and teach a doctrine which brands Chriſt and his Goſpel with error and darkneſs.

2dly. The Masonic and Christian æra do not coincide. *The year of Light* dates with them from the first days of the creation: This again is what no Mason will deny. But that custom clearly demonstrates that their *lights*, their *morality*, and their *religious doctrines*, are anterior to the Evangelical Revelation, or even to Moses and the Prophets; they will, in short, be whatever incredulity may please to style the Religion of Nature.

3dly. In the Masonic language, all their Lodges are but one temple representing the whole universe; the temple which extends from the *East to the West, from the South to the North.* They admit into this temple with equal indifference the Christian or the Jew, the Turk or the Idolater, in fine, without distinction of sect or religion. All equally behold the *light*, all learn the science of virtue, of real happiness, and all may remain members of the Craft, and rise in its degrees up to that where they are taught that all religious tenets are but errors and prejudices. Though many Masons may view this re-union in no other light than that of universal charity and benevolence, which ought to extend to all mankind, whether Jew, Gentile, Idolater, or Christian, it is nevertheless much to be feared, that this reunion of error and falsehood only tends to infuse an indifference for all religious tenets into the minds of the adepts, as a preparatory step to the denial of all in the higher degrees.

4thly. It is always under the most dreadful oaths of secrecy, that the Free-masons communicate their pretended lights or their art of building temples to virtue, and dungeons for vice. When both truth and virtue had every thing to fear from the reigning tyrants, it may be conceived that they taught their lessons in private; but, so far from exacting an oath of secrecy, they condemned silence as criminal when their lessons could be made public, and commanded that what had been learned under the shadow of the night should be preached openly at noon day. Either the doctrines of the Craft are conformable to the laws of Christianity, to the peace of states, and conducive to virtue and happiness (and then what has it had to fear from Kings and Pontiffs since Christianity was established?) Or, their pretended science is in opposition to the religion and the laws of the Christian world (and then we have only to say, that the evil doer seeks to hide himself.)

Object of the mysteries proved by the nature of the degrees.

5thly. Moſt certainly the Free-maſons do not make a ſecret of what is praiſe-worthy in their aſſociations. It is not that fraternal affection for their neighbour which they hide, and which they only have in common with every religious obſerver of the goſpel. Neither do they make a ſecret of the ſweets of that convivial Equality which accompanies their meetings and their fraternal repaſts. On the contrary, they are perpetually extolling their benevolence, and nobody is ignorant of the conviviality of their regales. Their ſecret muſt therefore contain ſomething widely different from this fraternity, and ſomething leſs innocent than the mirth of the Maſonic table.

Such language in general might have been held to all Maſons; ſuch reaſonings might have made them ſuſpect that the higher degrees of their aſſociation contained myſteries which it was far more intereſted in hiding, than their fraternity, their ſigns, and paſs-words. That affected ſecrecy on the firſt principles of Maſonry, *Liberty* and *Equality*, the oath never to reveal that ſuch was the baſis of their doctrines, premiſed that there exiſted ſuch an explanation of theſe words as the ſect was intereſted in hiding both from the ſtate and church. And in reality it was to attain to this explanation of the laſt myſteries that ſo many trials, oaths, and degrees were neceſſary.

To convince the reader how much theſe ſurmiſes are realized in the Occult Lodges, it is neceſſary for us to go back to the degree of Maſter, and relate the allegorical ſtory of which the ſucceſſive explanations and interpretations form the profound myſteries of the higher degrees.

In this degree of Maſter-maſon the Lodge is hung round with black. In the middle is a coffin covered with a pall: the brethren ſtanding round it in attitudes denoting ſorrow and revenge. When the new adept is admitted, the Maſter relates to him the following hiſtory or fable.

Allegorical hiſtory of Adoniram, the foundation of all theſe degrees.

"Adoniram preſided over the payment of the workmen who were building the temple by Solomon's orders. They were three thouſand workmen. That each one might receive his due, Adoniram divided them into three claſſes, Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, and Maſters. He entruſted each claſs with a word, ſigns, and a gripe, by which they might be recognized. Each claſs was to preſerve the greateſt ſecrecy as to theſe ſigns and

words. Three of the Fellow-crafts, wiſhing to know the word, and by that means obtain the ſalary of Maſter, hid themſelves in the temple, and each poſted himſelf at a different gate. At the uſual time when Adoniram came to ſhut the gates of the temple, the firſt of the three met him, and demanded the *word of the maſters*; Adoniram refuſed to give it, and received a violent blow with a ſtick on his head. He flies to another gate, is met, challenged, and treated in a ſimilar manner by the ſecond: flying to the third door he is killed by the Fellow-craft poſted there on his refuſing to betray the word. His aſſaſſins buried him under a heap of rubbiſh, and marked the ſpot with a branch of Acacia.

Adoniram's abſence gave great uneaſineſs to Solomon and the Maſters. He is ſought for every where: at length one of the Maſters diſcovers the corpſe, and, taking it by the finger, the finger parted from the hand; he took it by the wriſt, and it parted from the arm; when the Maſter, in aſtoniſhment, cried out *Mac Benac*, which the Craft interprets by "*the fleſh parts from the bones.*"

Leſt Adoniram ſhould have revealed the *word*, the Maſters convened and agreed to change it, and to ſubſtitute the words *Mac Benac*; ſacred words, that Freemaſons dare not pronounce out of the Lodges, and there each only pronounces one ſyllable, leaving his neighbour to pronounce the other.

The hiſtory finiſhed, the adept is informed, that the object of the degree he has juſt received is to recover the word loſt by the death of Adoniram, and to revenge this martyr of the Maſonic ſecrecy.* The generality of Maſons, looking upon this hiſtory as no more than a fable, and the ceremonies as puerile, give themſelves very little trouble in ſearching farther into theſe myſteries.

Degree of Elect.

Theſe ſports, however, aſſume a more ſerious aſpect when we arrive at the degree of Elect *(Elu.)* This degree is ſubdivided into two parts; the firſt has the revenging of Adoniram for its object, the other to recover the *word*, or rather the ſacred doctrine which it expreſſed, and which has been loſt.

1ſt Part.

In this degree of Elect, all the brethren appear dreſſed in black, wearing a breaſt-piece on the left ſide, on which is embroidered a death's head, a bone, and a

* See the degree of Maſter in the Works on Maſonry.

poniard, encircled by the motto of *Conquer or die.* The ſame motto is embroidered on a ribband which they wear in ſaltier. Every thing breathes death and revenge. The candidate is led into the Lodge blind-folded, with bloody gloves on his hands. An adept with a poniard in his hand threatens to run him through the heart for the crime with which he is accuſed. After various frights, he obtains his life, on condition that he will revenge the father of Maſonry in the death of his aſſaſſin. He is ſhown to a dark cavern. He is to penetrate into it, and they call to him, Strike all that ſhall oppoſe you; enter, defend yourſelf, and avenge our Maſter; at that price you ſhall receive the degree of Elect. A poniard in his right hand, a lamp in his left, he proceeds; a phantom oppoſes his paſſage, he hears the ſame voice repeat, Strike, avenge Hiram, there is his aſſaſſin. He ſtrikes and the blood flows.—Strike off his head the voice repeats, and the head of the corpſe is lying at his feet. He ſeizes it by the hair,* and triumphantly carries it back as a proof of his victory; ſhows it to each of the brethren, and is judged worthy of the new degree.

I have queſtioned divers Maſons whether this apprenticeſhip to ferocity and murder had never given them the idea, that the head to be cut off was that of Kings, and they candidly owned that the idea had never ſtruck them until the Revolution had convinced them of the fact.

2d Part. It was the ſame with reſpect to the religious part of this degree, where the adept is at once Pontiff and Sacrificer with the reſt of the brethren. Veſted in the ornaments of the prieſthood, they offer bread and wine, according to the order of Melchiſedec. The ſecret object of this ceremony is to re-eſtabliſh religious Equality, and to exhibit all men equally Prieſts and Pontiffs, to recall the brethren to natural religion, and to perſuade them that the religion of Moſes and of Chriſt had violated religious Liberty and Equality by the diſtinction of Prieſts and Laity. It was the Revolution again which opened the eyes of many of the adepts, who then owned that they had been dupes to this impiety, as they had been to the regicide eſſay in the former part.†

* The reader may eaſily conceive, that this corpſe is no more than a mannikin containing bladders full of blood.

† Were we leſs rigorous as to our proofs, we ſhould treat in this place of the degree called the *Knights of the Sun.* But we

These mysteries are not sufficiently explained in the degree of Elect for all to comprehend them. The generality of Masons initiated in this degree give them- The higher degrees of Scotch Masonry.

are only acquainted with it through the medium of the *Voile Levè (the veil raised up)* a work of the Abbè Le Franc, certainly a man of the greatest virtue and undoubted veracity, and one of those excellent Ecclesiastics who preferred falling under the butchering poniards of the Septembrizers, to betraying their religion. But this author has neglected to inform us from what sources he had drawn his documents on the Masonic degrees. Beside, we can remark, that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the origin of Masonry, which he only traces back to Socinus: His knowledge also of the Scotch degrees appears to have been acquired from inaccurate translations, which our French authors had vitiated according to their respective purposes.

On the other side, we know for certain, that this degree of *Knight of the Sun* is a modern creation. Its author is to be known by his Teutonic style. If we are to believe what we have been told, it owes its origin to one of those Philosophists of very high life, who was too much attached to the high rank which he enjoyed, to adopt any other Equality than that which applied to the Masonic feasts and their impiety. And nothing is to be found in this degree which militates against the throne. It is much too perspicuous for many Masons, who would have been disgusted with any thing but emblematical figures susceptible of various explanations. Nevertheless, we were acquainted with several of these *Knights of the Sun* in France. This degree was only given to such of the adepts whose impiety was unequivocal. It was rather a degree of modern Philosophism than of ancient Masonry. Under that point of view it is worthy of notice; but we only give the following account as an extract from the Abbé Le Franc's work.

When initiated into this higher degree, it was no longer possible for the adept to dissemble with himself how incompatible the Masonic code was with the slightest remnant of Christianity. Here the Master of the Lodge is styled *Adam*, whilst the introducer takes the name of *Veritas (Truth.)* The following are part of the lectures which brother *Veritas* repeats to the new adept while recapitulating all the allegories which he has seen in the former parts of Masonry.

" Learn in the first place that the three implements with which " you have been made acquainted—the Bible, the Compasses, " and the Square, have a secret signification unknown to you. " By the Bible you are to understand that you are to acknowl- " edge no other law than that of Adam, the law which the Al- " mighty had engraved on his heart, and *that is what is called* " *the* LAW OF NATURE.—The Compass recals to your mind, " that God is the central point of every thing, from which every " thing is equally distant, and to which every thing is equally " near.—By the Square we learn, that God has made every " *thing equal*—The Cubic Stone, that *all your actions are equal* " *with respect to the sovereign good.*—The death of Hiram, and " the change of the Master's word, teach you, that it is diffi-

ſelves little trouble to underſtand the real ſignification of them; and as long as they have any ſentiments of religion or attachment to their Prince, they reject with indignation all interpretations which militate againſt either. Many of them are diſguſted with the multiplicity of trials, and are content to remain in the inferior degrees, which ſuffice to give them the title of Maſons, admit them to all the Maſonic repaſts, and even entitle them to the alms and benefactions which the Lodges beſtow on their indigent brethren. Thoſe

" cult to eſcape the ſnares of ignorance, but that it is your duty " to ſhow the ſame courage as our Maſter Hiram, who ſuffered " himſelf to be maſſacred rather than hearken to the perſuaſions " of his aſſaſſins."

The moſt eſſential part of this diſcourſe is the explanation which Brother *Veritas* gives of the degree of Elect. Amongſt others we read the following lines:

" If you aſk me what are the neceſſary qualities to enable a " Maſon to arrive at the center of real perfection? I ſhall an- " ſwer, that in order to attain it, he muſt have cruſhed the head " of the ſerpent of worldly ignorance, and have *caſt off* thoſe " prejudices of youth concerning the myſteries of the predom- " inant religion of his native country. *All religious worſhip be-* " *ing only invented, in hopes of acquiring power, and to gain* " *precedency among men; and by a ſloth which covets, under the* " *falſe pretence of piety, its neighbour's riches;* in fine, by Glut- " tony, the daughter of Hypocriſy, who, ſtraining every nerve " to reſtrain the carnal ſenſes of thoſe who poſſeſs riches, per- " petually offer to them on the altar of their hearts, holocauſts " which voluptuouſneſs, luxury, and perjury, have procured " for them. This, my dear brother, is what you have to com- " bat, ſuch is the monſter you have to cruſh under the emblem " of the ſerpent. *It is a faithful repreſentation of that which* " *the ignorant vulgar adore under the name of religion.*

" It was the prophane and timid Abiram who, transformed by " *a fanatic zeal into a tool of the Monkiſh and religious rites,* " ſtruck the firſt blows on the breaſt of our father Hiram; that " is to ſay, who ſapped the foundations of the celeſtial tem- " ple, which the ETERNAL had himſelf erected upon earth to " ſublime virtue.

" The firſt age of the world witneſſed what I aſſert. *The moſt* " *ſimple law of nature* rendered our firſt fathers the happieſt of " mortals. The monſter Pride appears on earth, he bellows, " he is heard by men and by the happy mortals of thoſe days. " He promiſes them happineſs in another life, and perſuades " them by his melliſluous words, that he *taught men to adore the* " *Eternal Creator of all things in a more extenſive and more ſpe-* " *cial manner* than any perſon had done before on earth. *This* " *hydra* with an hundred heads miſled and miſleads thoſe men " who are ſubject to its laws, and will continue its deceptions " until the moment when the true *Elect* ſhall appear to combat " and cruſh it entirely." *(See the degree of Knights of the Sun.)*

Such doctrines need no comment.

whoſe zeal is not cooled by this multiplicity of trials are generally admitted from the degree of *Maſter*, or from that of *Elect*, to the three Scotch degrees. We ſhall not ſeek for the hiſtory and tendency of theſe three degrees in books which have been written to diſcredit the craft. The German adept who tranſlated them into his language for the inſtruction of his brethren, is one of the moſt zealous knights for the doctrine therein contained. His whole genius is exerted in their defence, nor could we follow a more unexceptionable author. His object was to infuſe light into his brethren; and we prophane beings may draw the following concluſions from his lectures.*

Every Maſon who wiſhes to be admitted into the Scotch degrees, and even into all other degrees of Maſonry, is firſt taught that until that period he has lived in ſlavery, and it is on that account only that he is admitted into the preſence of the other brethren with a rope about his neck, praying that he may be delivered from his bonds. But when he aſpires at the third Scotch degree, or at becoming a knight of St. Andrew, he muſt appear in a far more humiliating coſtume. The candidate is ſhut up in a dark cell, a rope with four ſlip-knots is twiſted round his neck, he is ſtretched out upon the floor; there, by the dull light of a twinkling lamp, he is abandoned to himſelf to meditate on the wretched ſtate of ſlavery in which he exiſts, and to learn properly to eſtimate the value of Liberty. At length one of the brethren comes and introduces him to the Lodge, leading him by the rope, holding a drawn ſword in his right hand as if meant to run him through the heart, in caſe he made any reſiſtance. After having undergone a long examination, and particularly after having ſworn on the ſalvation of his ſoul, never to reveal the ſecrets with which he is entruſted, he is declared free. It would be uſeleſs to enumerate all the different oaths; it is ſufficient to ſay, that each degree and ſubdiviſion of degree, has its peculiar oath, and that they are all frightful; all call the vengeance of God and of the Brotherhood on the unhappy man who ſhall betray their ſecret. In future then we ſhall only treat of the doctrine of theſe ſecrets.

In the firſt degree of Scotch Knighthood the adept is informed, that he has been elevated to the dignity of

* See the Scotch degrees printed at Stockholm, 1784.

High Prieſt. He receives a ſort of benediction in the name of *the immortal and inviſible Jehovah*, and in future it is under that title that he is to adore the Deity, *becauſe* the ſignification of JEHOVAH *is far more expreſſive than that of* ADONAI.

In this firſt degree he receives the Maſonic ſcience only as deſcending from Solomon and Hiram, and revived by the Knights Templars.—But in the ſecond degree he learns that it is to be traced to Adam himſelf, and has been handed down by Noah, Nimrod, Solomon, Hugo de Paganis, the founder of the Knights Templars, and Jaques de Molay, their laſt Grand Maſter, who each in their turns had been the favourites of *Jehovah*, and are ſtyled the Maſonic Sages. At length in the third degree it is revealed to him, that the celebrated *word* loſt by the death of Hiram was this name of Jehovah. It was found, he is told, by the Knights Templars at the time when the Chriſtians were building a Church at Jeruſalem. In digging the foundations in that part on which the holy of holies of Solomon's temple formerly ſtood, they diſcovered three ſtones, which had formerly been parts of the foundation. The form and junction of theſe three ſtones drew the attention of the Templars; and their aſtoniſhment was extreme, when they beheld the name of Jehovah engraved on the laſt. This was the famous word loſt by the death of Adoniram. The Knights Templars, on their return to Europe, took great care not to loſe ſo precious a monument. They carried them into Scotland, taking particular care of that which bore the name of Jehovah. The Scotch ſages on their part were not forgetful of the reſpect due to ſuch precious monuments, they made them the foundation ſtones of their firſt Lodge; and as theſe firſt ſtones were laid on St. Andrew's day, they took the name of Knights of St. Andrew. Their ſucceſſors are entruſted with the ſecret, and are at this day the perfect maſters of Freemaſonry, the High Prieſts of Jehovah.

If we lay aſide the hermetical part of the ſcience, or the tranſmutation of metals, ſuch will be in ſubſtance the whole doctrine which is revealed to the adept initiated in the grand myſteries of the Scotch degrees.

In a ſort of Cathechiſm, to which he anſwers to ſhow that he has remembered every thing that he has ſeen, and all that has been explained to him in the Lodge, or, as it is then called, in Solomon's temple, the following queſtion is aſked, *Is that all you have ſeen?* To which he

anſwers, *I have ſeen many other things, but like the other Scotch Maſters, I keep them ſecret in my heart.* This ſecret henceforth cannot be difficult to underſtand. It is only to view the *Scotch Maſter* in his new character of *High Prieſt of Jehovah*, or of that worſhip, that pretended Deiſm, which we have been told was ſucceſſively the religion of Adam, Noah, Nimrod, Solomon, Hugo de Paganis, of the Grand Maſter Molay, and of the Knights Templars, and which at this day is to conſtitute the religion of the complete Maſter Maſon.

Theſe myſteries might have ſufficed for the adepts. All who had obtained the Scotch degrees were declared free in future, and all were equally Prieſts of Jehovah. This prieſthood ridded them of all the myſteries of the Goſpel, and of all revealed religion. That liberty and happineſs which the ſect declares to conſiſt in the revival of Deiſm, ſufficiently inſtils into the mind of the adept what he is to think of Chriſtianity and of its divine Author. Nevertheleſs the grand myſteries are not exhauſted. The adepts ſtill have to diſcover who was the perſon that wreſted the *word*, the famous name of *Jehovah*, from their predeceſſors; that is to ſay, who it was that deſtroyed their favourite worſhip of Deiſm. It was but too evident that the whole fable of Hiram or Adoniram and of his aſſaſſins was no more than an allegory, the explanation of which muſt naturally anſwer the queſtions, who is the real aſſaſſin of Adoniram? By whom was the Deiſtical form of worſhip deſtroyed? Who was it that wreſted the famous word from the ſect? He is the perſon againſt whom the vengeance and the hatred of the ſect is directed, and it was neceſſary to inſtil the ſame ſpirit into the minds of its profound adepts. To effectuate this, we aſcend to a new degree called the Knights *Roſæ Crucis*, or the Roſicrucians.

It is certainly a moſt atrocious blaſphemy to accuſe Chriſt of having deſtroyed by his religion the doctrine of the unity of God; when on the contrary the moſt evident and the moſt atteſted of all facts is, that to his religion we owe the baniſhment of thouſands and thouſands of falſe gods, which the Idolators had made to themſelves. The goſpel, in declaring the unity of God, teaches us the Trinity of Perſons; but this myſtery like all others which we learn from revelation, humbles the Sophiſters in their own minds. Fraught with ingratitude againſt him who has caſt the idols on the

duſt, they have ſworn an eternal hatred againſt the eternal Word, becauſe he reveals a God whom in their madneſs they are not able to comprehend. *Chriſt himſelf* in their eyes is the deſtroyer of the unity of God, he is the great enemy of *Jehovah;* and to infuſe the hatred of the ſect into the minds of the new adepts, conſtitutes the grand myſtery of the new degree which they have called Roſicrucian.

Degree of Roſæ Crucis.

As the adept was ſeldom initiated into this new degree before he had paſſed through the Scotch degrees, he is already aware, as the reader muſt obſerve, that *Jehovah* is no longer the word ſought after, and here we ſhall ſee every thing relate only to the author of Chriſtianity. The ornaments of the Lodge appear to be ſolely intended to recal to the candidate the ſolemn myſtery of Mount Calvary. The whole is hung in black, an altar is to be ſeen at the bottom, and over the altar is a tranſparent repreſentation of the three croſſes, the middle one bearing the ordinary inſcription. The brethren in ſacerdotal veſtments are ſeated on the ground, in the moſt profound ſilence, ſorrowful and afflicted, reſting their heads on their arm to repreſent their grief. It is not the death of the ſon of God, who died victim of our ſins, that is the cauſe of their affliction, the grand object of it is evident by the firſt anſwer which is made to the queſtion with which all Lodges are generally opened.

The maſter aſks the Senior Warden what o'clock it is? The anſwer varies according to the different degrees. In this it is as follows: "It is the firſt hour of the "day, the time when the veil of the temple was rent "aſunder, when darkneſs and conſternation was ſpread "over the earth, when the light was darkened, when "*the implements of Maſonry were broken*, when the fla"ming ſtar diſappeared, when the cubic ſtone was "broken, *when the word was loſt.*"*

The adept who has attended to the progreſſive diſcoveries he has made in the different degrees, needs no further leſſons to underſtand the meaning of this anſwer. He thereby learns that the day on which the *word* JEHOVAH was loſt is preciſely that on which the Son of God dying on a croſs for the ſalvation of mankind conſummated the grand myſtery of our Religion, deſtroying the reign of every other, whether Judaic, natural,

* See the degree Roſæ Crucis.

or ſophiſtical.—The more a Maſon is attached to the *word*, that is, to his pretended natural Religion, the more inveterate will his hatred be againſt the author of revealed religion.

Neither is this *word*, which he has already found, any longer the object of his reſearches; his hatred has further views. He muſt ſeek for a new word, which ſhall perpetuate in his own mind and that of his brethren their blaſphemous hatred for the God of Chriſtianity; and for this they adopt the inſcription of the croſs.

Every Chriſtian knows the ſignification of INRI, *Ieſus Nazarenus Rex Iudæorum* (Jeſus of Nazareth King of the Jews.) The Roſicrucian is taught the following interpretation—the *Iew* of *Nazareth* led by *Raphael* into *Iudea*; an interpretation which, diveſting Chriſt of his divinity, aſſimilates him to a common man, whom the Jew Raphael conducts, to Jeruſalem there to ſuffer condign puniſhment for his crimes. As ſoon as the Candidate has proved that he underſtands the Maſonic meaning of this inſcription INRI, the Maſter exclaims, *My dear Brethren the word is found again*, and all preſent applaud this luminous diſcovery, that HE whoſe death was the conſummation and the grand myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion was no more than a common Jew crucified for his crimes.

It is thus that the ſect have blaſphemouſly adopted the very word, which recals to the Chriſtian all that love which he bears for the Son of God expiring on the croſs for the ſalvation of mankind, as their watch-word of hatred. They repeat it to each other when they meet, and INRI is to perpetuate their ſpite againſt him who loved them even unto the death of the croſs.

It is not on the authority of perſons ſtrangers to the craft that we have diſcloſed this atrocious myſtery of Occult Maſonary. What I have already ſaid reſpecting my initiation to the firſt degrees put me in the way of converſing with thoſe whom I knew to be more advanced, and in many of theſe interviews it happened, that, notwithſtanding all their ſecrecy, ſome unguarded expreſſions eſcaped the moſt zealous adepts, which threw light on the ſubject. Others lent me their books, preſuming that their obſcureneſs and the want of the eſſential words, or the method of diſcovering them, would baffle all my attempts to underſtand them. I nevertheleſs diſcovered ſome of theſe words, ſuch as *Jehovah*, by uniting ſeveral pages and only taking the bot-

tom letter of each. This famous word discovered, I soon got knowledge of that of *Inri*. I then combined all I had seen, all that I knew of the different degrees, with what I had collected from divers conversations I had had with certain Masons, whose Philosophism was otherwise known to me. I afterwards conversed with the most candid men whom I knew to be in the same degrees. I reprobated particularly those ceremonies so evidently in derision of Religion, and which they had never beheld but as games without any object. I never met with one who denied the facts as I have stated them. They owned the different reading of the word *Inri* in the degree Rosæ Crucis, but they denied the most distant idea of the consequences which I had drawn. Some, on reflection, acknowledged them to be well-founded, while others considered them as vastly exaggerated.

At the time when the Revolution took place, I combined my preceding discoveries, the decrees of the National Assembly, and the secret of the first degree, and no longer doubted that Masonary was but a society formed by men who, on the first initiation of their adepts, gave them the words Liberty and Equality as their secret, leaving to well-meaning and religious Masons to interpret them according to their own principles; yet reserving to themselves to interpret (in their Occult degrees) these same words according to the full extent of the French Revolution.

One of these Brethren, who had long since been admitted to the degree of Rosæ Crucis, but who was at the same time a very virtuous and religious man, was much concerned at seeing me in this opinion. He tried every means to give me a better idea of the society in which he was proud of having filled the most honorable posts. This was a topic on which we had often conversed; and he wished much to make me a convert to Masonry. He was indeed almost affronted with me for saying that he was not initiated into all the mysteries of Masonry, though a Rosicrucian, or else that this degree had its subdivisions, and that he was only partially acquainted with them. At length I convinced him of the fact, by asking the explanation of some of the Masonic *Hieroglyphics*; he owned that he had asked their meaning, but the explanation of them had been refused him; yet he had no doubt of their being as innocent emblems as the Square, the Compass, the Trowel, and

many others. I knew that he had but one degree more to take, and the veil would be rent aſunder. I propoſed or rather marked out the means by which he might acquire that degree; and then I told him, all illuſion as to the real object of the Occult Maſons would vaniſh. He was too eager for being initiated not to make a trial of the means I propoſed; but he was convinced that it would prove ineffectual, and only furniſh him with new arms to combat my unjuſt prejudices againſt Maſonry. A few days after I ſaw him enter my room; but in ſuch a ſtate of agitation, that his lips could ſcarcely utter, "O my dear friend, my dear friend—you were in the "right—Oh, how much you were in the right! . . . "Where have I been? My God! where have I been?" —I eaſily underſtood theſe exclamations; but the poor man could ſcarcely recover himſelf ſo as to continue. He threw himſelf into a chair as if he were exhauſted, perpetually repeating, "Where have I been? "—Oh how much you are in the right!"—I earneſtly deſired him to give me ſome particulars with which I was unacquainted—"Oh how much you were in the "right!" he repeated again; "but that is all I can tell "you."—"Oh, unhappy man," I exclaimed, "you "have then taken that execrable oath, and I am the "perſon who has expoſed you to that raſh deed; I ſincerely aſk your pardon, but I proteſt upon my word, "that I never reflected on that execrable oath when I "ſuggeſted the means by which you might convince "yourſelf, and learn to know thoſe deteſted beings who "have ſo horribly abuſed your credulity. I know that "it had been better for you to have been forever ignorant of that fatal ſecret, than that you ſhould learn "it at the expence of ſo horrid an oath. I really did "not reflect on it, or I ſhould never have expoſed you "to it; no, I could not in conſcience." It was really true, that I never had reflected on this oath. Without examining whether ſuch wicked oaths are binding, I feared being indiſcreet. But it had been ſufficient for me to have ſhown this gentleman that I was acquainted, at leaſt in part, with theſe Occult myſteries. He ſaw clearly by my queſtions, that he had taught me nothing new by an avowal which alone proves the very eſſence of theſe Occult degrees.

His fortune had been ruined by the Revolution; and he declared to me, that it would from that moment be

retrieved, provided he accepted of a propoſal which had been made to him.—" If I chuſe," ſaid he, " to go to " London, Bruxelles, Conſtantinople, or any other " town I pleaſe, neither I, my wife, nor my children, " will ever want for any thing."—" Yes," I replied, " but on condition only that you go there *to preach Lib-* " *erty and Equality; in ſhort all the horrors of the Revo-* " *lution.*"—" *You are right,*" replied he, " *but that is all* " *I can ſay*—Oh, my God, where have I been!—I beg " you will not queſtion me any farther."

This was ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe; but I hoped in time to learn farther particulars. Nor were my hopes vain. The following is what I have gathered from various Maſons, who, finding me acquainted with the major part of their ſecrets, ſpoke the more openly to me, till at length, feeling how much they had been duped by this Occult ſect, they would willingly have revealed all its myſteries, could they have done it without expoſing themſelves to danger.

Myſtical Maſonry.

The explanation which was given to an adept of all that he had ſeen before on his admiſſion to the degree of Roſæ Crucis, depended entirely on the diſpoſition they obſerved in him. If they had to do with a man who was proof againſt their impiety, they ſought to divert him from the Church under pretence of regenerating his faith; they repreſented to him, that there exiſted an infinity of abuſes in Chriſtianity at preſent, with reſpect to the Liberty and Equality of the children of God. With them, the word to be recovered was, a wiſh for a Revolution which ſhould revive thoſe times when every thing was common among Chriſtians, when the diſtinctions of rich, of poor, or of high and mighty Lords, were unknown. They were taught to look forward to the moſt happy regeneration of mankind, and almoſt to a new heaven and a new earth. Credulous and ſimple minds were caught by ſuch magnificent promiſes. They looked upon the Revolution as that ſacred fire which was to purify the earth; and theſe credulous adepts were ſeen to ſecond the Revolution with the enthuſiaſtic zeal of a holy cauſe. This may be called *Myſtical Maſonry.* Such was the craft of all thoſe fools for whom the Occult Maſons ſet up the Propheteſs La Brouſſe, ſo famous in the beginning of the Revolution. Such again was that of the weak-minded Varlet, the Biſhop *in partibus* of Babylon. I never could conceive where he had gathered his religious opinions,

when with the greateſt ſimplicity he complained that I had combated them. I was informed of it by a gueſt of his, whoſe reputation of great knowledge in Maſonry had acquired him a ſeat at the Maſonic repaſts which the poor ſimple man uſed to give; and even at thoſe dinners the difference was obſervable in the adepts, though of the ſame degree, each having received an explanation of the myſteries coinciding with his own diſpoſition. Our ſimple Biſhop viewed the whole ſcience of the Craft in no other light than as the perfection of the Goſpel; and even in his repaſts he was ever mindful of the precepts of the Church, keeping abſtinence on days appointed, &c. The Apoſtate Dom Gerles, on the contrary, was a Maſon of a quite different ſyſtem or explanation. He already ſung thoſe verſes which in a letter ſince found among Robeſpierre's papers,* he declares to have addreſſed to truth alone:

Ni Culte, ni Pretres, ni Roi,
Car la Nouvelle Eve, c'eſt toi.†

It was at theſe repaſts that the Doctor La Mothe, a learned Roſicrucian, behaved with a modeſty which ſeemed to prognoſticate that one day he would equally hate both the craft of Varlet and of Dom Gerles. The latter paid his revolutionary debt to the guillotine; the other two are living, and I name them becauſe I am not afraid of being contradicted, and becauſe theſe ſorts of anecdotes carry ſtrong proof with them, and explain how perſons of the moſt pious and charitable diſpoſitions have been miſled: how a Princeſs, the ſiſter of the Duke of Orleans, was ſo blinded as even to pant after the Revolution, which in her eyes was to be nothing leſs than the regeneration of the Chriſtian world.‡

* Proces Verbal, No. 57.

† Nor Worſhip, nor Prieſts, nor King, for thou art the new Eve.

‡ The art ſhown in this degree ſhould prove a ſalutary leſſon to thoſe who, without any examination, adopt political and religious ideas, and ſport them in every company that will ſubmit to hear them. Had they only reflected on the perſons who had inſtilled them into their minds, or on the authors of the works whence they had adopted their ideas, how many honorable but miſguided perſons would, on ſuch an examination, find they were no more than the blind apoſtles of every religious and political iniquity, and the agents of deſigning men! Abuſes are certainly to be reformed, and our worſhip ought to be pure; but reflexion can never be detrimental to him who wiſhes to ſpeak on either. T.

Such explanations of the Roſicrucian degree were only for thoſe dupes in whom they remarked a certain bias towards myſticity. The generality were abandoned to their own interpretations; but when an adept teſtified a great deſire of acquiring new lights, and was thought able to undergo the neceſſary trials, he was admitted to the degree of *Kadoſch*, or of the *regenerated man*, where all ambiguity ceaſes.

Degree of Kadoſch.

It was to this degree that the adept of whom we have before ſpoken was admitted. Nor was the exhauſted ſtate in which he found himſelf after having undergone thoſe trials to be wondered at. Adepts have told me, that no phyſical art is ſpared; that there is no machinery, ſpectres, terrors, &c. &c. which are not employed, to try the conſtancy of the candidate. We are told by Mr. Monjoye, that the Duke of Orleans was obliged to aſcend, and then throw himſelf off a ladder. If that were all, he was moſt kindly treated. A deep cave, or rather a precipice, whence a narrow tower riſes to the ſummit of the lodge, having no avenue to it but by ſubterraneous paſſages replete with horror, is the place where the candidate is abandoned to himſelf, tied hand and foot. In this ſituation he finds himſelf raiſed from the ground by machines making the moſt frightful noiſe. He ſlowly aſcends this dark vault, ſometimes for hours together, and then ſuddenly falls as if he were not ſupported by any thing. Thus mounting and falling alternately, he muſt carefully avoid ſhowing any ſign of fear. All this however is a very imperfect account of the terrors of which men, who had undergone theſe trials, ſpeak. They declared that it was impoſſible for them to give an exact deſcription of them; they loſt their ſenſes; they did not know where they were. Draughts were given to them, which, adding to their corporal ſtrength, did not reſtore them to their mental faculties; but rather increaſed their ſtrength only to leave them a prey to fury and terror.

Many circumſtances relating to this degree made us believe at firſt ſight that it was connected with *Illuminiſm*; but on examination we find it to be only a farther explanation of the Maſonic allegory. Here again the candidate is transformed into an aſſaſſin. Here it is no longer the founder of Maſonry, Hiram, who is to be avenged, but it is Molay the Grand Maſter of the Knights Templars, and the perſon who is to fall by the

aſſaſſin's hand is *Philippe le Bel*, King of France, under whoſe reign the order of the Templars was deſtroyed.

When the adept ſallies forth from the cavern with the reeking head, he cries *Nekom* (I have killed him.) After this atrocious trial he is admitted to take the oath. I learned from one of the adepts, that at the time when he was about to take the oath, one of the *Knights Kadoſch* held a piſtol at his breaſt, making a ſign that he would murder him if he did not pronounce it. On my aſking if he believed that it was in earneſt, he ſaid that he certainly did believe ſo, though he could not be ſure. At length the veil is rent aſunder. The adept is informed, that till now he had only been partially admitted to the truth; that Liberty and Equality, which had conſtituted the firſt ſecret on his admiſſion into Maſonry, conſiſted in recognizing no ſuperior on earth, and in viewing Kings and Pontiffs in no other light than as men on a level with their fellow men, having no other rights to ſit on the throne, or to ſerve at the altar, but what the people had granted them, and of which they had the power of depriving them whenever they pleaſed. They are alſo informed, that Princes and Prieſts have too long abuſed the goodneſs and ſimplicity of the people; that the grand object of Maſory, in building temples to Liberty and Equality, is, to rid the earth of this double peſt, by deſtroying every altar which credulity and ſuperſtition had erected, and every throne on which were only to be ſeen deſpots tyrannizing over ſlaves.

Theſe documents concerning the degree of Kadoſch are not merely taken from the works of Meſſrs. Monjoye and Le Franc, but from adepts themſelves. Beſides, it is eaſy to perceive how exactly this account correſponds with the avowal of the adept who was obliged to own that I was quite in the right when I told him that this was the final object of Free-maſonry.

Oh how profound the combination of theſe myſteries! their progreſs is ſlow and tortuous; but how artfully each degree tends to the grand object.

The different degrees compared.

In the two firſt degrees, that is to ſay, in thoſe of *Apprentice* and *Fellow-craft*, the ſect begins by throwing out its *Liberty and Equality*. After that, it occupies the attention of its novices with puerile games of fraternity or Maſonic repaſts; but it already trains its adepts to the profoundeſt ſecrecy by the moſt frightful oaths.

In that of *Maſter*, it relates the allegorical hiſtory of Adoniram, who is to be avenged; and of the *word*, which is to be recovered.

In the degree of *Elect*, it trains the adepts to vengeance, without pointing out the perſon on whom it is to fall. It carries them back to the time of the Patriarchs, when, according to them, men knew no religion but that of nature, and when every body was equally Prieſt and Pontiff. But it had not as yet declared that all religion revealed ſince the time of the Patriarchs was to be thrown aſide.

This laſt myſtery is only developed in the Scotch degrees. There the brethren are declared free: The word ſo long ſought for is, Deiſm; it is the worſhip of Jehovah, ſuch as was known to the Philoſophers of nature. The true Maſon becomes the Pontiff of Jehovah; and ſuch is the grand myſtery by which he is extricated from that darkneſs in which the prophane are involved.

In the degree *Roſæ Crucis* he who wreſted the *word*, who deſtroyed the worſhip of *Jehovah*, is Chriſt himſelf, the Author of Chriſtianity; and it is on the Goſpel and on the Son of Man that the adept is to avenge the brethren, the Pontiffs of *Jehovah*.

At length, on his reception as *Kadoſch*, he learns that the aſſaſſin of Adoniram is the King, who is to be killed to avenge the Grand Maſter Molay, and the order of the Maſons ſucceſſors of the Knights Templars. The religion which is to be deſtroyed to recover the *word*, or the true doctrine, is the religion of Chriſt, founded on revelation. This word in its full extent is *Liberty and Equality*, to be eſtabliſhed by the total overthrow of the altar and the throne.

Such are the incipient degrees, the proceſs, and the whole ſyſtem of Maſonry; it is thus that the ſect by its gradual explanation of its twofold principle of *Liberty and Equality*, of its allegory of the founder of Maſonry to be avenged, of the word to be recovered, leading the adepts from ſecret to ſecret, at length initiates them into the whole Jacobinical code of Revolution.

We are not to loſe ſight of the extreme care with which the adept is queſtioned on all that he has ſeen before, whenever he is initiated to a new degree, leſt he ſhould overlook the intimate connection ſubſiſting between each; and thus in the firſt degrees *Liberty and Equality* are given to him as the ſecret, while the

complete explanation and application of them form the myſteries of the laſt.*

The more frightful theſe hidden myſteries of the Lodges ſhall appear to the hiſtorian, the more ſtrenuouſly it becomes his duty to inſiſt on the numbers of honeſt Maſons who never partook of theſe horrid myſteries. Nothing is more eaſy than to be duped in Maſonry. Such may have been the lot of thoſe who only ſeek to make acquaintances in the Lodges, or to paſs their leiſure hours with men apparently intimate at firſt ſight. It is true, that this intimacy ſeldom extends beyond the walls of the Lodge; but the days of their meeting are often days of feſtivity. Theſe repaſts are certainly heightened by the temporary Equality, which adds much to the mirth of the meeting; and all cares ſubſide for the day. What has been ſaid of certain aſſemblies where decency was not reſpected, is moſt certainly the invention of calumny. The extreme order and morality of theſe meetings has often proved a ſnare to captivate thoſe who are to be caught with outward appearances, and Caglioſtro's infamous behaviour would have made many deſert the Lodges. This monſtrous Adonis diſguſted all Straſbourg, and was betrayed by the cries of the Egyptian ſiſters. It was no longer the age when the myſteries of the Adamites could be approved of. He was driven from that town for having attempted to introduce them. He would in like manner have ruined the craft had he continued to confound his Lodges with thoſe of the Eaſt. Such was not the behaviour of our modern Maſonry; on the contrary it appeared, that it had neither Religion nor Government in view; and they were ſeldom mentioned in the generality of Lodges. It was only on the day of initiation, that the reflecting adept could ſurmiſe that it had any future object; but even on thoſe very days the trials were rather a ſubject of diverſion than of reflection; and, ſo far from meditating on the allegorical emblems, they were rather diverted from it by the ſect, until favorable diſpoſitions had been diſcovered in them for their farther initiation. The ſect well

* I am not ignorant of the exiſtence of ſeveral other degrees in Occult Maſonry, ſuch as thoſe of the *Star* and of the *Druids*. The Pruſſians have added theirs, and the French have done as much. We thought it ſufficient to attach ourſelves to the moſt common ones, as moſt proper to delineate the conduct and ſpirit of the ſect.

knew ... a day would come when when a ſmall number ... occult Maſons would ſuffice to put all the infer ... titude of adepts in motion. It is thus that it m... ily explained how there have exiſted ſo many ... Maſons, and how ſo many are ſtill to be found who have never ſurmiſed any thing in their games but the myſteries of an innocent Liberty and Equality, no ways alluding either to Religion or the ſtate.

In defence of Engliſh Maſonry, we may add, that they allow only of the three firſt degrees. Prudence and wiſdom have made them reject the wiſh of avenging the death of Adoniram on his pretended aſſaſſin, a wiſh that we have ſeen converted in the Occult Lodges into a deſire of revenging the Maſons and their founder Molay, and then into a wiſh of avenging the Maſonic Liberty and Equality by the extinction of all Kings. Nothing of this is to be found in the Engliſh Maſonry. Nor is that myſterious purſuit of the *word* which was loſt by Adoniram to be traced. You are immediately informed that it is *Jehovah*. He who could wiſh to draw certain inferences from this, would have a long courſe of reaſonings to run through, none of which appear to have ever been thought of by the Engliſh Maſons. With them *Jehovah* is no more than the univerſal god of human nature; it is to be ſure rather extraordinary that they ſhould pretend to be the only people who have any knowledge of that God; but their concluſion is, that all mankind, and particularly the Freemaſons, ought to live with and ſuccour each other like brethren. Nothing appears in their myſteries tending towards the hatred of Chriſtianity, or that of Kings.

Their laws and inſtitutes with reſpect to Religion are comprehended in declaring, "That a Maſon will "never be a ſtupid Atheiſt nor an irreligious Libertine. "That though in former times every Maſon was obli- "ged to profeſs the religion of the ſtate or nation he "lived in, at preſent, leaving every one to enjoy his "own private opinions, they are only bound to follow "the religion in which every body agrees, a religion "which conſiſts in being good, ſincere, modeſt, and "men of honour." Certainly ſuch laws do not oblige the Engliſh Maſon to be a Deiſt, but only to be an honeſt man, whatever may be his religion.

With regard to the civil powers, a part of their laws are expreſſed as follows: "A Maſon ſhall be a peacea- "ble ſubject, and cheerfully conform to the laws of

" the country in which he reſides. He ſhall not be " concerned in plots or conſpiracies againſt Govern- " ment; and he ſhall pay proper reſpect to the civil " Magiſtrate. Should a brother be implicated in re- " bellion againſt the ſtate, he ſhall not be ſupported in " his rebellion." Such are the laws to be found in Thomas Wolſon and William Preſton, the one full of contempt the other full of zeal for Engliſh Maſonry; both nevertheleſs agree as to the laws of the Lodges. We are not therefore to confound Engliſh Maſonry with the Occult Lodges, which they have prudently rejected.

We perfectly well know that many Engliſh are initiated in the Occult myſteries of the Roſicrucians and Scotch degrees; but it is not their *Occult Science* which conſtitutes them Engliſh Maſons; for the firſt three degrees are all that are acknowledged in England.

Having made theſe exceptions, we ſhall continue our proofs; for it is not on their degrees alone that we have founded our judgment of the Occult Maſons.—Were we ſtrangers to their rites and ceremonies, the reader will judge what opinions we ſhould form on peruſing the doctrines of their moſt celebrated writers.

CHAP. XI.

New Proofs of the Syſtem and Myſteries of the Occult Maſons.

IN order to form a proper idea of the extent of the ſyſtem of the Occult Lodges of Free-maſonry, let us combine in this Chapter two eſſential points; firſt, the general doctrine of the moſt zealous and learned Maſons; ſecondly, their divers opinions as to their origin.

Diviſion of the Syſtems and Maſonic ſects.

Maſonic writers in general divide Free-maſonry into three claſſes, the Hermetic, the Cabaliſtic (which comprehends the Martiniſts,) and the Eclectic Maſon. Let us firſt take a view of the religious tenets of theſe different claſſes, and we ſhall find that, like our modern Sophiſters, they only agree in one point, and that is in their hatred to Chriſtianity and Revelation; in all other points we ſhall find them in perfect oppoſition to one another with reſpect to their religious tenets or rather blaſphemous impieties.

Hermetic Maſonry.

The Hermetic Maſonry, or the Scotch degrees, who work in chymiſtry, have adopted *Pantheiſm or the true Spinoſiſm.* With them *every thing is God, and God is every thing.* That is their grand myſtery, engraved in one word *Jehovah* on the ſtone brought by the Knights Templars from the Holy Land.

Let the reader refer to the preface of the zealous Knight of St. Andrew, who has given us ſuch a circumſtantial account of theſe degrees. He will there ſee our Knight reducing the reſult of his whole doctrine to this famous text of Hermes Triſmegiſtus, "All is "part of God; if all is part, the whole muſt be God. "Therefore every thing that is made made itſelf, and "will never ceaſe to act, for this agent cannot re"poſe. And as God has no end, ſo can his works have "neither beginning nor end." After having recited this paſſage our Pantheiſtical adept tells us, "Such is "the ſummary though expreſſive belief of the whole "Hermetic Syſtem;" in a word the whole religious ſyſtem of the Scotch degrees, with the diſcovery of which he is ſo much pleaſed.

Let not the reader suppose that he attempts to explain away the expression *all is God*. In his opinion nothing but the grossest ignorance and prejudice can disapprove of the assertion. It is in vain to object, that, making the grain of sand, the Heavens, the Earth, the animal, or man, *a part of God*, is rendering the Deity divisible; for he will answer, that it is only the grossest ignorance which hides from us, that *those millions of millions of parts are so united together and so essentially constitute a God* WHOLE, *that to separate a single particle would be to annihilate the* WHOLE *itself, or the Great* JEHOVAH. But, lest the Knight of the Craft should be vain on finding himself a part of God, our Hierophant informs us, that *as the little finger is always less than the whole body; so is man, though a small particle of God, infinitely smaller that* JEHOVAH. Our adept may nevertheless rejoice, how ever small a particle he may be of the Deity, as the day will come when he is to be reunited to *the great* WHOLE, the day when, every thing being reunited to the great Jehovah, harmony will be complete, *and true Pantheism will be established for ever.**

It is to be hoped that the reader does not expect us to trouble ourselves with the refutation of so monstrous a system. The preface however is not the only part of that work which lays down this system as the tenets of these degrees; for, after the description of them, we find what are called *Solomon's Thesis*; also the *Archetype world*; and these are productions all tending to strengthen them in their impiety.† We shall not therefore be accused of calumniating this branch of Masonry by attributing to it a system which makes the villain, like the just man, a constituent part of the Deity, and represents vice and virtue as the very action of the Deity; a system which promises the same destiny to the good and to the wicked, of being *re-united to the Deity*; and thus, after having ceased to be man, of being God to all eternity.

Cabalistic Masonry.

The Cabalistic system, without being less impious, is far more humiliating for the human understanding; and that especially in an age which pretends to the high-sounding appellation of the Philosophic age, of the age of light. It was in the Prussian Lodges of the Rosicrucians that this Cabalistic system was to be found; at

* Preface to the Scotch Degrees.

† Second Part, Edition of Stockholm, 1782.

leaſt before their union with the Illuminès.* We have authentic information, that this was adopted by certain Lodges of Roſicrucians in France a few years before the Revolution, and particularly at Bourdeaux. To prevent, however, all poſſibility of being miſtaken, whatever we ſhall ſay on this ſubject ſhall be grounded on the Cabaliſtic lectures lately printed under the title of *Teleſcope de Zoroaſtre.* They are dedicated to one of thoſe Princes whom the author does not name, but whoſe zealous purſuits in theſe myſteries are ſufficiently known by public report. With ſuch a guide we ſhall not be accuſed of impoſing on our readers.

The JEHOVAH of this ſect is no longer the *God WHOLE*; but he is at once the *God SISAMORO*, and the *God SENAMIRA.* The firſt is joined by the *Genius SALLAK*, and the ſecond by the *Genius SOKAK.* If theſe famous Cabaliſtic words are inverted, we have *Oromaſis* or the *God GOOD*, and *Arimanes* the *God EVIL*, and the Genii will become *Kallas* and *Kakos*, *pretty correctly Greek for GOOD and BAD.*†

Thus in attributing to OROMASIS a multitude of *good* Genii or ſpirits like himſelf, and to ARIMANES *evil* Genii participating of his own wickedneſs, we have the JEHOVAH of *Cabaliſtic Maſonry*; that is to ſay, the *word* to be recovered in their Lodges, or the tenets to be ſubſtituted to thoſe of Chriſtianity.

Of theſe good and evil Genii, ſome are more perfect ſpirits and preſide over the planets, the riſing and ſetting of the Sun, the increaſe and decreaſe of the Moon; others, inferior to the firſt, but ſuperior to the human ſoul, exerciſe their empire over the Stars and Conſtellations; but in both theſe claſſes, the good are the angels of life, victory and happineſs, while the bad are the angels of death and calamity. All know the ſecrets of the paſt, preſent, and to come, and can impart this great ſcience to the adepts. To captivate their favour, the Cabaliſtic Maſon is to ſtudy what we ſhould call the Conjuring-book. He muſt be well verſed in the names and ſigns of the planets and conſtellations; he muſt alſo know whether it be a good or evil Genius which preſides over it, and which are the numbers that repreſent them. By the word *Ghenelia*, for example, he muſt underſtand the riſing Sun, a pure, mild and active ſpirit, preſiding at births, and at all natural affections

* Letters from Philon to Spartacus.

† Teleſcope de Zoroaſtre, page 13.

which are good. *Sethophoros*, on the contrary, is Saturn, the planet which may be looked upon as the head-quarters of the evil Genii.

It is not our object to give a dictionary of all their Hieroglyphics, much less to describe the circles, the triangles, the table, the urns, and the magic mirrors, in a word all the science of the Cabalistic Rosicrucian. The reader has seen a sufficient specimen, to be convinced, that the whole is an incoherent system of the vilest and grossest superstition. It might be only humiliating to nature, did not the adept carry his impiety to such an extent, that he looks upon the communication with, and apparitions of the Devils, whom he invokes under the appellation of Genii, as a special favour, and on them he relies for the whole success of his enchantments. If we are to credit the masters of the art, the Cabalistic Mason will be favoured by these good and evil Genii, in proportion to the confidence he has in their power; they will appear to him, and they will explain more to him in the magic table, than the human understanding can conceive.

Nor is the adept to fear the company of the *evil Genii*. He must firmly believe, that *the worst among them*, the most hideous of those beings which the vulgar call *Devils, are never bad company for mortals*. In many cases he is to prefer the company of these evil Genii to that of the good; the latter frequently costing you your rest, fortune, and sometimes even your life; while we often have the greatest obligations to the former.*

From whencesoever these Genii or Devils may come, it is from them alone that the adept can learn the occult sciences, which will infuse into him the spirit of prophecy. He will be informed, that Moses, the Prophets, and the three Kings, had no other teachers, no other art, but that of Cabalistic Masonry, like him and Nostradamus.

When immersed in this delirium of folly and impiety the adept becomes dear to the sect. He will have shown that he prefers the doctrine of *Sisamoro* and of *Senamira* to that of the gospel; that he had rather be a madman than a Christian; and then he will have attained the grand object of the last mysteries of Cabalistic Masonry.

Those Masons who may have adopted a different

* Id. page 118 and 136.

courſe to arrive at the ſame end, are to take great care not to diſcredit the Cabal. Though they diſbelieve the art themſelves, let them ſay at leaſt, "That there is "nothing wonderful in judicial aſtrology but its means; "that its tendency is extremely ſimple: That it is very "poſſible, that at the hour of your birth a ſtar ſhould "be in a certain poſition of the Heavens, and in a par- "ticular aſpect, and that nature ſhould follow a par- "ticular courſe, which, through a concatenation of "cauſes, would be favourable or fatal to you."— Then let them add a few Sophiſms to corroborate this idea, and give themſelves out for learned Philoſophers, and the ſect will approve their conduct as tending to avenge the Cabaliſtic Maſon, and bring his ſcience into repute.*

Were I not writing for the Hiſtorian, I ſhould fear to abuſe my reader's patience with the enumeration of theſe abſurdities of Occult Maſonry. But in deſcribing the grand cauſes of a Revolution *which threatens all Europe*, it is neceſſary at leaſt to give a general idea of thoſe ſyſtems of Impiety and Rebellion whence it originated. We ſpare him the trouble of reſearch, he will only have to verify our quotations; he will know from what ſources he is to derive his proofs. Beſide, one the moſt dangerous arts of the ſect, is not only to hide its tenets and its variegated means of attaining its Revolutionary object, but it wiſhes even to conceal the very names of its different claſſes. That which may appear to be the fartheſt from Impiety or Rebellion may be the moſt ſtrenuous in its attempts to revive the antique ſyſtems of the bittereſt enemies to Governments and to Chriſtianity.

It may be matter of ſurpriſe to many, to ſee me comprehend the Martiniſts among the latter, they are, nevertheleſs, the perſons whom I had in view. As to the origin of Mr. de St. Martin, who has given them

* See the *Continuation* OF *ERRORS* AND OF *TRUTH by an unknown Philoſopher*. Maſonic Era 5784, Chap. OF VICES AND ADVANTAGES. Notwithſtanding the title of this book, it is far from being a *Continuation* of the work of which I am about to treat. It was only a ſnare laid by Holbach's club, who, ſeeing the immenſe run which Mr. de St. Martin's work had, adopted the title of *Continuation* OF *ERRORS* AND OF *TRUTH* to attract the curioſity of the public. In this pretended continuation, whole pages are copied from the works of the club, coinciding in nothing with Mr. de St. Martin's ſyſtem, excepting in its zeal for Maſonry.

his name, we are ignorant; but we defy any body to ſhow a greater appearance of probity, or to aſſume a more devout and melliſluous myſtical ſtrain, than the hypocriſy of this ſpurious offspring of Curbicus the ſlave.* We have been acquainted with men whom he had ſeduced, with others that he wiſhed to ſeduce, and all ſpoke of his great zeal and reſpect for Chriſt and his goſpel, and for Governments. We ſhall ſeek his doctrines and his views in his own writings, in the *Apocalypſe* of his adepts, in his famous book OF ERRORS AND OF TRUTH. We have learned to our coſt what labour and what pains are neceſſary to unravel this work of darkneſs; but ſurely the ſame perſeverance ſhould be ſhown by the diſciples of truth, as by the adepts of darkneſs.

Much patience is requiſite to underſtand and to elucidate the code of the Martiniſt Maſon, amidſt its myſterious language of numbers and enigmas. We will ſpare as much as poſſible this trouble to our readers. Let the Hero of theſe doctrines appear, and he will be found to be no other than the ſervile copyiſt of the abſurdities of the Hereſiarch ſlave, and a rival of his hypocriſy. With all the tortuoſities of MANES we ſhall behold him leading his adepts through the ſame paths, infuſing into them the ſame hatred for the altars of

* *Terebinthus*, or *Budda*, a diſciple of *Scythian*, a conjurer, finding that the Perſian Prieſts oppoſed his deſigns, retired to a *widow's houſe* in Paleſtine to whom he left all his money and books. She bought a ſlave named CURBICUS, whom ſhe afterwards adopted and cauſed to be inſtructed in all the ſciences of Perſia. After her death he quitted the name of *Curbicus*, to blot out the memory of his firſt condition, and took that of MANES, which in the Perſian language ſignifies *diſcourſe*. For an account of his doctrines many learned writers, and particularly St. Auguſtin, may be conſulted. They are repreſented as the common ſewer of all the impieties of the times, and as the ſeat of empire which Satan had choſen to himſelf.

Manes had the inſolence to promiſe the King of Perſia that he would cure his ſon by his prayers, and the credulous Prince, believing him, neglected the remedies of art, and ſent away his phyſicians. The ſon died, and Manes was thrown into priſon; but, eſcaping from thence, he fled into Meſopotamia; after various adventures however, falling into the hands of the King of Perſia, he was flayed alive, and his carcaſe caſt upon the dunghill to be devoured by wild beaſts. His ſkin was ſtuffed, and hung up on one of the city gates. His followers honored him as a martyr, and, in memory of his being flayed with reeds, *they ſlept on them*.—(See the Annals of the Church,"—Third Age. T.

Chriſtianity, for the thrones of Sovereigns, and for all political eſtabliſhments whatever. We will begin with his religious ſyſtems; but though we ſhall compreſs whole volumes of impious abſurdity into a few pages, ſtill we muſt again appeal to the patience of the reader; for as their Martiniſt Maſons contributed much to the Revolution, it is neceſſary that their ſophiſtical reveries ſhould be known.

We are, then, to form an idea of a *firſt being; one; univerſal; of himſelf; and the beginning of all principle.* At firſt ſight, this *firſt being* appears to be the *God WHOLE*, or the *Jehovah* of Pantheiſm: and ſuch really is the *firſt being* of the Martiniſts.* But this *God WHOLE* comprehends a twofold God; one the principle of *good*, the other of *evil*. The former, though produced by the *firſt being*, *holds of itſelf the whole of its power, and all its worth.* It is infinitely good, and can *only do good.* It produces another being of its own ſubſtance, at firſt good like itſelf, but which ſoon becomes infinitely bad, and can do nothing but evil.† The *God GOOD*, though it holds all its power of itſelf, could neither create this *world, nor any corporeal being, without the means of the God EVIL*:‡ the one *acts*, the other *reacts*, and from their conflicts the world is framed, and bodies are formed of the *ſparks*, as it were, emanating from this ſtruggle between the *God or principle of GOOD, and the God or principle of EVIL.*

"Man already exiſted at that time, *as no origin can* "*be anterior to man.* He is antecedent to any being in "nature; he exiſted before the birth of the Genii; "nevertheleſs he only came after them.§ Man at that "time exiſted without a body, and a much preferable "ſtate to that in which he is at preſent; for, inaſmuch "as his actual ſtate is limited, and replete with diſ-"guſt, ſo was his former unlimited and abounding in "delights."‖

* Of Errors and of Truth, 2d Part, page 149.
† Firſt Section.
‡ Ibid. Of Temporal Cauſes and Concatenations.
§ Ibid. Of Primitive Man.
‖ Ibid.—We think it neceſſary to inform our readers, that we have made uſe of the Edinburgh edition, which is the leaſt enigmatical. As Philoſophiſm and Impiety gained ground, the Martiniſts thought they might have fewer *voluntary* obſcurities, and they have ſuppreſſed, or given in common print, what was originally only expreſſed in cyphers, in which the firſt edition abounds.

By the ill uſe he made of his Liberty, he erred from the centre at which the *God* GOOD had placed him; he then acquired a body, and that was the period of his firſt fall. But in his fall he preſerved his dignity; he is ſtill of the ſame *eſſence* as the *God* GOOD. To convince ourſelves of it, "we have only to reflect on the na- "ture of thought; and we ſhall ſoon perceive, that it "being ſimple, one, and unalterable, there can be but "one ſort of being capable of it; as nothing can be "common between beings of different natures. We "ſhall obſerve, that if man has in himſelf an idea of a "Supreme Being, of an active and intelligent cauſe "which executes his will, he muſt be of the ſame eſ- "ſence as that ſuperior Being."† Therefore, according to the Martiniſt Syſtem, *the God* GOOD, *the God* EVIL, and every *thinking being*, or, in other words, God, Man, and the Devil, are of the ſame nature, the ſame eſſence, and the ſame ſpecies.

If therefore the adept does not think himſelf God or Devil, it is not the fault of his teachers. There is, however, a remarkable difference between man and the *God* EVIL. For the Devil, or the principle of Evil, ſeparated from the *God* GOOD, can never return to him; whereas man will return to the ſame ſtate he was in antecedently to time and the *ſparkling* conflict. "He er- "red by going from four to nine, but re-eſtabliſhes "himſelf by returning from nine to four."‡

This enigmatical jargon becomes more intelligible as the adept advances in the myſteries. He learns that the number *four* ſignifies *a ſtrait line*—number *nine* the *circumference* or the *curve line*:§ then that the ſun is a *quaternary* number; that number *nine* repreſents *the*

† Ibid. Of the Affinities of Thinking Beings, page 205.

‡ This was preciſely the leſſon Mr. de St. Martin was explaining to the Marquis de C——. He traced his circles on the table; then, pointing to the centre, he added, "You ſee how every "thing emanating from the centre moves in the radius to reach "the circumference."—"I perceive it," ſays the Marquis; "but I alſo obſerve, that having reached the circumference this "body emanating from the centre may proceed in a tangent or "a ſtrait line; and then I do not underſtand how you can de- "monſtrate that it muſt neceſſarily be returned back to the cen- "tre." This was ſufficient to diſconcert the learned Doctor of the Martiniſts. He nevertheleſs continued to teach, that ſouls emanating from God by the number four, would return to him by the number nine.

§ Ibid. 2d Part, page 106, 126.

moon, and consequently *the earth of which it is but a satellite*:* and hence the adept concludes that man anterior to time was in the sun or in the centre of light. That he flew from thence by the radius, and that, passing by the moon, he remains on the earth, until the time comes when he shall be reflected back to his centre, to be incorporated with the *God* GOOD.

In the mean time, till he can enjoy that happiness, "it is a most fallacious system to pretend to lead men "to wisdom *by the frightful description of eternal flames in "a life to come.* Such descriptions are of no avail when "unfelt; therefore the blind teachers, who can only "represent those torments to us in imagination, must "necessarily produce but little effect upon us."†

The enlightened Martinist, soaring above such teachers, erases the pains of hell from his moral code; and it is worthy of remark, that this is the leading feature in the Systems of the Sophisters of the Occult Lodges, as well as of the Sophisters of the Secret Academy. We should be tempted to suppose, that they knew no means of working their salvation but by destroying the possibility of being damned; and that, by denying the existence of hell, they sought to harden themselves and all nations to crimes the most deserving of the divine vengeance.

The Martinist substitutes "*three temporal worlds.* "There are but three degrees of Expiation, or three "degrees of real F. M. *(Free-masonry.")* This is pretty clearly asserting, that the perfect Mason neither has sin to fear, nor penance to perform; but in every sense the reader can no longer doubt of the systematic impiety which reigns throughout these absurdities, in direct opposition to the Gospel. It was not sufficient for the sect to renew in their hatred the ancient blasphemies of a senseless Philosophy; but the detestation of Laws, Sovereigns, and Governments, was to mingle with their mysteries; and in this our Martinist adept only primes over the Jacobin, by the art and cunning with which he infuses his spirit of Rebellion, and broods over the downfal of the Throne.

Let not the zealous adept appear, protesting his respect for the Throne or Government; I have heard their protestations, I have heard those of their masters;

* Ibid. Page 114 and 215.
† Ibid. First Section.

but I have alſo heard their doctrines, and ſeen their tranſactions. It is in vain for their chief to teach them privately, or to envelop them in enigmatic language; for, had I not hereafter to unfold the iniquitous myſteries of the Illuminèes, the reader would be ready to pronounce, without heſitation, that of all the conſpiring ſects the Martiniſt Lodges are the moſt dangerous.

Necker, La Fayette, or Mirabeau, notwithſtanding their Sovereignty of the People, ſought a Conſtitutional King; Briſſot, Syeyes, or Petion, ſupported the Republican Syſtem; conventions, compacts, and oaths, were admitted by both. But the Martiniſt denies the legitimacy of every Empire which may have originated in violence, force, or conqueſt; he denies all ſociety whoſe foundation reſts on conventions or compacts, though freely entered into. The former are acts of tyranny, which never can be legitimated; no antiquity, no *preſcription* can render them valid, *preſcription* being a mere invention of tyranny, as a palliative to injuſtice, in direct oppoſition to the laws of nature, which knows of no ſuch invention. "The edifice formed on a voluntary aſſociation is equally as imaginary as if it were "on a forced aſſociation."* To prove theſe two aſſertions, and particularly the latter, is the main object of our Hero's Sophiſtry. He eaſily decides, that it is *impoſſible that any ſocial compact could have been freely entered into by all the individuals of a ſtate.* He aſks, *whether it ſtands to reaſon that man ſhould rely on thoſe who had formed ſuch a compact, or whether they ever had the power of forming it?* He examines the queſtion, and concludes, "that a voluntary aſſociation is neither more juſt nor "reaſonable than it is practicable, ſince by ſuch an act, "man muſt inveſt other men with a right (his own liberty) which he cannot diſpoſe of himſelf; and ſince "he transfers a right which he has not, *he makes a con-*"*vention which is abſolutely void, and which neither him-*"*ſelf, the chiefs, nor ſubjects can put into execution, ſince* "*it can neither have been binding on the one nor the other.*"†

Then come the innocent artifices of proteſtations of fidelity and ſubmiſſion to the reigning powers, and invitations not to trouble the order of the exiſting laws and governments; but ſtupidity itſelf cannot be duped by ſuch artifices. After the Martiniſt has told us, that ſocial compacts, though freely formed, are null, and

* Ibid. Section 5. † Ib. Part II. Sect. 5, page 9.

that associations formed by force are void, what can be the submission which the Civil Laws, the Magistrates, or the Princes can exact from their subjects?

The Hero of the Martinists also shudders at the very idea of revolt, or of insurrection; but then it is because the individual is exposed to acts of violence resulting from *private authority*. When the mob shall have imbibed these principles, when *private* violences are no longer to be feared, what will all these restrictions and exhortations avail for the preservation of peace and submission to the constituted authorities? Does not the Martinist try every means to persuade that same mob that there never existed a legitimate Prince, nor a lawful Government? Is he not perpetually recalling them to their *first origin*, "when the rights of one "man over another were not known, because it was "impossible that such rights could exist among *equal* "*beings*?"*

With them, it is sufficient to observe the variations of Governments, and their succession; that some have perished, others are perishing, or will perish before the end of the world, to be convinced that they are no more than the offspring of *the caprice of man, or of their disordered imaginations*.†

In fine, I know that the Martinist makes profession of a true government, a real authority of man over men, and that he pleases to call it a Monarchy. But notwithstanding all the subtilties of his mysterious language, this very profession will prove to be the most universal Conspiracy against every existing Government. He tells us, that there is a superiority to be acquired by one man over others, the superiority of learning, of means, of experience, which bring him nearer to his *original state*, and this is a superiority *of fact*, "and of necessity, because other men, having applied "less and not having reaped the same advantages, will "stand in need of him, from the poverty and dimness "of their faculties."‡ The reader will naturally conclude, that according to this system nobody could exercise a lawful authority over his equals, but in right of his virtues, his experience, and his means of being useful. And that is in reality the first artifice of the sect, which immediately overthrows all idea of hereditary

* Ibid. Part II. page 16 and 17.
† Ibid. Of the Instability of Governments, page 34 and 35.
‡ Ibid. page 18.

ſucceſſion, which ſubmits the rights of the Sovereign to the reveries of the factious and of the populace on the virtue, talents, and ſucceſs of him who governs. But let us follow their windings, and unfold their myſterious writings. "If every man, ſay they, attained to the ſame degree of his own power, then every man would be a King."

Theſe words evidently ſhow, that in the ſenſe of the Martiniſt, he only is not King who is not arrived at the laſt degree of *his power*, or of his ſtrength in the *natural* ſtate. A little further it appears, that this difference alone can conſtitute a real political authority, that ſuch is the *principle of unity*, *the only one* by which nature allows the exerciſe of a legitimate authority over men, *the only light which can re-unite them in a body.**

The reader may believe it to be a chimerical reſearch to ſeek in the hiſtory of man for a ſociety where he alone commands whoſe *powers* or faculties have been the beſt developed in the order of nature, where he alone obeys who has not acquired this *degree of power*; but the Martiniſt will carry him back "to thoſe happy days "ſaid to have had no exiſtence but in the imagination "of the poets, becauſe, diſtant from them, and ſtrangers to their ſweets, we have been weak enough to "believe, that becauſe we did not enjoy them, they "could not exiſt."†

Should you not immediately perceive that the only legitimate authority is that exerciſed of old, or in the golden age, when each father of a family was the ſole king; when the ſon, acquiring ſufficient ſtrength and age to develope his *powers*, became king himſelf; ſhould you deny theſe conſequences, and object, that no government had ever perpetuated itſelf ſince the commencement of the world, and that conſequently the rule given to diſcover the only legitimate government pointed out none; you are then left to your own imagination, and the adept will continue, "Nevertheleſs, "it is one of thoſe truths which I can beſt affirm, nor "do I pledge myſelf too far, when I certify to my "equals, that there are governments which have *ſubſiſted ever ſince man was firſt placed upon earth, and will "ſubſiſt until the end*; and that for the ſame reaſons which made me aſſert, that here below there always had been and always will be legitimate governments."‡

* Ibid. page 29. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. page 35 and 36.

What then are or can be theſe legitimate governments which the Martiniſt recognizes? What can be theſe governments which have ſubſiſted from the beginning, and will ſubſiſt until the end of time? None can be ſurmiſed, but that of the patriarchs, or of the firſt families governed by the ſole paternal authority. In later ages, can any other be found than that of iſolated families, or of the Nomades, the Tartars, or the Savages roaming through foreſts without any other chief than the father of the family? And it is there alone, that thoſe whoſe age has equally developed their ſtrength and *their power*, will find themſelves all *equal* and each *a king*, that is to ſay, each one recognizing no other law than his own, and each acquiring at the ſame age all the power of a father over his children. This government may perhaps be traced in civil ſociety; each private family abſtractedly taken may be ſaid to perpetuate this government, and it has exiſted and will perpetuate itſelf until the end of time. Now let the reader reflect on what has been ſaid on governments formed by force or free compact, on thoſe governments which have periſhed, do periſh, or will periſh before the end of time, and which by this diſtinctive mark are known to be illegitimate. He will clearly perceive, that all the zeal of the Martiniſts for the *true monarchy*, for the *only legitimate* government, the *only one conſiſtent with nature*, the only one laſting as the world, is nothing elſe but the wiſh of reducing all ſociety, all legitimate authority, to that of a father governing his children; to overturn every throne and annihilate every law but that of the ancient patriarchs.

Such is the whole tendency of the political ſyſtem of the Martiniſts. Many more blaſphemies both religious and political might be extracted from this work; nor would it be impoſſible to prove, that in the ſenſe of the Martiniſts, the *great adultery* of man, the true cauſe of all his misfortunes in this world, the real original ſin of mankind, was his having divorced himſelf from the laws of nature, to ſubject himſelf to laws which nature condemns, to thoſe of Emperors, of Kings, and even of Republics, in a word, to any other authority except the paternal.* But this matter would require us to follow all the windings of their myſterious language, a taſk that would be as tedious to my reader as

* Part II. Sect. 5. Art. ADULTERY.

to myſelf. I truſt therefore that he will not be diſpleaſed with me for having ſpared him the labour of reſearch, which I have endured in the taſk of gathering from amidſt theſe *voluntary obſcurities* ſome of thoſe luminous traits which now and then eſcape the ſect; and the re-union of which leaves no doubt as to the grand object of this Apocalypſe.

In reading over and ſtudying this extraordinary code, one would be tempted to decide with Voltaire, *that there never was printed a more abſurd, obſcure, mad, or fooliſh work;* and we ſhould be equally ſurprized that ſuch a code had produced ſo many enthuſiaſts, or that we know not what *Dean* of Philoſophy had been ſo much enchanted with it.† But in all probability this *Dean* had not ſent the word of the enigma to Voltaire; he had not told him that this voluntary obſcurity was one of the moſt powerful means employed by the ſect to cruſh the altar and the throne. The works of Voltaire himſelf had not the celebrity of Mr. de St. Martin's Apocalypſe. The greater the obſcurity the more it attracted the curioſity and piqued the vanity of his diſciples; the adepts of the firſt claſs tutored and explained it to the young novices, and none were more eager than thoſe of the fair ſex. Their dreſſing-rooms were motamorphoſed into ſecret ſchools, where the interpreting adept developed the myſteries of each page, and the novice in ecſtacy applauded the myſtery which was hidden from the vulgar. Little by little the novice herſelf became an interpreter, and founded a ſpecies of ſchool. This is not a mere aſſertion; ſuch ſchools for the explanation of the code exiſted at Paris and in the Provinces, particularly at Avignon, the head-quarters of the Martiniſts. I was and am acquainted with ſeveral perſons who were introduced to theſe ſchools. They were the preparatory ſteps to initiation. There they learned the art of impoſing on the ſimple by factitious apparitions, which ended by caſting ridicule on the ſect; the art of conjuring up the dead; the art of making abſent perſons ſpeak, or of ſeeing them at a thouſand miles diſtance; in fine, all thoſe arts which quacks and mountebanks of all ages have invented to delude the populace, and rob them of their money, the Martiniſt ſtudied to enable them to make converts to Impiety and Rebellion.

† Let. of Voltaire to D'Alembert, Oct. 22, 1776.

This ſect made great progreſs in France and Germany; ſome even have reached England; and every where their grand object is to repreſent the French Revolution as the fire which is to purify the world.

Notwithſtanding the multitude of the Martiniſt Maſons, they are not nearly ſo numerous as the Eclectic Maſons; and theſe indeed ſhould naturally predominate in an age when the Philoſophiſm of the Atheiſts and Deiſts only ſucceeds to the ancient hereſies in order to abſorb them all.

Eclectic Maſonry

The appellation of Eclectic is applied to a Free-maſon, as it was formerly to certain Philoſophers. We are to underſtand by this word thoſe of the adepts who, after having paſſed through the different degrees of Maſonry, attach themſelves to no particular ſyſtem, either political or religious, into which they have been initiated, but adopt from them all whatever may beſt ſuit their political or religious views.* They are neither Hermetic, Cabaliſtic nor Martiniſt Maſons; they are what they pleaſe, Deiſts, Atheiſts, Sceptics, an aggregate of all the errors of the Philoſophiſm of the day. They, like the ſimple Sophiſters of the age, have a twofold point of union. With reſpect to Religion, they all admit that Liberty and Equality which denies every authority but their own reaſon, and rejects all revealed religion; as to governments, they admit of no Kings, unleſs ſubſervient to the will of the people in right of its ſovereignty. I ſhall be very brief on this claſs; it is that of the Briſſots, Condorcets or Lalandes; in a word of the Sophiſters of the day, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee combining with Maſonry to operate their Revolution. Were we to expoſe their ſyſtems it would only be a repetition of what has been ſaid of the Sophiſters conſpiring againſt the altar and the throne; and the multitude of theſe abettors of Impiety who were in our time aggregated to the Maſonic Lodges would alone prove how peculiarly ſuch plots coincided with their principles.

I know that there is another ſpecies of Eclectic Maſons lately eſtabliſhed in Germany. Theſe not only make profeſſion of appertaining to no particular ſyſtem of Maſonry, but aſſert alſo that they depend on none. According to them, all are independent, all have the right of making their own laws. It is for that reaſon that

* See the Archives of the Free-maſons and Roſicrucians, Chap. 3. Edition of Berlin, 1785.

they have aboliſhed the very names of Grand Lodge and of Scotch Lodge: and in this reſpect they may be ſaid to have improved upon Maſonic Liberty and Equality.*

In this light the Eclectic Maſons could not have been very numerous in France, as the major part of them were under the inſpection of the Grand Pariſian Lodge called the *Grand Orient*. But our modern Sophiſters had introduced into all the Lodges the true Eclectic ſpirit of Impiety; and ſentiment was a ſtronger tie than a profeſſed opinion. This ſentiment, to be uniform, muſt agree in hating Chriſt and his Religion, in deteſting all Sovereignty and all Legiſlative Power, except that of the people. The Eclectic Maſon, like the Sophiſters, are at liberty to ſubſtitute Deiſm or Atheiſm to Chriſtianity, to replace Monarchy by Democracy or even by a Democratic Monarchy; but a ſtep leſs towards Liberty and Equality would ſuffice to baniſh him from the Occult Lodges.

All claſſes therefore, every code of Maſonry, Hermetic, Cabaliſtic or Martiniſts, and Eclectic, all and each forwarded the Revolution; and it little imported to the ſect which ſtruck the blow, provided ruin enſued.†

I promiſed to add to theſe proofs thoſe which more particularly reſult from the divers opinions of Maſons on their origin. Let us here again be only guided by the moſt learned and zealous of the ſect. The reader will conſider whether the parents they have adopted would not ſuffice alone to direct their judgment on the plots of their progeny.

* See the Rules of their Aſſociation, Frankford, 18th May, 1783, ſigned Ruſtner and Rottberg Secretaries.

† La Metherie's Journal de Phyſique, 1790.

CHAP. XII.

Proofs of the Origin of Free-masons drawn from their own Systems.

LET us begin by rejecting the opinions of all those demi-adepts, who in their research on Masonry, led away by the similarity of name, really believe themselves descended from the Masons who built the Tower of Babel, or who raised the pyramids of Egypt, or more particularly from those who erected Solomon's Temple, or who worked at the Tower of Strasbourg; in fine, of those who laid the foundations of so many Churches in Scotland in the tenth century. These men of mortar had never been admitted to the mysteries. If it be true that they ever constituted a part of the Brotherhood, they were soon excluded; their minds were too blunt and not sufficiently Philosophic.*

* I make this observation, as it is very possible that the name and implements of the Craft may be borrowed from the real Masons. Many mechanical arts, in France at least, had their signs, their ceremonies, their hidden language, which constituted the secret of the profession. This language and these signs served to distinguish the workmen, and denoted the degree they had acquired, whether of Apprentice or Master; and was a method of recognizing those who on the road asked for work, or for support to enable them to continue their journey. For all men of the same profession are naturally inclined to help each other in preference to strangers.

It is very possible that in time some of the adepts initiated in the mysteries of the sect gained admission among the mechanical Masons. These adepts may have formed others among those mechanics. Then, to form a separate society, it was only necessary to adopt new signs, and choose different emblems from those workmen and the Lodges were ready formed.

What may corroborate this supposition is, that there exists in France another profession, which, had it not been for one obstacle, might have undergone a similar change. This is the profession of the FENDEURS *(Hewers of Wood.)* These men also form a confraternity. They have their signs, their watchword, their secret and their convivial meetings. They call themselves *L'Ordre des* FENDEURS *(the Order of the Hewers of Wood.)* They admit Gentlemen and Burgesses into their order, who are initiated into the secret, and attend their meetings and repasts in the same manner as the Free-masons do theirs. I have known men who were both Masons and *Fendeurs*, and who from their birth and stations in life had far other occupations than splitting of wood. They were as reserved with respect to the secret of

They were no longer wanted, when once the trowel, the compaſſes, the cubic ſtone, the truncated or entire columns, became nothing more than ſyſtematic emblems; and the learned adepts bluſh at an origin which they conſider as too ignoble.

Various opinions of Free-maſons on their origin

We will ſubdivide into two claſſes the divers opinions ſet forth in order to ennoble their origin. In the firſt claſs, we comprehend all thoſe who aſcend back to the myſteries of the Egyptian prieſts, to thoſe of Eleuſis or the Greeks, or thoſe who pretend to filiate from the Druids, or even who call themſelves deſcendants of the Jews. In the ſecond claſs, we conſider thoſe who only trace themſelves from the Knights Templars, or the Age of the Cruſades.*

the *Fendeurs* as to that of Maſonry. I knew the ſentiments of theſe adepts, and ſhould not be ſurprized that the ſole reaſon why they took ſo great an intereſt in the ſecret of the Fendeurs was from its ſimilarity to that of Maſonry, or elſe, that in time, our adepts of the town were in hopes of *Philoſophizing* their brethren of the woods. The grand obſtacle to the propagation of theſe principles would be the difficulty and infrequency of their meetings, which are held in the midſt of foreſts, far from the eye of the prophane, and only in fine weather. Should the Philoſophiſt take it into his head to convert theſe repaſts into thoſe of Liberty and Equality, in a word, of the Golden Age, then adepts would flock in from all parts, Sophiſticated diſſertations and allegories would be introduced; but the uncouth inhabitant of the woods would no longer be able to comprehend the myſteries. Some of the ſigns would be changed, the emblems of the profeſſion would be preſerved, and the Sophiſticated Lodges of the *Fendeurs* eſtabliſhed in the towns would ceaſe to be open to the clowniſh mechanics from whom they had adopted their allegorical emblems. It is very poſſible that ſuch may have been the caſe with the Mechanical Maſons. This however is no more than a conjecture as to the mode of the ſect; our readers will ſoon ſee that we are not reduced to ſuch uncertainty with regard to the origin of its ſecret and of its doctrine.

* For theſe divers opinions let the reader conſult from among the learned and zealous Maſons of Germany, the GESCHICHTE DER UNBEKANNTEN *or the Hiſtory of the Unknown*, 1780, with this Epigraph—*Gens æterna eſt, in qua nemo naſcitur*—ARCHIV FUR FREYMAURER, or *the Archives of the Free-maſons*, *Berlin* 1784—UBER DIE ALTEN UND NEUEN MYSTERIEN, or *of Ancient and Modern Myſteries*, *Berlin* 1782—DIE HEBRAISCHE MYSTERIEN, ODER DIE ALTESTE RELIGIOSE FREYMAURERREY, *the Myſteries of the Hebrews, or the moſt ancient religious Free-maſonry*, *Leipſic* 1788. Among the Engliſh Maſons he may conſult THE SPIRIT OF MASONRY *by William Hutchinſon*—and among the French *Guillemain de St. Victor* ON THE ORIGIN OF MASONRY, &c.

Let the reader remember that ſeveral of theſe works might have been quoted for the greateſt abſurdities that Maſonry is

How and why the Free-masons trace back their origin.

If we examine never so carefully the reasons on which the learned Masons ground their filiation from the ancient Philosophers, they will be found to contain merely this assertion: "that in those ancient times when men "first began to desert the primitive truths, to follow "a religion and morality founded on superstition, some "sages were to be met with who segregated themselves "from the general mass of ignorance and corruption. "These sages, perceiving that the grossness or the stu-"pidity of the people rendered them incapable of "profiting by their lessons, formed separate schools "and disciples, to whom they transmitted the whole "science of the ancient truths and of the discoveries "they had made by their profound meditations on the "nature, the religion, the polity, and the rights of "man. In these lessons some insisted on the unity of "God or true Deism, others on the unity of the Great "Being, or Pantheism. The morality deduced from "these principles was pure; it was grounded on the "duties of charity, on the rights of Liberty, and on "the means of living peaceably and happily. Lest "these doctrines should lessen in value, should be fal-"sified or be entirely lost, these sages commanded their "disciples to keep them secret. They also gave them "signs and a particular language by which they were "to recognize each other. All those who were ad-"mitted to this school and to these mysteries were the "children of Light and Liberty, while all the rest of "mankind were with respect to them but *slaves* and "*prophane beings*; and hence their contempt for the

guilty of. For example in the ARCHIVES OF FREEMASONRY, several dissertations are to be found written by their Doctors on the Cabalistic art, and that even by an English Doctor, for the defence and instruction of the Rosicrucians. I was really confounded, and almost ashamed, when among other absurdities I read, "ASTROLOGY is a science which by the situation of the "stars reveals the causes of what has come to pass and foretells "what is to come. This science has had its blots, but that de-"stroys neither the foundation nor the *sanctity* of the art."— And this is written by an English Doctor to justify the Rosicrucian Lodges, and to be preserved in their Archives. (*See these Archives in German, Part III. No.* 18, *Page* 378.) I have added this quotation, because I am always afraid of its being said, that I attribute incredible things to Freemasonry. I know that in one sense they are incredible, but it is so only to those who are strangers to the proofs. Were the books of Masonry in different languages to be consulted, especially those in German, they would be found to superabound in proofs.

"vulgar. This was alſo the reaſon why the diſciples "of Pythagoras obſerved ſuch a profound ſilence, the "origin of that particular and ſecret ſcience of the "divers ſchools. Hence the myſteries of the Egyp- "tians and afterwards of the Greeks and of the Dru- "ids, even the very myſteries of the Jews themſelves, "or of Moſes initiated in all the ſecrets of the Egyp- "tians.

"Theſe divers ſchools and the ſecrets of theſe myſ- "teries have not been loſt; the Philoſophers of Greece "tranſmitted them to thoſe of Rome, and the Philoſ- "ophers of all nations followed the ſame line of *con- "duct after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.* The ſecret "was always preſerved, becauſe it was *neceſſary to "avoid the perſecutions of an intolerant Church and of its "Prieſts.* The ſages of divers nations by means of "the ſigns which had been originally eſtabliſhed, re- "cognized each other, as the Free-maſons do every "where at this preſent day. The name only has been "changed; and the ſecret has been handed down un- "der the denomination of Free-maſonry, as it was "formerly under the ſanction of the Magi, of the "Prieſts of Memphis or of Eleuſis, and of Platonic "or Eclectic Philoſophers. Such is the origin of Ma- "ſonry, ſuch are the cauſes which perpetuate it, and "which render it the ſame in all parts of the world."*

This is the faithful reſult of what the moſt learned Maſons have publiſhed on their origin.—It is not our object to examine how falſe are ſuch ideas on the pretended doctrine of the Perſian, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman or Druid ſages, nor how contrary to all hiſtory. In the firſt place, can any thing be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that there exiſted a unity of religious opinions, of morality, and of ſecrets among Philoſophers, who have left behind them ſyſtems as variegated, and as oppoſite to each other, and as abſurd as thoſe of our modern ſophiſticated Philoſophis?† Nor do I undertake to examine the erroneous aſſertion, that the myſteries of

Falſity of this origin.

* An Extract from the Divers works cited in the note.

† Let thoſe who wiſh to be convinced of the diſcordancy of thoſe ſyſtems conſult CICERO *Quæſtiones Academ:—De Naturâ Deorum—De Legib.—De Finibus Boni et Mali.—De Off: &c.* —or LACTANTIUS *Inſtitut: Divin:*—or the laſt of the *Helvian* Letters; where the doctrines, the ſyſtems and the abſurdities of our modern Sophiſters are compared with thoſe of the ancient ſages.

Eleusis had no other secret but the unity of God, and the purest morality.—How is it possible to suppose that those mysteries were not universally known to the people, when it is certain that all the citizens of Athens were initiated into both the lesser and greater mysteries, according to their age?* Nor do I ask how it came to pass, that these same Athenians under ground were all taught their catechism on the unity of God, and how when above ground they adored such a multitude of Gods; or, again, how it happened that they condemned Socrates to death on the accusation that he did not adore all the Gods; or else, why all the priests of the different idols only acquired by their initiation new zeal for the defence of that multitude of Gods and their altars. In fine, I will not ask how it is possible to persuade oneself that those Priests, so ardent and so zealous in their temples for the worship of Jupiter, of Mars, of Venus, and of so many other Deities, should be the very persons who assembled the people during the solemnity of the grand mysteries, to tell them that all their worship of the Gods was nothing but imposture, and that they themselves were the authors, ministers, or priests of imposture!

I know that such reflections are more than sufficient to stamp with falsehood the origin in which he learned Masons glory. But let us for a moment suppose, that these mysteries were what they have represented them to be; the very pretension of a society springing from such ancestry and glorying in perpetuating their spirit and their Dogmas, this pretension alone, I say, must class this Brotherhood among the most ancient conspirators. It would entitle us to say to the Craft, 'Such then is the origin of your mysteries; such the object of your Occult Lodges! You then descend from those pretended sages, and those Philosophers, who, reduced to the lights of reason, had no farther knowledge of the true God than what their reason inspired. You are the children of Deism or Pantheism, and, replete with the spirit of your forefathers, you wish to perpetuate it! Like them you look upon every thing which the rest of mankind have learned from the lights of Revelation, as superstition and prejudice. Every Religion which adds to the worship of the Theist or detests the Pantheist, in a word Christianity and its mysteries, are with you objects.

* See Mr. de St. Croix's work on the *Mysteries of the Ancients.*

of hatred and contempt! You abhor whatever the Sophiſts of Paganiſm, or the Sophiſts initiated in the miſteries of the idolatrous Prieſts abhorred;—but thoſe Sophiſts deteſted Chriſtianity, and ſhowed themſelves its moſt inveterate enemies. From your own avowals, then, in what light can we view your myſteries, if not as a perpetuation of that hatred and of that wiſh of annihilating every other Religion but the pretended Deiſm of the Ancients?

'You alſo ſay that you are what thoſe Jews were, and ſtill are, who, for all their religious tenets, only acknowledge the unity of God (provided there have exiſted Jews who did not believe in the Prophets and in *Emmanuel* the Saviour.)—You have then the ſame ſentiments toward the Chriſtian which the Jews have. Like them, you inſiſt on *Jehovah*, but to curſe Chriſt and his myſteries.'*

The more the Maſonic works above-mentioned are read, the more conſpicuous will be the juſtice of the reproaches we make. With ſome, matter is eternal; with others, the Trinity of the Chriſtians is only an alteration of Plato's ſyſtem. Others again adopt the follies of the Martiniſts, or of the ancient Dualiſm.† Nothing then can be more evident. All theſe learned Maſons who pretend to deſcend from the Egyptian

* As for this Jewiſh part of the Craft, or the Freemaſonry of the Jews, we recommend to our reader to peruſe the treatiſe of a moſt learned and zealous Maſon dedicated *Denen die es Vorſtehen, or to thoſe who can underſtand.* He leaves no ſtone unturned throughout antiquity to prove the identity of the ancient myſteries of Eleuſis, of the Jews, of the Druids, and of the Egyptians, with thoſe of Freemaſonry. And indeed when we reflect on the pretended hiſtory of the name of *Jehovah* loſt by the aſſaſſination of Adoniram, it may be very probable that the Jews had had a part in Maſonry, "As it is drawn from the *Chaldaic Par-* "*aphraſe*, and taken from a fable invented by the Rabbins to "rob Chriſt of his divinity and power. They ſuppoſed, that "Chriſt being one day in the Temple of Jeruſalem had ſeen the "Holy of Holies, where the High Prieſt alone had a right to "enter. That he there ſaw the name of *Jehovah*—That he car-"ried it away with him—and that in virtue of this ineffable "name he had wrought his miracles." (See the Voile Levé.)—The whole of this Fable is evidently directed againſt the tenets of the Chriſtians on the Divinity of Chriſt. The importance which Maſons annex to the recovering of the name of Jehovah, and particularly all their myſteries in the degree of *Roſæ Crucis*, has the ſame object in view.

† See particularly the letter *Aux Illuſtres Inconnus*, or to the Real Free-maſons, 1782.

Prieſts, from thoſe of Greece, or from the Druids, only ſeek to eſtabliſh what may appear to each to be the religion of nature. Nor do they vary leſs as to its tenets than did both the ancient and modern Sophiſters. They all agree in deſtroying faith in the minds of their adepts, by ſyſtems in direct oppoſition to Chriſtianity. If they do not run into wild declamation like Voltaire, Diderot, or Raynal, it is becauſe they wiſhed themſelves to deduce their conſequences. To have expreſſed them too openly would have been divulging their myſteries; but one muſt be more than ignorant not to comprehend their meaning—How can we be blind to their intentions, when we peruſe the writings of thoſe who declare themſelves to have originated in the Templars, or in thoſe ſectaries who infeſted all Europe under the name of Albigeois? Theſe two ſources have more analogy between them than may be ſuppoſed.—Let us examine them ſeparately, and then judge what we have to expect from men who glory in ſuch an origin.

Of Free-maſons attributing their origin to the Templars.

As to the Templars, let us even ſuppoſe that this famous order was really innocent of all the crimes which occaſioned its diſſolution; what object either religious or political can the Free-maſons have in perpetuating their myſteries under the name or emblems of that order? Had the Templars brought into Europe a religion, or a code of morality, that was not known? Is that their inheritance?—In that caſe neither your religion nor your morality can be that of Chriſt. Is it their fraternity, their charity, which is the object of your ſecrets? Did the Templars really add any thing to thoſe Evangelic virtues? Or is it the religion of *Jehovah*, or of the Unity of God, coinciding with the myſteries of Chriſtianity?—If ſo, why do you reject all *Chriſtians* who are *not Maſons*, as *prophane?*

It is too late to reply, that the alarms of religion are vain and ungrounded; that religion never was the object of the Lodges. What then is that name, that worſhip of *Jehovah*, which the learned Maſons declare to have been handed down from the Knights Templars. Whether theſe Knights were the authors of it, or whether they received it by tradition, or borrowed it from the ancient myſteries of Paganiſm and of its ſages, this name I ſay, this worſhip cannot he foreign to Chriſtianity; and is not every Chriſtian entitled to ſay, 'You would not be ſo ſecret nor ſo ardent to revenge

it, if it were ſimilar to the worſhip eſtabliſhed throughout the Chriſtian world ?'

Should governments partake of the ſame alarms, to what ſubterfuge will the adepts have recourſe who have ſworn to avenge Liberty, Equality, and every right of their aſſociation, which has been ſo deſperately outraged in the deſtruction of the Templars ? It will be in vain to aſſert the innocence real or fictitious of thoſe too famous Knights. That vow of vengeance which has been perpetuated for nearly five centuries can hardly fall on *Philip le Bel or Clement V.* or on the other Kings and Pontiffs who in the beginning of the fourteenth century contributed to the diſſolution of that order ? Nor will it be renewed in theſe days on account of the ties of blood, or through any pity for the particular individuals of the order ? This vow, this oath of vengeance muſt be inſtigated by other cauſes—It has been perpetuated as the very object, the very doctrine of the ſchool, as the principles and myſteries which the Maſons have received from the Templars. What then can thoſe men thoſe principles be, which can only be avenged by the death of Kings and Pontiffs ? And what are thoſe Lodges wherein for four hundred and fourſcore years this vow this oath of vengeance has been perpetuated ?

It is evident : Nor is it neceſſary in this place to examine whether *Molay* and his order were innocent or criminal, whether they were the real progenitors of the Free-maſons or not ; what is inconteſtable is ſufficient ; it is enough that the Maſons recognize them for their anceſtors ; then the oath of avenging them and every allegory recalling that oath decidedly points out an aſſociation, continually threatening and conſpiring againſt Religion and its Pontiffs, againſt Empires and their Governors.

But it may be aſked, what lights can hiſtory throw on ſuch an intimate connection between the myſteries of Maſonry and the order of Templars ? Such a queſtion requires much reſearch, nor will I withhold from my reader the reſult of the inquiries which I have made on that ſubject.

Of the trials and depoſitions of the Templars.

The order of the Knights Templars eſtabliſhed by Hugo de Paganis, and confirmed by Pope Eugenius III. was originally founded with all that charity which Chriſtian zeal could inſpire, for the ſervice of thoſe Chriſ-

tians who, according to the devotion of the times, went to visit the Holy Land. At first mere Hospitallers, these Knights, following the manners of the age, soon acquired great celebrity by their exploits against the Saracens. Their first repute originated in the services which were naturally to be expected from their great valor and eminent virtues: and such is the general testimony which history bears in their favour, making a wide distinction between the former and latter part of their existence. The Order soon spread through Europe, and acquired immense riches. They then began to forget their religious state, courted only the celebrity of the field, and were no longer led to it by the same spirit. It is worthy of remark, that many years before their dissolution, history already reproached them not only with being lax in their former virtue, but with those very crimes which caused their destruction. In the very zenith of their glory, and at a time when it required much courage to upbraid them with their vices, we see *Matthew Paris* accusing them of converting into darkness the lights of their predecessors, of having abandoned their first vocation for plans of ambition, pleasure, and debauchery, and of unjust and tyrannical usurpation. They were already accused of holding correspondence with the Infidels, which rendered abortive all the plans of the Christian Princes; they were accused particularly of having treasonably communicated the whole of Frederic II.'s plan to the Soudan of Babylon, who, detesting such perfidy, informed the Emperor of the treachery of the Templars.* This testimony, to which the Historian may add many others, will serve to render less surprizing the catastrophe which befel this famous order.†

In the reign of *Philip le Bel*, two men who had been imprisoned for their crimes declared that they had some important discoveries to make concerning the Knights Templars. Such a declaration under circumstances so peculiar could not be thought entitled to much credit; it sufficed nevertheless to make the King determine on the dissolution of the order, and he caused all the Templars in his kingdom to be arrested on the same day. This step may be thought too precipitate: But inter-

* See Matthew Paris, ann. 1229.

† See Abbas Vispurgiensis in Chronica, an. 1227 and Sanut. Lib. III. Part 12, Cap. 17, &c. apud Dupuy Traité sur la condamnation des Templiers.

rogatories and a thorough examination followed; and it is on thoſe proofs alone, and the authentic minutes of that examination, that the Hiſtorian is to found his judgment. If their avowals are perfectly free, numerous, and coincident with each other, not only in different tribunals, but in different countries, enormous as their crimes may have been, ſtill we are forced to believe them, or reject all hiſtory, and the juridical acts of the tribunals. Theſe juridical minutes have ſurvived the ravages of time, and their importance has cauſed them to be preſerved in great numbers. Let the Hiſtorian refer to the collection made by Mr. Dupuy, the King's librarian; I know no other way of forming one's judgment, and of diſſipating prejudices.

It has been ſaid, that *Philip le Bel and Clement V.* had concerted between them the diſſolution of the Templars. The falſity of ſuch an aſſertion is evident on the inſpection of their letters. *Clement V.* at firſt will give no credit to the accuſations againſt the Templars; and even when he receives inconteſtible proofs from *Philip le Bel*, he had ſtill ſo little concerted the plan with that Prince, that every ſtep taken by the one or the other occaſions diſputes on the rights of the Church or of the Throne.

It was alſo ſaid, that the King wiſhed to ſeize on the great riches of theſe Knights; but at the very commencement of his proceedings againſt the order, he ſolemnly renounced all ſhare in their riches; and perhaps no Prince in Chriſtendom was truer to his engagement. Not a ſingle eſtate was annexed to his domain, and all hiſtory bears teſtimony to the fact.*

We next hear of a ſpirit of revenge which actuated this Prince; and during the whole courſe of this long trial, we do not hear of a ſingle perſonal offence that he had to revenge on the Templars. In their defence not the moſt diſtant hint either at the revengeful ſpirit, or at any perſonal offence againſt the King is given; ſo far from it, until the period of this great cataſtrophe the Grand Maſter of the order had been a particular friend of the King's, who had made him godfather to one of his children.

In fine, the rack and torture is ſuppoſed to have forced confeſſions from them which otherwiſe they never would have made; and in the minutes we find the a-

* Layette, Tom. III. No. 13.—Rubeus Hiſt. Ravanenſis—Bzovius ann. 1308.—Marianna Hiſt. Hiſpanniæ.

vowal of at leaſt two hundred Knights all made with the greateſt freedom and without any coercion. Compulſion is mentioned but in the caſe of one perſon, and he makes exactly the ſame avowal as twelve other Knights, his companions, freely made.† Many of theſe avowals were made in *Councils* where the Biſhops begin by declaring that all who had confeſſed through fear of the torture ſhould be looked upon as innocent, and that no Knight Templar ſhould be ſubjected to it.‡ The Pope, *Clement V.* was ſo far from favoring the King's proſecutions, that he began by declaring them all to be void and null. He ſuſpended the Achbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, who had acted as inquiſitors in France. The King accuſes the Pope in vain of favoring the Templars; and *Clement* is only convinced after having been preſent at the interrogatories of ſeventy-two Knights at Poictiers in preſence of many Biſhops, Cardinals, and Legates. He interrogated them not like a Judge who ſought for criminals, but like one who wiſhed to find innocent men, and thus exculpate himſelf from the charge of having favored them. He hears them repeat the ſame avowals, and they are freely confirmed. He deſired that theſe avowals ſhould be read to them after an interval of ſome days, to ſee if they would ſtill freely perſevere in their depoſitions. He hears them all confirmed. *Qui perſeverantes in illis, eas expreſſe et ſponte prout recitatæ fuerant approbârunt.* He wiſhed ſtill further to interrogate the Grand Maſter and the principal ſuperiors, *præceptores majores*, of the divers provinces of France, Normandy, Poitou, and of the Tranſmarine countries. He ſent the moſt venerable perſons to interrogate thoſe of the ſuperiors whoſe age or infirmities hindered them from appearing before him. He ordered the depoſitions of their brethren to be read to them, to know if they acknowledged the truth of them. He required no other oath from them than to anſwer freely and without compulſion; and both the Grand Maſter and the ſuperiors of theſe divers provinces depoſe and confeſs the ſame things, confirm them ſome days after, and approve of the minutes of their depoſitions taken down by public notaries.*

† Layette, No. 20, Interrog. made at Caen.

‡ See the Council of Ravenna. Rubeus Hiſt. Raven. Lib. VI.

* Qui Magiſter & Præceptores Franciæ, Terræ ultra-marinæ, Normandiæ, Acquitaniæ ac Pictaviæ, coram ipſis tribus Cardinalibus præſentibus, quatuor tabellionibus publicis et multis aliis

Nothing leſs than ſuch precautions could convince him of his error: it was then only that he revoked his menaces and his ſuſpenſion of the French Biſhops, and that he allows the King to proceed in the trials of the Templars.

Let ſuch pretexts be forgotten, and let us only dwell on the avowals which truth alone forced from theſe criminal knights.

Their depoſitions declare, that the Knights Templars on their reception denied Chriſt, trampled on the croſs, and ſpit upon it; that Good Friday was a day which was particularly conſecrated to ſuch outrages; that they promiſed to proſtitute themſelves to each other for the moſt unnatural crimes; that every child begotten by a Templar was caſt into the fire; that they bound themſelves by oath to obey without exception every order coming from the Grand Maſter; to ſpare neither ſacred nor prophane; to look upon every thing as lawful when the good of the order was in queſtion; and above all, never to violate the horrible ſecrets of their nocturnal myſteries under pain of the moſt terrible chaſtiſement.* Reſult of their avowals.

In making their depoſitions many of them declared they had only been forced into theſe horrors by impriſonment and the moſt cruel uſage; that they wiſhed, after the example of many of their brethren, to paſs into other orders, but that they did not dare, fearing the power and vengeance of their order. That they had ſecretly confeſſed their crimes and had craved abſolution. In this public declaration they teſtified by their tears the moſt ardent deſire of being reconciled to the church.

Clement V. convinced at length, conceives whence the treachery proceeded, of which the Chriſtian Princes ſo often complained they had been the victims in their wars againſt the Saracens. He permits the trials of the Templars to be continued, and a hundred and forty are heard in Paris. The freedom of their avowals.

All repeat the ſame depoſition, except three, who declare they have no knowledge of the crimes imputed

bonis viris, ad Sancta Dei Evangelia ab eis corporaliter tacta, præſteto juramento quod ſuper præmiſſis omnibus, meram et plenam dicerent veritatem, coram ipſis, ſingulariter, liberè ac ſponte, abſque coactione qualibet et timore, depoſuerunt et confeſſi fuerunt. *(Epiſt. Clementis V. Regibus Angliæ, Galliæ, Siciliæ, &c.)*

* See the Vouchers brought by Dupuy, and Extract of the Regiſters.

to their order. The Pope, not content with this information taken by Religious and by French Noblemen, requires that a new trial ſhould take place in Poitou before Cardinals and others whom he himſelf nominates: Again, with the ſame freedom and for the third time, the Grand Maſter and other Chiefs in preſence of Clement V. repeat their depoſitions. Molay even requeſted that one of the Lay Brothers who was about his perſon ſhould be heard, and this Brother confirms the declaration. During many years theſe informations were continued and renewed at Paris, in Champagne, in Normandy, in Quercy, in Languedoc, in Provence. In France alone above two hundred avowals of the ſame nature are to be found; nor did they vary in England, where at the ſynod of London, held in 1311, ſeventy-eight Engliſh Knights were heard, and two whole months were ſpent in taking informations and in verifying their declarations. Fifty-four Iriſh were alſo heard, and many Scotch, in their reſpective countries. It was in conſequence of theſe declarations, that the order of the Templars was aboliſhed in thoſe kingdoms, and that the Parliament diſpoſed of their goods.† The ſame declarations were taken and proved in Italy, at Ravenna, at Bologna, at Piſa, and at Florence, though in all theſe councils the Prelates were very ready to abſolve all thoſe Knights who could ſucceed in their juſtifications.

When I hear the crimes of this order called in queſtion, it appears to me that a ſufficient attention has not been paid to the multiplicity of the avowals of theſe Knights, and of the diverſity of nations which judged them. It would be one of the moſt extraordinary facts in hiſtory to ſee two hundred of theſe Knights accuſing themſelves of the greateſt abominations. It would be a ſtill greater atrocity to ſee ſo many Biſhops, Noblemen, Magiſtrates, and Sovereigns, of different nations, ſitting in judgment on the Templars, and publiſhing to the world, as free and uncontroled, declarations which had only been extorted from them by the fear of torture. Such a conduct would be ſtill more horrible than that of the Templars themſelves; and would it not be equally extraordinary to ſee ſo many different nations agreeing to uſe the rack to extort ſuch depoſitions from them? But for the honor of humanity ſuch means were

† Vide Valſinger in Edvardum II. et Ypodigma Neuſtriæ apud Dupuy.—Eſſai de Fred. Nicolai.

not employed in the trials of the Templars, by the Biſhops and Grand Bailiffs, the King's Commiſſaries, the Cardinals, and Commiſſaries of Clement V. nor by himſelf in France. Such methods were not reſorted to by the councils nor by the tribunals of other nations. Never was a cauſe of greater importance pleaded; and, from the numerous and authentic documents which are ſtill extant, it is evident, that Judges never were more fearful of confounding the innocent with the guilty.

Let not the diſſolution of another celebrated order, though in a very different way, be objected. The Jeſuits were aboliſhed, but they were not brought to trial; not a ſingle member of the order has been heard in its defence, nor have any members depoſed againſt it. I ſhould be the firſt to condemn them, could proofs ſimilar to thoſe againſt the Templars, be adduced againſt them.

Let us for a moment ſuppoſe the Templars entirely innocent of the crimes imputed to them, what could have been the virtue and courage of an order, which could demean itſelf ſo much, as to make ſuch declarations againſt itſelf? How can the Free-maſons glory in ſuch an anceſtry, who, if their crimes were not monſtrous, muſt themſelves have been monſters of the baſeſt cowardice.

The vulgar may be led away by the tardy proteſtations of Guy and Molay; but do the vulgar ever diſtinguiſh between the obſtinacy of deſpair and that ſerene firmneſs and conſtancy which are the attendants on virtue? They are not aware that falſe honor, like truth, may have its martyrs. During three years Molay perſevered in his avowal, and he repeated it at leaſt three times; when he pretends at length to deny it, his expreſſions are thoſe of rage, and he throws down the gauntlet to whoever ſhall pretend to aſſert that he *had made any depoſition* againſt his order; at the place of execution he declares *that all that he had ſaid* againſt his order was falſe, and that if he deſerved death it was *for having accuſed his order falſely* both before the Pope and the King. Amidſt theſe contradictions, can the Hiſtorian receive ſuch proteſtations of innocence? Much leſs is he to attend to the popular fable of Molay having cited Philip le Bel and Clement V. to the tribunal of God within a year and a day, and that both the Pope and the King died within the year; for hiſto-

ry not only varies as to the day, but even as to the year of Molay's execution.*

As a laſt reſource in defence of the order, the very nature and infamy of the crimes of which the Templars were accuſed have been alledged as a proof of their innocence. But moſt certainly the more infamous thoſe crimes, the more debaſed muſt have been the members of the order to accuſe each other of them. But all theſe crimes, however infamous and incredible, only ſerve to diſcover the abominable ſect which introduced them among their adepts, and from whom the Templars evidently learned their frightful myſteries. That hatred of Chriſt, that execrable immorality, even to the atrocious infanticide, all are to be found in the te-

* It has been ſaid to have taken place in the different years 1311, 1312, and 1313. The firſt of theſe dates appears to me to be correct, becauſe the execution of the Grand Maſter certainly took place while the Commiſſaries of the Pope were at Paris, and they only reſided there from Auguſt 1309 till May 1311. It is in vain to alledge the proteſt of the Abbot of St. Germain as Lord of the Manor againſt the execution of two Knights Templars on his land; for, ſuppoſing this regarded the execution of Guy and Molay, we have the anſwer to the proteſt in date March 1313, whereas Clement V. only died on the 20th April 1314; ſo that even in that caſe the citation muſt have been of no avail.

Boccacio, who is ſo often quoted on the death of Molay, does not ſo much as mention it. When people make ſuch a diſplay of what this author has ſaid concerning the conſtancy of the Grand Maſter and the other Templars executed at the ſame time, ſome attention ſhould be alſo paid to his commencing with ſaying, that "theſe Knights were ſtrangely fallen off, on account of their great riches, from their priſtine virtue; that they were ambitious, voluptuous, and effeminate; that ſo far from making war in defence of the Chriſtians, according to their inſtitute, they left that duty to be diſcharged by people whom they had hired, or by valets; and that in the days of *Jaques Molay* their virtues had degenerated into vices." All that Boccacio ſays afterwards on the conſtancy and death of the Grand Maſter and his companions, which ſo greatly excites his enthuſiaſm, is ſolely grounded on the account his father gave him, who was a merchant and at Paris at that time; his ideas on the ſubject, as is eaſily perceived, are merely thoſe of the vulgar. I ſhall always return to the ſame point. Let us examine the authentic documents and the minutes of the proceedings. When they are to be had, and they ſtill exiſt in great numbers, they are real points by which we are to be guided. Such has been the line of conduct (the only ſatisfactory one) held by Mr. Dupuy, in his Treatiſe on the Condemnation of the Templars. This work is written with candor; and though he has not made the moſt of his proofs, he abounds in authentic documents and extracts from the minutes of the trials, and furniſhes far more than are neceſſary to ſatisfy our judgment.

nets, they are even in the principles of that incoherent medley of *Begards*, *Cathares*, and of that ſhoal of ſectaries which flocked from the Eaſt to the Weſtern States about the beginning of the eleventh century.

I would willingly aſſert that it was the ſmaller part of the Templars who ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by ſuch abominations. Some even at Paris were declared innocent. In Italy a ſtill greater number were abſolved; of all thoſe who were judged at the Councils of Mayence and Salamanca none were condemned; and hence we may conclude, that of the nine thouſand houſes belonging to the order many had not been tainted, and that whole provinces were to be excepted from the general ſtain of infamy. But the condemnations, the juridical depoſitions, the method of initiating the knights, almoſt become general; the ſecrecy of their receptions, where neither Prince nor King, nor any perſon whatever, could be preſent during the laſt half century, are ſo many teſtimonies which corroborate the divers accuſations contained in the articles ſent to the Judges; that is to ſay, that at leaſt two thirds of the order knew of the abominations practiſed, without taking any ſteps to extirpate them. *Quod omnes, vel quaſi duæ partes ordinis ſcientes dictos errores corrigere neglexerint.*

This certainly cannot mean that two thirds of the Knights had equally partaken of theſe abominations. It is evident on the contrary, that many deteſted them as ſoon as they were acquainted with them; and that others only ſubmitted to them, though initiated, after the harſheſt treatment and moſt terrible threats. Nevertheleſs, this proves that the greateſt part of theſe Knights were criminal, ſome through corruption, others through weakneſs, or connivance; and hence the diſſolution of the order became neceſſary.

Another reflection which ſtrikes me as being of weight, though I do not know that any one has made it, is, that between thirty and forty thouſand Knights not only ſurvived the condemnation of the order, but alſo ſurvived Philip le Bel and Clement V. The greater part of theſe had only been condemned to canonical penance, to ſo many days faſting or prayer, or to a ſhort impriſonment.—They lived in different parts of the world, where they had nothing to fear from *their perſecutors and ty-*

rants. Conſcience, honour, and many other motives, ſhould have induced theſe ſurvivors to make their recantations after having made juridical depoſitions of ſuch an abominable nature againſt their order; moſt certainly if they had made them through fear or ſeduction, it was a duty incumbent on them. Nevertheleſs, of thoſe thouſands of Knights heard in ſo many different ſtates there is not a ſingle one that makes his retractation, not one who leaves ſuch a declaration to be publiſhed after his death. What men then are theſe Knights? If there depoſitions be true, how monſtrous muſt that order have been by its crimes; if they be falſe, what monſters of calumny was it compoſed of? That fear may have made them ſwerve from truth during the reign of Philip le Bel, I will admit; but that King being dead, what becomes of ſuch a plea.

Such nevertheleſs are the men whom the Maſons glory in their deſcent from. Yes, and their deſcent is real. Their pretenſions are no longer chimerical. Were they to deny it we ſhould force them to recognize as their progenitors not the whole of the order, but that part whoſe ancient corruption and obſtinate hatred againſt the altar and the throne, when added to their thirſt of revenge, muſt render them ſtill more formidable to both Kings and Pontiffs.

Were we to trace the deſcent of the Free-maſons by the Templars, we ſhould not have the aſſurance of thoſe who ſuppoſe the Grand Maſter Molay, when in the Baſtile, creating the four *Lodges*, that of Naples for the Eaſt, of Edinburgh for the Weſt, of Stockholm for the North, and of Paris for the South.* Yet, following nothing but the archives of the Free-maſons themſelves, and the apparent affinities which ſubſiſt be-

* This account is to be found in an Almanac printed at Paris under the title of *Etrennes Intereſſantes* 1796-97. I don't know from whence the writer has drawn this anecdote, nor on what grounds he ſays that the Duke of Sundermania, as Grand Maſter of the Mother Lodge of the North, was acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of the King his brother by Anckarſtroëm. Though this writer ſhews ſome knowledge of the Craft, he is ſo ignorant in other reſpects that it is impoſſible to take him for an authority: —For example, he ſays, that the Jeſuits were Free-maſons, that it was they who poiſoned the Emperor Henry VII. and that Emperor died *two hundred years* before a Jeſuit exiſted. This fable of the Jeſuits Free-maſons is an artifice deviſed by the Illuminés, and we ſhall ſee them own to it, to avert the attention of ſtates from their own ſect and conſpiracies.

tween them and the Knights Templars, we are entitled to say to them—'Yes, the whole of your school and all your Lodges descend from the Templars. After the extinction of their order a certain number of criminal Knights, who had escaped the general proscription, formed a body to perpetuate their frightful mysteries. To their pre-existing code of Impiety they added the vow of vengeance against Kings and Pontiffs who had destroyed their order, and against all Religion, which proscribed their tenets. They formed adepts who were to perpetuate and transmit from generation to generation the same mysteries of iniquity, the same oaths, and the same hatred against the God of the Christians, Kings and Priests.—These mysteries have descended to you, and you perpetuate their impiety, their oaths, and hatred.—Such is your origin. Length of time, the manners of each age may have varied some of your signs and of your shocking systems; but the essence is the same, the wishes, oaths, hatred and plots are similar—You would not think it, but every thing betrayed your forefathers, and every thing betrays their progeny.'

Let us then compare the tenets, language, and signs. What a similarity, and how many are common to both!

In the mysteries of the Templars the initiator begins by opposing the God who cannot die to the God who dies on the cross for the salvation of mankind. "Swear," he says to the candidate, "that you believe in *a God the "Creator of all things, who neither did nor will die;*" and then follow blasphemies against the God of Christianity. The new adept is taught to say, that Christ was but a false prophet, justly condemned in expiation of his *own* crimes and not of those of mankind. *Receptores dicebant illis quos recipiebant, Christum non esse verum Deum et ipsum fuisse falsum Prophetam; non fuisse passum pro redemptione humani generis, sed pro sceleribus suis.*† Can any one here mistake the Jehovah of the Masons, or the *Jew of Nazareth led by Raphael into Judea to suffer for his crimes?*‡

The God of the Templars, which *never could die*, was represented by the *head* of a man, before which they prostrated themselves as before their real idol. This head is to be found in the Masonic Lodges in

† 24th Art. of their avowals. See Dupuy, page 48.
‡ See above, page 169.

Hungary, where Free-maſonry has preſerved the greateſt number of its original ſuperſtitions.‖

This head is to be found again in the *Magic Mirror* of the Cabaliſtic Maſons. They call it the Being of Beings, and reverence it under the title of SUM (*I am.*) It repreſents their great *Jehovah*, ſource of all beings. And we may look upon it as one of the links which compoſe the general chain by which the Hiſtorian may connect the Hiſtory of Maſonry with that of the Templars.

Theſe ſame Knights in hatred to Chriſt celebrated the myſteries of *Jehovah* more particularly on Good Friday, *præcipue in die Veneris Sancta*; and it is the ſame hatred which aſſembles the Roſicrucians on that day, according to their ſtatutes, to dedicate it more particularly to their blaſphemies againſt the God of Chriſtianity.

Among the Templars, Liberty and Equality was maſked under the name of Fraternity.

Qu'il eſt, bon, qu'il eſt doux, de vivre en freres.*

was the favorite canticle during their myſteries. It has ſince been adopted by the Maſons, and is the maſk that conceals all their political errors.

The Templars were bound to ſecrecy by the moſt terrible oaths, ſubjected themſelves to the vengeance of the Brethren and to death itſelf, if ever they revealed the myſteries of the order. *Injungebant eis per ſacramentum, ne pr edicta revelarent ſub pœna mortis.* The ſame oath ſubſiſts among the Maſons, and the ſame threats for any one who ſhall violate ſecrecy.

The precautions leſt any *profane being* ſhould be preſent at their myſteries are ſimilar. The Templars always began by ſending out of their houſes whoever was not initiated. Armed brethren were placed at the

‖ See Kleiſer's Report to the Emperor Joſeph II. I never ſaw this Report written by Kleiſer, whom the Emperor Joſeph II. had ordered to get himſelf received, that he might know what he ought to depend upon with reſpect to the Maſons and Illuminés. The Report was printed by order of the Emperor; but the Free-maſons and Illuminés bought it up with ſuch rapidity, that ſcarcely a copy eſcaped them. I am acquainted with a Nobleman who has read and even made extracts from it; and it was through his means that I learned this anecdote concerning the head being preſerved in the Hungarian Lodges. It appears that ſome of the Templars revered it as the head of their firſt founder, while others worſhipped it, as the image of the God whom they adored.

* How pleaſing, how happy it is to live like brethren.

doors to keep off all curious people, and sentries were placed on the roofs of their houses, which they always called Temples.† Hence originates the *Brother Terrible, or the Tyler*, who stands at the doors with a drawn sword, to defend the entrance of the Lodge against the prophane multitude. Hence that common expression among Masons the *Temple is covered*, to say the sentries are placed; no prophane Being can gain admittance, not even by the roof, we may now act with full liberty. Hence also the expression *it rains*, signifying the Temple is not covered, the Lodge is not guarded, and we may be seen and over-heard.

Thus every thing to the very symbols,‡ their language, the very names of *Grand Master*, of *Knight*, of *Temple*, even to the columns *Jachin and Booz*, which decorated the Temple of Jerusalem, and which are supposed to have been given to the care of the Templars, all in a word betray our Free-masons to be the descendants of those proscribed Knights. But what 'a damning proof' do we not find in those trials, where the candidate is taught to strike with his poniard the pretended assassin of their Grand Master;* in common with the Templars it is on Philip le Bel that they wreak their vengeance; and in every other King the sect behold this pretended assassin. Thus with all the blasphemous mysteries against Christ we see them perpetuating those mysteries of vengeance, hatred, and combination against Kings. The Masons then are correct when they claim the proscribed Knights for their forefathers. The same plans, the same means, the same horrors could not be more faithfully transmitted from father to son.

† Ibid.

‡ Without doubt there is a variety of other symbols which do not come from the Knights Templars, such are the flaming star, the sun, the moon, and the stars. The learned Masons in their secret journal of Vienna attribute these to the founder of the Rosicrucians, called Brother *Ros-Crux*. He was a Monk of the thirteenth century, who imported both his magic and mysteries from Egypt. He died, after having initiated some few disciples, who for a long time formed a separate association; they at length united with the Free-masons, and formed one of their occult degrees. Or it would be more correct to say that there exists now a-days in this degree nothing more than the name and the magic art of the ancient Rosicrucians, with the stars and other symbols borrowed from the firmament. Every other part is confounded with, and merged in, the mysteries and plots of Masonry.

* See above, page 174.

We shall conclude this chapter by a few observations which will not leave any subterfuge to those who may still entertain doubts concerning the crimes that brought dissolution on this proscribed order. Let us suppose the whole of this order to have been perfectly innocent of all the accusations of impiety, or of principles dangerous to governments. It is not in this state of innocence that they are recognized by the Masons as their forefathers. The profound adepts only acknowledge the Templars as their progenitors, because they are convinced that those Knights were guilty of the same impiety and of the same plots as themselves. It is in these crimes alone, and in these conspiracies, that they recognize their masters; and as infidels and conspirators it is that they invoke them.

Under what title do the Condorcets and the Syeyes, under what title does Fauchet or Mirabeau, Guillotin or Lalande, Bonneville or Volney, and so many others who are known to be at once the profoundest adepts of Masonry and the heroes of Impiety and Revolutionary Rebellion—under what title can such men challenge the Knights Templars as their progenitors, if not because they believe that they have inherited those principles of Liberty and Equality which are no other than hatred to Christ and hatred to Kings? When Condorcet, summing up the studious research of thirty years, falsifying all the facts of history, and combining all the cunning of Sophistry to extort our gratitude for those *secret associations destined to perpetuate privately and without danger among a few adepts*, what he calls *a small number of plain truths, as certain preservatives against the predominant prejudices*; when he extols the French Revolution as the triumph so long preparing and expected by these *secret societies*; when he promises to solve the question hereafter, whether the Knights Templars, whose dissolution was the summit of *barbarity and meanness, are not to be numbered among these associations*.* When he holds such language, under what point of view can the Knights Templars have inspired him with such deep concern? with him, these secret associations, so deserving of our gratitude, are those of the pretended sages, "indignant at seeing nations oppressed, even in the sanctuary of their consciences, *by Kings the superstitious or political slaves of the priesthood*." They are the associ-

* Esquisse des Progres, &c. Epoque 7.

ations of thoſe *generous* men "who dare examine "the foundations of all power or authority, and who "revealed to the people the great truths, *that their Liberty is inalienable; that no preſcription can exiſt in behalf of tyranny; that no convention can irrevocably ſubject a nation to any particular family: That Magiſtrates, whatever may be their titles, functions, or powers, are only the officers, and not the maſters of the people: That the people always preſerve the right of revoking thoſe powers emanating from them alone, whether they judge it has been abuſed, or conſider it to be uſeleſs to continue them. In ſhort that the people have the right of puniſhing the abuſe as well as of revoking the power.*"†

Thus we ſee Condorcet tracing back the germ at leaſt of all the principles of the French Revolution to theſe *ſecret aſſociations*, which he repreſents as the benefactors of nations, and as preparing the triumph of the multitude againſt the altar and the throne. All therefore he does or promiſes to do in future, when he propoſes the queſtion, whether the Knights Templars are not to be numbered among thoſe ſecret aſſociations, can only originate in the hope of tracing to them principles, oaths, and means which in time would operate ſimilar revolutions. All this zeal of Condorcet for the ſecret aſſociation of the Templars, is no other than the hopes of finding them guilty of that ſame hatred againſt Royalty and the Prieſthood with which his own heart is inflamed.

The ſecret which he has half diſcloſed more daring adepts have betrayed; it has eſcaped them amidſt their declamations. In the delirium of fury, and in the cavern as it were of their regicide trials, they publicly invoke the *reeking dagger*, they exclaim to their brethren, "Let the interval of ages diſappear and carry nations "back to the perſecutions of Philip le Bel—*You who "are or are not Templars*—help a free people to build in "three days and for ever, a Temple in honor of Truth "—*May tyrants periſh*, and may the earth be delive-"red from them!"*

Such then is the explanation which the profound adepts give of the myſterious names of *Philip le Bel* and of the Templars. The firſt recalls to their mind, that in all Revolutions Kings are to be immolated, and the ſecond, that there exiſted a ſet of men leagued in the oath of delivering the earth from its Kings. That is

† Ibid. Epoque 8.

* Bonneville Eſprit des Religions, p. 156, 157, 175, &c.

what they call reſtoring Liberty to the people, and building the Temple of Truth!—I had long feared to exaggerate the depravity and the plots of the proſcribed Knights; but what crimes can hiſtory impute to them which are not comprehended in this terrible invocation of the adepts at the dawn of the Revolution? It is when they grow more daring, and ſtimulate each other to thoſe crimes which overthrow the altar and the throne; it is at that period that the moſt furious adepts, at once Maſons and Jacobins, recall the name and the honor of the Templars to be avenged, and their oaths and plots to be accompliſhed. The Templars were then, what the Jacobin Maſons are at this day; their myſteries were thoſe of the Jacobins.—It is not to us that objections are to be made on this accuſation. Let the profound adepts of Maſonry and Jacobiniſm defend their own aſſertions; let the offspring be perſuaded that they have wronged their forefathers: And even could that be demonſtrated, ſtill it would be evident that the myſteries of the Occult Lodges conſiſt in that hatred of the altar and the throne, and in thoſe oaths of rebellion and impiety, which the adepts extol as their inheritance from the Templars. Still it would be evident that the oath (the eſſence of Jacobiniſm) of overturning the altar and the throne is the laſt myſtery of the Occult Maſons, and that they only recognize the Templars as their progenitors, becauſe they believed the myſteries of thoſe famous though proſcribed Knights contained all the principles, oaths, and wiſhes which operated the French Revolution.

CHAP. XIII.

Farther Declarations of the Free-maſons as to their Origin.—The real Founder of Maſonry.—True and firſt Origin of their Myſteries and of all their Syſtems.

THE learned adepts were not miſtaken when they numbered the Knights Templars in the anceſtry of Free-maſons. We have ſeen by the comparative ſtatement of their myſteries how much they coincided with each other; but it ſtill remains to be ſhown whence the Templars had received their ſyſtems of impiety. This obſervation has not eſcaped thoſe of the adepts who gloried ſo much in the impiety of their myſteries. They have extended their reſearches with that view, to aſcertain whether there had not exiſted ſome of *thoſe ſecret aſſociations* in Europe whence they might trace their origin prior to the Templars. The Sophiſter, the famous adept ſhall ſpeak. The reſult of his reſearches are only announced; death cut the thread of thoſe ideas which he had promiſed to develope in the extenſive work he was meditating on the *progreſs of the human mind*, and of which his admirers have only publiſhed the general plan under the title of *Eſquiſſe de'un Tableau general ſur les Progrès de l'Eſprit humain (Sketch of a general Table of the Progreſs of the Human Mind.)* But in this Sketch we find more than ſufficient to diſſipate the remaining cloud, and to rend the veil which as yet the adepts had not thought prudent entirely to withdraw. The text of this famous adept ſhall be laid before the reader: a very few reflections will then ſuffice to lead us to the fountain head whence ſprung all the myſteries and ſyſtems of Free-maſonry, and to develope to its full extent the true ſpirit with which it is actuated.

" In the South of France, ſays our Sophiſticated and " Maſonic Adept, whole provinces united to adopt a " Doctrine more ſimple, a Chriſtianity more pure, " where man, ſubject only to the Deity, judged accor- " ding to his own lights what the Deity had pleaſed to " reveal in the books emanating from him.

" Fanaticiſed armies, led by ambitious Chiefs, devaſ- " tated theſe provinces. Executioners led by Legates

" and Prieſts immolated thoſe who had eſcaped the fu-
" ry of the ſoldiery ; a tribunal of Monks was eſtab-
" liſhed, who were to condemn to the flames all that
" were ſuſpected of hearkening to the dictates of reaſon.

" They nevertheleſs could not hinder this ſpirit of
" Liberty and reſearch from gaining ground. Over-
" powered in the ſtate where it had dared to appear,
" and where more than once intolerant hypocriſy had
" combated it with ſavage war, it would reproduce and
" ſpread itſelf in a neighbouring country. It was to
" be found at all times until that period when, ſecond-
" ed by the invention of printing, it grew in power ſuf-
" ficiently to deliver a great part of Europe from the
" yoke of the Court of Rome.

" At that time there exiſted a claſs of men, who,
" deſpiſing all ſuperſtitions, were content ſecretly to
" deſpiſe them, or who at moſt took the liberty of
" making them, now and then, the objects of their
" ſarcaſtic wit ; the more ſtinging as they were worded
" in terms of the utmoſt reſpect."

As a proof of this ſpirit of Philoſophiſm or Impiety at that period, Condorcet cites the Emperor Frederick II. his Chancellor Peter de Vigne, the works entitled LES TROIS IMPOSTEURS *(the three Impoſtors,)* LES FABLIAUX and the DECAMERONE DI BOCACIO ; it is then that he adds thoſe words already cited in the preceding chapter, but neceſſary to be repeated, " We will examine
" whether at a time when Philoſophic Proſelytiſm
" would have been attended with danger, *ſecret aſſocia-*
" *tions were not formed, deſtined to ſpread and perpetuate*
" *privately and without danger, among a few adepts, a*
" *ſmall number of ſimple truths as certain preſervatives a-*
" *gainſt the predominant prejudices.*

" We will examine whether that celebrated order
" (the Templars,) againſt which the Popes and Kings
" ſo barbarouſly conſpired, are to be numbered among
" theſe aſſociations."*

I will avail myſelf of this indication of Condorcet. Thoſe *men of the South*, among whom he promiſed to ſeek the origin of theſe ſecret aſſociations, are known. They are that motley crew followers of Manes, who during many ages, ſpreading from the Eaſt into the Weſt, inundated France, Germany, Italy, and Spain at the time of Frederick the Second ; they are that

* Eſquiſſe d'un Tableau, &c. Epoque 7.

horde of ſectaries known by the names of *Albigeois, Cathares, Patarins, Bulgares, Begards, Brabanters, Navareſe, Bearneſe, Coteraux, Henriciens, Leoniſts*, &c. &c.; in fine, ſectaries who, under a hundred different and uncouth names, recall to the mind of the reader every thing that had been brpached by the moſt direful enemies of morality, government, and the altar, and that had *as yet* appeared in Europe. I have ſtudied their tenets in their divers ramifications. I have viewed that *monſtrous whole* of all the *Jehovahs* which Maſonry could invent. In their twofold principle is to be found the twofold God of the Martiniſt and Cabaliſtic Maſon. In the diverſity of their opinions is to be found the concord of Eclectic Maſonry againſt the God of Chriſtianity. In their principles are to be ſeen the germ and explanation of the moſt infamous myſteries of the Occult Lodges, and of their forerunners the Templars. They declare the fleſh to have been created by the evil ſpirit, that they might have the right of proſtituting it. All is in the direct line of ſucceſſion, the Cathares, the Albigeois, the Knights Templars, and our Jacobins of the Occult Lodges, all proceed from the ſame parental ſtock. This is ſtill more evident when we conſider their diſorganizing principles of Liberty and Equality, which declare that no ſubmiſſion is due *to the Spiritual or Temporal powers*. This was the diſtinctive mark of the Albigeois; it was by this diſtinction they were pointed out to the Magiſtrates as the perſons amenable to the laws enacted againſt the ſect. Let us follow them.

At that period when the multitude of their ſectaries empowered them, with arms in their hands, to triumph over their opponents, we ſee them reſorting to all the frantic rage of Jacobinized Maſonry againſt the very name of Chriſtiam Even before the ſpiritual and temporal authorities had united their efforts to ſubdue their ſavage rage, they had already exerciſed all the cruelties and ferocities of a Robeſpierre: Jacobin like, they went *beating down the churches and the religious houſes, maſſacreing without mercy the widow and the fatherleſs, the aged parent and the infant child, making neither diſtinction of age nor ſex; and, as the ſworn enemies of Chriſtianity, ravaged and deſtroyed every thing both in Church and State.**

* All this would be amply proved had we publiſhed our Memoirs on Ancient Jacobiniſm. In the mean time our readers may conſult what remain of the cotemporary writers or who lived

When at length the public authority had triumphed over these ferocious sectaries, they shrunk back into their dens or Occult Lodges, and reduced themselves

soon after, for the opinions and actions of these sectaries. Such for example as Gläber, who witnessed their first appearance at Orleans 1017; Reinier, who was one of their adepts during seventeen years; and Philtchdorf, Ebrard, and Hermangard, who lived with him. They may also consult St. Antoninus, Fleuri, Collier, Baronius; but above all let the Councils which condemned these sects be attended to, and their decrees compared with history; and then will vanish many false prejudices imbibed against the means adopted both by church and state for the irradicating of those sectaries, who, truly Jacobins, aimed at the absolute destruction of all civil society, and of Christianity itself. How is it possible to doubt of the tendency of their disorganizing Liberty and Equality, when we know that the proof necessary and pointed out to the Judges for the conviction of these sectaries, consisted in showing that the accused was one of those who held that *no obedience was due to the civil or spiritual powers, and that no authority was entitled to punish any crimes.* Such is precisely the doctrine of the Council of Taragone, to know whether the famous degrees of third and fourth Councils of Lateran are applicable to the accused—*Qui dicunt potestatibus ecclesiasticis vel sæcularibus non esse obediendum et pœnam corporalem non esse infligendam in aliquo casu et similia* (Concil. Tarag. anno 1242.) How then can it be asserted, that the furies of these sectaries were only in reprisal of the Crusade published against them, when we see that the very first decree issued in this crusade was precisely to rid Europe of their rebellious principles, and of the cruelties which they were already exerting in the states of Thoulouse under the title of *Coteraux*, in Biscay under that of *Basques*, and in many other countries under different names, *Brabantionibus, Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis*, et *Triaverdinis, qui tantam in Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec Ecclesiis nec Monasteriis deferant, non viduis non pupillis, non senibus et pueris* nec cuilibet parcant *ætati aut sexui, sed more Paganorum omnia perdant et vastent* (Conc. Lateran. 1179.) Such nevertheless is the first motive stated and the first decree issued of this famous crusade. What have Robespierre and the other Jacobins done more to deserve it?

It is inconceivable how much people have been mistaken both with respect to this decree and to that issued on the same subject by the fourth Œcumenical Council of Lateran, anno 1215. They were represented as the church assuming the power of deposing Sovereigns, as usurping all civil and temporal power. And such is the interpretation given to those very decrees which hindered the Jacobins of those days from executing the very plans which our cotemporaries have carried into effect against the altar, the throne, and all civil society! Had I but leisure for digesting the materials I have collected, both the church and her councils would be amply avenged of such a calumny. I hope hereafter to publish a particular dissertation on that subject, and to be able to show how strangely those decrees have been misconceived, from a want of knowing the history of these times and of the men against whom they were issued.—Let us suppose for an instant

again to secret associations. Then they had their oaths, their occult doctrines, their signs and their degrees, as the Occult Masons have their perfect masters; and their apprentices were only admitted partially to the secrets.*

In future we may dispense with Condorcet's researches on the secret associations of these famous sectaries.—That is not the point to be sought for in their history. We know they had their oaths, their signs, there secret language, their fraternity, their propaganda, and above all, *secrets which a father could not reveal to his chil-*

Philip D'Orleans, in virtue of the oath of allegiance common in the Feudal System, summoning all his vassals to follow him and unite with his Jacobins in the destruction of the throne, of the laws, of all society and of religion; will any man of sense believe the vassals to be bound, by their oath, to carry arms under and to follow Philip's standard and thus second his antisocial conspiracy? Is it not evident on the contrary, that no oath can bind subjects to support such a war, that all oaths are null, which can only be fulfilled by the destruction of the throne, the annihilation of the laws, and of the basis of all civil society; that in such a position, it is the cause of the sovereign, of the laws, and of society, that is to be defended in spite of all oaths? Well, I will pledge myself to prove that the famous decrees of the Councils of Lateran against the *Albigeois* were no more than a similar decision, that, so far from encroaching on the authority of Kings, they were issued in their defence, in defence of their persons, of their authority, of the laws, and of civil society; that had it not been for those decrees both sovereignty and the empire of the laws would long since have been at an end.

I should have numerous errors to combat, and one in particular which I shall not forget. I know there are men so much biassed in favour of the Albigeois and the Vaudois, as to represent them as the ancestors of the Anglican Church, in proof of its antiquity. Such were the pretensions of the English Editor of the translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. *(See his notes on the articles Vaudois and Albigeois.)* Though the cause of the Anglican Church is not my own, still I will serve it better than all those feeble writers.—I will avenge it of the shame of such an origin. I will prove, that, so far from descending from the Vaudois, they openly condemned their disorganizing principles both before and after the reign of Henry VIII. and that there never existed the least connection between it and the Albigeois. It is the exclusive privilege of the Jacobins, and Condorcet's secret associations, to descend from and glory in such progenitors.

* Est valde notandum quod ipse Johannes et Complices sui, non audent revelare prædictos errores credentibus suis, ne ipsi discedant ab eis—Sic tenebant Albanenses, exceptis simplicioribus quibus singula non revelabantur *(Reinier de Cataris Lugduni & Albanenses.)* Such are exactly the secrets of the first and of the Occult Lodges, of the simple dupes and of the consummate adepts.

dren, nor a child to a parent; ſecrets which a brother could not mention to his ſiſter, nor the ſiſter to her brother.†

What is the moſt remarkable is the coincidence pointed out by Condorcet between the myſteries of the ſectaries, thoſe of the Templars, and thoſe again of the ſecret aſſociations of our days. We know whence the ſectaries of the South ſprung; we know their common father; if he is to be the progenitor of Free-maſonry, the ſtock is not honorable. To be ſure it will trace the Maſonic myſteries back to the immenſe ſpace of ſixteen centuries, but if this origin be true the adept need not glory in it. Hiſtory has ſpoken clearly. The true parent of the *Albigeois*, of the *Cathares*, *Begards*, *Bulgares*, *Coteraux and Patarins*, of all thoſe ſects in fine mentioned by Condorcet, is the ſlave ſold to the Paleſtine widow; it is the ſlave *Curbicus*, more generally known under the name of *Manes*. It is not we who have traced the Maſonic Lodges and their myſteries to this ſlave; it is Condorcet; he is the peſon to be blamed by the adepts. We were ſorry to reveal ſo humiliating an origin; but we only raiſed the veil pointed at by Condorcet. He had ſeen that ſlave, indignant at the fetters which diſgraced his youth, ſeeking to revenge himſelf on ſociety for the baſeneſs of his origin. He heard him preaching liberty, becauſe he had been born in ſlavery; preaching equality, becauſe born in the moſt degraded claſs of the human ſpecies. Condorcet did not dare ſay that the firſt Jacobin Maſon was a ſlave; but he pointed out the offspring of Curbicus in the ſectaries of the South, in the order of the Templars. He has ſhown the brethren, who have inherited from theſe ſectaries and the Templars, to be the adepts in Maſonry, and that was ſufficiently ſaying that they all ſprung from one common parent.

But let us beware of deciding on this ſingle proof. If the myſteries of Maſonry really are to be traced back to Manes, if he be the true father, the founder of the Lodges, we are firſt to prove it by his tenets, and then by the ſimilarity and conformity of their ſecrets and ſymbols. We beg the reader's attention to the following comparative ſtatement; the reſult will not be unimportant to hiſtory, and it particularly intereſts thoſe who are to watch over the welfare of nations.

† Philichdorf, *contra* Waldenſes, Chap. 13.

I. With reſpect to tenets, till the exiſtence of Eclectic Maſonry, that is to ſay, till the Impious Sophiſters of the age introduced into the rites of the Lodges their impious myſteries of Deiſm and Atheiſm, no other God, no other *Jehovah* is to be found in the Maſonic code but that of Manes or the univerſal Being, ſubdivided into the *God* GOOD and the *God* EVIL. It is that of the Cabaliſtic Maſonry, and of the ancient Roſicrucians; it is that of the Martiniſts, who ſeem to have only copied Manes and his Albigeois adepts. A moſt extraordinary fact is, that in an age when the Gods of Superſtition were to diſappear before the Gods of our modern Sophiſters, the God of Manes ſhould have preſerved his aſcendancy in ſo many branches of Maſonry.

II. At all times the follies of the Cabal, and of Magic founded on the diſtinction of this twofold God, had been received in the Maſonic Lodges.—Manes alſo made magicians of his Elect.*

III. Manes in particular is the founder of that religious fraternity which the Occult Maſons interpret into a total indifference for all religion.—That Hereſiarch wiſhed to gain over to his party men of every ſect; he preached that they all tended to the ſame end, and he promiſed to receive them all with the ſame affection.†

IV. But above all, what we ſhould particularly attend to and compare both in the code of Manes and of the Occult Lodges, are the principles of diſorganizing Liberty and Equality. That neither Princes nor Kings, ſuperiors nor inferiors might exiſt, this Hereſiarch taught his adepts, that all laws and all magiſtracy was the work of the evil principle.‡

V. Leſt there ſhould be either poor or rich, he inculcated that the whole belonged to all, and that no perſon had the right of appropriating to himſelf a field, a houſe, &c.‖

Such doctrines muſt naturally have ſuffered many modifications in the Occult Lodges as well as among the diſciples of Manes. He aimed at the abolition of all laws and of Chriſtianity, at the eſtabliſhment of

* Magorum quoque dogmata Manes novit, et in ipſis volutatur. *(Centuriatores Magdeburgenſes ex Auguſtino.)*

† V. Baronius in Manetem.

‡ Magiſtratus civiles et politias damnabant ut quæ a Deomalo conditæ et conſtituæ ſunt. *(Centuriatores Magdeburgenſes, Tom. II. in Manetem.)*

‖ Nec domos, nec agros, nec pecuniam ullam poſſidendam. (Ibid. Ex Epiphanio and Auguſtino.)

Liberty, and Equality, by means of superstition and fanaticism; our modern Sophisters were to give his systems a new direction, that of their impiety. The Altar and the Throne were equally to be victims to them; and Liberty and Equality, in opposition to Kings and to God, were the last mysteries of Manes, as they are of our modern Sophisters.

VI. The same conformity is to be found between the degrees of the adepts before they are initiated in the profound secrets. The names are changed; but Manes had his *Believers*, his *Elect*, and his *Perfects*. These latter were impeccable, that is to say, absolutely free; because no violation of any law could inculpate them.† These three degrees correspond with those of *Apprentice*, *Fellow-craft*, and *Perfect Master*. The name of *Elect* has been preserved in Masonry, but it constitutes the fourth degree.

VII. The same terrible and inviolable oaths bound the disciples of Manes as bind the adepts of the Occult Lodges, to keep the secrets of their degree. St. Austin had been admitted to the degree of *Believer* nine years, without being initiated into that of *Elect*—"Swear or "forswear yourself, but be true to your secret," was their motto.*

VIII. The same number and almost identity of signs. The Masons have three which they call the *sign*, the *gripe*, and the *word*. The Manichæans also had three, that of the *word*, of the *gripe*, and of the *breast*.‖ This latter was suppressed on account of its indecency; it can be traced to the Templars; the other two are still extant in the Lodges of Masonry.

Every Mason who wishes to know whether you *have seen the light*, begins by offering his hand to know whether you are acquainted with the gripe. It was precisely by the same method that the Manichæans recognized each other, and felicitated a brother on having seen the light.‡

IX. If we penetrate into the interior of the Masonic Lodges, we shall find representations of the sun, of the moon, and of the stars. These are nothing more than

† Hieronimus, Præmium Dialogorum contra Pelagium.

* Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. *(Augustinus de Manichæis.)*

‖ Signa, oris, manuum et sinus. *(Centuriatores Magdeburgenses ex Augustine.)*

‡ Manichæorum alter alteri obviam factus, dexteras dant sibi ipsis signi causa, velut a tenebris servati. *(Ibid. ex Epiphanio.)*

Manes's ſymbols of his *God* GOOD whom he brings from the ſun, and of the different genii which he diſtributed in the ſtars. If the candidate is only admitted into the Lodge blindfold, it is becauſe he is yet in the empire of darkneſs, whence Manes brings his *God* EVIL.

X. I do not know whether any of the Maſonic adepts are ſufficiently informed of their own genealogy to know the real origin of their decorations, and of the fable on which the explanations of the Occult Degrees are founded. But the following is a ſtriking proof of their deſcent from Manes. In the degree of Maſter every thing denotes mourning and ſorrow. The Lodge is hung in black, in the middle is a *Sarcophagus* reſting on five ſteps, covered with a pall. Around it the adepts in profound ſilence mourn the death of a man whoſe aſhes are ſuppoſed to lie in this tomb. This man is at firſt ſaid to be Adoniram, then Molay, whoſe death is to be avenged by that of all tyrants. The allegory is rather inauſpicious to Kings; but it is of too old a date not to be anterior to the Grand Maſter of the Templars.

The whole of this ceremonial is to be found in the ancient myſteries of the diſciples of Manes. This was the ceremony which they called *Bema*. They alſo aſſembled round a *Sarcophagus* reſting on five ſteps, decorated in the like manner, and rendered great honors to him whoſe aſhes it was ſuppoſed to contain. But they were all addreſſed to Manes. It was his death that they celebrated; and they kept this feaſt preciſely at the period when the Chriſtians celebrated the death and reſurrection of Chriſt.*

The Chriſtians frequently reproached them with it; and in our days the ſame reproach is made to the Roſicrucians, of renewing their funeral ceremonies preciſely at the ſame time, that is, on the Thurſday in Holy Week.†

XI. In the Maſonic games *Mac Benac* are the two words which comprehend the ſecret meaning of this myſtery. The literal ſignification of theſe words, we are told by the Maſons, is, *the fleſh parts from the bone.*

* Plerumque Paſcha nullum celebrant—Sed Paſcha ſuum, id eſt diem quo Manichæus occiſus, quinque gradibus inſtructo tribunali, et preciosis linteis adornato, ac in promptu poſito, et objecto adorantibus, magnis honoribus proſequuntur. (*Auguſt. contra Epiſt. Manich.*)

† See Mr. Leſranc's Degree of Roſicrucian.

This very explication remains a myſtery, which only diſappears when we reflect on the execution of Manes. This Hereſiarch had promiſed by his prayers to cure the King of Perſia's child, on condition that all the doctors were diſmiſſed. The young Prince died and Manes fled; but, falling again into the hands of the King, he was flayed alive with the points of reeds.* Such is the clear explanation of *Mac Benac*, the fleſh leaves the bones, *he was flayed alive*.†

XII. The very reeds bear teſtimony of the fact. People are ſurprized at ſeeing the Roſicrucians begin their ceremonies by ſeating themſelves ſorrowfully and in ſilence on the ground, then raiſing themſelves up and walking each with a long reed in his hand.‡ All this is eaſily explained again, when we reflect that it was preciſely in this poſture that the Manichæans were uſed to put themſelves, affecting to ſit or lay themſelves down on mats made of reeds, to perpetuate the memory of the manner in which their maſter was put to death.§ And it was for this reaſon that they were called *Matarii*.

Were we to continue our comparative ſtatement we ſhould meet with many other ſimilarities; we ſhould find, for example, that Fraternity ſo much extolled by the Craft, and which would be deſervedly applauded were it not confined ſolely to their own body. A ſimilar reproach was made to the Manichæans, that they were always ready to ſuccour one of their own ſect but extremely hard on the poor of other deſcriptions.‖

The ſame zeal for the propagation of their myſteries is alſo obſervable in both. The modern adepts glory in their Lodges being ſpread all over the world. Such alſo was the propagating ſpirit of Manes and of his a-

* Epiph. Baronius, Fleuri, &c.

† Were it objected, that every thing in this degree appears grounded on the ſtory of Adoniram and Solomon's Temple, I would anſwer, Yes, as to words; but as to facts nothing relating to the death of Adoniram is to be found in the Hiſtory of Solomon or of his Temple. All is allegorical, and entirely applicable to Manes. The *Mac Benac* is inapplicable to the Templars. Beſide, the whole of this ceremony is far anterior to them. They may have ſhaped the fable according to their own profeſſion; but they have preſerved the leading feature, the Mac Benac, which carries us back immediately to Manes.

‡ Mr. Le Franc's Degree of Roſæ Crucis.

§ Centuriatores Magdeburgenſes, Baronius, &c.

‖ Quin et homini mendico, niſi Manichæus ſit, panem et aquam non porrigunt. *(Auguſtinus de Moribus Manichæorum et contra Fauſtinum.)*

depts. Addas, Herman, and Thomas went by his orders to eſtabliſh his myſteries, the firſt in Judea, the ſecond in Egypt, and the third in the Eaſt, while he himſelf preached in Perſia and Meſopotamia. Beſide, he had twelve Apoſtles, though ſome ſay twenty-two; and in a very ſhort ſpace of time we ſee his doctrines, like the Free-maſons, ſpreading all over the world.*

Attending only to the moſt ſtriking ſimilarities, we have ſeen the Occult degrees of Maſonry founded on the *Bema* of the Manichæans. It was Manes whom they were to avenge on all Kings, on Kings who had condemned him to be flayed alive, and who, according to his doctrines, had only been inſtituted by the evil ſpirit; and the word to be recovered was that doctrine itſelf, to be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of Chriſtianity. The Templars, taught by the adepts diſperſed throughout Egypt and Paleſtine, ſubſtituted, at their diſſolution, their Grand Maſter Molay for Manes, as the object of their vengeance; and the ſpirit of the myſteries and the allegory remained the ſame. It is always Kings and Chriſtianity that are to be deſtroyed, Empires and the Altar to be overturned, in order to re-eſtabliſh the Liberty and Equality of human nature.

The reſult of theſe reſearches are certainly not flattering to the Craft; it traces the origin of their Lodges and of their doctrines on Liberty and Equality to a ſlave flayed alive for his impoſtures. However humiliating ſuch an origin may be, ſtill ſuch muſt be the reſult of the reſearches of him who ſeeks the ſource whence all their myſteries are derived. Their Occult ſecrets are all founded on this man who is to be avenged, and on that word or doctrine which is to be recovered in their third degree. The whole of this third degree is an evident repetition of the *Bema* of the Manichæan degree of *Elect*, the famous Mac Benac is clearly explained by the ſpecies of puniſhment inflicted on Manes, and every thing leads us back to the Paleſtine widow's ſlave.† We may defy the Maſons to find any ceremony ſimilar

* Centuriatores Magdeburgenſes ex Epiphanio.

† Will not this circumſtance of the Widow explain a cuſtom with the Maſons, who, when they find themſelves expoſed to any danger, and that they have hopes of being heard by any of the brethren, in order to make themſelves known and to obtain ſuccour they hold their hands on their heads and called out, *help from the children of the widow!* If the modern Maſons are ignorant of the fact, the ancient adepts were well acquainted with it; and all hiſtory aſſerts that Manes was adopted by the widow to

to their's of *Mac Benac* either before or ſince the *Bema* of the Manichæans, if it be not the *Bema* itſelf; it is to that therefore that we muſt refer back; it is there we muſt reſt to find the ſource of the Maſonic myſteries.

The ſilence obſerved on this origin by the moſt learned Maſons proves that they were aſhamed, but not that they were ignorant of it. It muſt at leaſt have been difficult for them to have ſo often in the myſteries of the cabal commented on the *Jehovah* of Manes, ſubdivided like their own, into the *Good* and *Evil* principle, without knowing the grand author of this ſyſtem, and who has given his name to the ſect of the twofold God; without recognizing him, otherwiſe ſo famous as a profound adept in all the myſteries of the cabal, or of magic and aſtrology.

It could hardly be poſſible for the Hero of the Martiniſts not to have ſeen that his Apocalypſe was nothing but the Hereſiarch's code. It cannot be ſuppoſed that Condorcet, tracing the origin of the ſecret aſſociations, and bringing the Templars ſo near to the *Albigeois*, could have been ignorant of what all hiſtory aſſerts, that the *Albigeois* and all the ramifications of thoſe ſects of the South (the *Vaudois* excepted) were really no other than Manichæans; beſide, that all thoſe infamous proceedings of the Templars had long ſince been attributed to the children of Manes; and that all thoſe horrors are eaſily explained by his doctrines.

When we ſee the principal adepts of Maſonary, ſuch as Lalande, Dupuis, Le Blond, De Launaye, ſeeking to ſubſtitute the errors of the Manichæans and of the Perſians, to the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, it is ſtill more difficult to believe that they had not ſurmiſed the real author of their myſteries.*

It may be poſſible that the Hiſtory of the Templars and of their Grand Maſter, as more intereſting to the adepts, may have obliterated the remembrance of ſo humiliating an origin.

The object of our reſearches has not been to humble the Maſonic body, but to develope the ſnares of a ſect juſtly branded with infamy from the very firſt days of

whom Budda, Scythian's diſciple, fleed for refuge, and that the Hereſiarch inherited all the riches he had left her. *Help from the children of the widow*, therefore naturally alludes to the children of Manes.

* See Remarks on the general and particular Hiſtory of Religion, by Mr. Le Franc.

its exiſtence. Our object is particularly to make men ſenſible at length how much it intereſts both religion and the ſtate to inveſtigate the grand object of a ſecret aſſociation ſpread throughout the univerſe, an aſſociation whoſe ſecret is beyond a doubt contained in thoſe two words *Liberty and Equality*, confided to the adepts in the very firſt degrees of Maſonry; of an aſſociation whoſe laſt myſteries are no more than the explanation of theſe words to the full extent which the Jacobinical Revolution has given to them.

The hatred which a ſlave had conceived for his bonds makes him invent the words *Liberty and Equality*. The deteſtation of the condition in which he was born makes him believe that the evil ſpirit alone could have been the Creator of thoſe Empires which contain Maſters and Servants, Kings and Subjects, Magiſtrates and Citizens. He declares Empires to be the work of the Evil ſpirit, and he binds his diſciples by an oath to deſtroy them. He at the ſame time inherits the books and all the abſurdities of a Pagan Philoſopher, a great Aſtrologer and Magician, and compoſes his code, a monſtrous digeſt of theſe abſurdities, and of the hatred he had conceived againſt the diſtinctions and laws of ſociety. He creates myſteries, diſtributes his adepts into different claſſes or degrees and eſtabliſhes his ſect. Though juſtly puniſhed for his impoſtures, he leaves them his execution as a new motive to ſtimulate their hatred againſt Kings. This ſect ſpreads itſelf from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and by means of its myſteries perpetuates and propagates itſelf. It is to be met with in every age. Cruſhed a firſt time in Italy, France, and Spain, it ſpreads anew from the Eaſt in the eleventh century. The Knights Templars adopt its myſteries, and the diſſolution of that order lends a pretence to new-model their games. The hatred of Kings and of the God of the Chriſtians is only ſtimulated by theſe new motives. The times and manner of the age may vary the forms or modify the opinions, but the eſſence remains; it is always the pretended light of Liberty and Equality to be diffuſed; it is the Empire of pretended Tyrants, whether religious or political, of Pontiffs, of Prieſts, of Kings, of Chriſt himſelf, which are to be deſtroyed, in order to re-eſtabliſh the people in that twofold Equality and twofold Liberty, which proſcribes the religion of Chriſt and the authority of Kings. The degrees and myſteries are multiplied and precautions are redoub-

led leſt they ſhould be betrayed; but their laſt oath is always hatred to the God who died on the Croſs—hatred to the Monarch ſeated on the Throne.

Such is the hiſtorical ſketch of Maſonry, and the main point of its ſecrets. Let the reader compare the proofs we have adduced from the very nature of its degrees, the proofs taken from the diſſertations of the moſt learned adepts of the moſt zealous Maſons on their myſteries; all thoſe, in fine, which we have drawn from their various opinions on the origin of their aſſociation; and I do not think he can entertain any doubt as to the grand object of this inſtitution. Let him then reflect on the manner in which we were led back by Condorcet from the Maſons of the day to the ſlave Curbicus, and how we diſcover in this Hereſiarch and his adepts the real authors of the code and myſteries of Free-maſonry; and I do not apprehend that he can any longer entertain a doubt as to their firſt and real progenitors.

Still it remains for us to ſhow how theſe ſame myſteries promoted the plans of the Sophiſters of Impiety united with thoſe of Rebellion, in the execution of their plots for effecting the grand Revolution. But let us not terminate this chapter without repeating our proteſtations in favor of the immenſe number of Maſons, who have never been initiated in the Occult Myſteries of the ſect. Let us admire the wiſdom of Engliſh Maſonry in rejecting all thoſe degrees where an explanation of the myſteries begins to develope their dangerous principles. Let us admire and applaud them for having transformed this conſpiring ſect of other ſtates into an aſſociation evidently uſeful to their own. The more ſtrongly we have inſiſted an the importance to all Empires of inveſtigating the dangerous principles of the Occult Lodges, the better pleaſed and the more ready we are to do juſtice to thoſe whom we have ſeen ſo generally adopting the principles of a benevolent Equality, and of a Liberty ſecured by ſubjection to the laws.

CHAP. XIV.

Sixth Degree of the Conſpiracy againſt Kings.—Coalition of the Sophiſters and of the Free-maſons.

THE generality of Free-maſons of the preſent day do the Scotch the honor of looking upon their and Lodge as the ſtock whence all the others ſprang: there, they tell us, that the Templars convened he preſervation of their myſteries: It is thence that ſuppoſe Maſonry ſpread through England into ce, Germany, and other ſtates. This is not an obable conjecture with reſpect to the actual form,*

ſay with reſpect to the *actual form of their Lodges*, and to the ſubſtance of their myſteries; for there had exiſted F maſons long ſince in England who pretended neither to deſce from the Knights Templars nor the Grand Lodge in Scotland. This is to be ſeen in a manuſcript written two hundred and ſixty years ago and ſtill preſerved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This manuſcript is a copy of certain queſtions written about a hundred years before by Henry VI. in his own hand. The date then of the original is about three hundred and thirty years back, as Henry VI. departed this life in 1471. *(See Mr. Locke's Letter and this Manuſcript in W. Preſton's Illuſtrations of Maſonry, Book III. Sect. 1.)*

There are two important remarks to be made on this manuſcript. Firſt, that the adept queſtioned on the origin of Maſonry makes no mention of the Templars; on the contrary he ſays, that all the important ſecrets of which it is in poſſeſſion were brought into Europe by Venetian merchants coming from the Eaſt. *(Comed ffyrſte ffromme the eſte ynn Venitia—3d anſwer.)* Locke ſuſpects that in thoſe times of *monkiſh* ignorance, the Maſons might have miſtaken the Venetians for the Phenicians. Mr. Locke could not have choſen a more unfavorable moment for his ſuſpicion, as the Maſons and even *the Monks* had by means of the cruſades learned to diſtinguiſh between the *Phenicians* and *Venetians*, and particularly between *Tyr* and *Venice*—Nothing was more natural than the anſwer made by the Maſon to Henry VI. 'That the myſteries had been brought from the *Eaſt* by the *Venetians*.' All Maſons agree that the Templars learned them in the *Eaſt*. It is very natural that the *Venetians*, ſo famous in thoſe days for their commerce in the Eaſt, ſhould have taken theſe myſteries whence the Templars afterwards did, and whoſe hiſtory had not yet been incorporated with that of Free-maſonry. But the reader will remark, that every thing leads us back to Manes, to the countries whence, it is well known, the ſect and its myſteries ſpread into Europe.

The ſecond obſervation to be made on this ancient Manuſcript is, that even in England Free-maſonry already comprehended

and preſent aſpect of their myſteries, but, from whatever part they may have ſpread throughout Europe, it is an undoubted fact, that Lodges exiſted in France and in moſt other ſtates in the beginning of this century.

First obſtacles to the propagation of Maſonry.

In 1735 they were proſcribed by an edict of the States of Holland; two years later they were prohibited in France by Lewis XV.; and in 1738, Clement the XII. publiſhed his famous Bull of excommunication againſt them, afterwards renewed by Benedict XIV. In 1748, they were proſcribed in Switzerland by the Council of Berne.

From the very nature of their myſteries, this aſſ[illegible]ation could long reſiſt the ſtorms by which it was a[illegible]ed. Men trained to the art of hiding themſelves [illegible] no other precautions to take than to avoid the publi[illegible] of large aſſemblies. It was in the very nature of [illegible] tenets that they found the greateſt obſtacles to their [illegible]pagation. England, it is true, diſguſted with a L[illegible]ty and Equality which the civil feuds of its Lol[illegible]s, Anabaptiſts, and Preſbyterians had taught it to a[illegible]e-ciate, had rejected from its Maſonic games all exp[illegible]na-tions tending to the overthrow of Governments; but it did not clear itſelf of all the adepts who ſtill remained attached to the diſorganizing principles of the ancient myſteries. It was this ſpecies of adept that preſerved the greateſt zeal for the propagation of its tenets; it was ſome of theſe who, wiſhing to attract Voltaire into their party, had made Thiriot write, that notwithſtanding the title of *Liberty and Equality* given to his Letters, he did not go to the point.

Unfortunately for France and for the reſt of Europe, ſuch was the ſpecies of adepts which took the lead in the propagation of their myſteries—*at firſt their progreſs was ſlow and imperceptible.*—It had coſt Voltaire much

all thoſe ſyſtems of *Cabal*, of *Aſtrology*, and of *Divination*, ſciences all founded on the twofold principle of Manes. The art of living *without fear or hope* is alſo to be remarked, the grand object of Manes, as well as of all impious wretches; the art of making perfection and true liberty conſiſt in diſbelieving a future ſtate, which may conſtitute the hopes of the juſt man and the terror of the wicked. And this is confounded in the general terms of the Manuſcript—*The art of wunderwerckynge, and of foreſayinge thynges to comme—the ſkylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte withouten the holpynges of* FERE *or* HOPE *(8th anſwer.)* Amidſt all the panegyrics beſtowed on Maſonry in this ancient record ſuch are the documents contained in it. Though ſo much extolled by Maſons, the reader will certainly not receive it as a proof of the pretended innocence of their myſteries.

to adopt their diſorganizing principles, and it would neceſſarily coſt many young men much more, who, not having ſtifled all ſentiments of religion, repreſſed not only that ſpirit of independence but even that of curioſity and the deſire of knowing a ſecret only to be acquired by an oath which might be perjury in itſelf.

In France particularly it muſt have been difficult to inculcate myſteries, whoſe laſt ſecret was apoſtacy and rebellion, in men as yet unaccuſtomed to declamations againſt Sovereigns and the ſocial order. Policy at firſt, and afterwards the progreſs of the Sophiſters, removed every difficulty. The Free-maſons, according to cuſtom, ſought to gain an aſcendancy over the mind of ſome man who might protect them againſt and avert the indignation of the Sovereign; and with the apron they requeſt the Prince Conti to accept the title of Grand Maſter of the French Lodges. The Prince conſented to be initiated, and on that occaſion the conſtruction was put upon the myſteries which is artfully given whenever a candidate is received, whoſe ſentiments, rank, or grandeur, is known to militate againſt the diſorganizing principles of Liberty and Equality. Many Princes and ſome Sovereigns fell into a ſimilar error. The Emperor Francis I. would alſo be initiated; and he protected the brethren, who never revealed any ſecret to him which could ſhock his known piety. Frederick II. was alſo a Free-maſon. The adepts told him all their ſecrets againſt Chriſt, but guarded againſt the moſt diſtant hint of applying Liberty and Equality to the rights of the throne, which he was ſo jealous of maintaining.

In fine, the policy of the craft went ſo far as to gain protectors even among the Princeſſes by initiating them in the leſſer myſteries. Maria Charlotte, at preſent Queen of Naples, believed, without doubt, that ſhe was only protecting moſt faithful ſubjects; ſhe petitioned in favour of the proſcribed brethren, who were even in danger of ſuffering. A medal ſtruck on the occaſion, her health drank with that of the Grand Maſter at the Maſonic feaſts, appeared to be an infallible pledge of the gratitude of the Craft: and under her auſpices they ſpread far and near. But when the Conſpiracy burſt forth at Naples this protected brotherhood were found to be a neſt of conſpiring Jacobins. The plot had been contrived in their Lodges, and the protecting Queen ſtood foremoſt on the liſt of proſcriptions.

Many Lords and Noblemen, true and accepted Masons, had joined in the conspiracy; but the Court soon discovered the *occult* plot, in which it had been decided that all the Nobles, though Jacobin Masons, should be massacred immediately after the Royal Family by the equal and clouted-shoed brethren.

In animadverting on these facts, of which the Historians of the Revolution will have to treat hereafter, my design is to draw the attention of my reader to that policy of which so many great personages have been the miserable dupes. The Occult Masons would go in quest of them, and initiate them in all the mysteries against religion.—The initiation of these Noblemen quieted the fears and averted the attention of Government from the Lodges, seeing them frequented by men who were the natural allies of the throne. And this policy of the Occult Lodges proved one of the most successful tools for their success. The names of the most faithful servants of the crown screened the rebellious plots of their occult mysteries; and that of *Conti* easily quieted Lewis XV. with respect to the Masons. The Police of Paris made no farther enquiries, and the Lodges were tolerated. The Sophisters and the progress of Impiety furnished them with new and more efficacious means of multiplying their Lodges.

According as Voltaire and Holbach's club succeeded in inundating Europe with their impious writings, the Craft extended its conquests. It was then easy for the Philosophists to make themselves be listened to by men already disposed to the secret mysteries by their Antichristian and Antimonarchical publications, and to inspire them with a desire of a new order of things to be learned in their Lodges. Curiosity, stimulated by impiety, daily made new converts to the sect. Impiety continued propagated and spread wide the spirit and fashion of Masonry, and that was the great service rendered to it by the Sophisters of the age.

On their side, the Sophisters of Impiety and Rebellion soon perceived the connection between the mysteries of Masonry and their Philosophism. They were desirous of being acquainted with those mysteries whose profound adepts were their most zealous disciples; and soon all the French Philosophists became Masons. Many years before the Revolution, it was difficult to meet with a Sophister who was not a Free-mason. Voltaire alone had not been initiated. The Craft had too great

Voltaire received a Freemason.

obligations to him; it was indebted to him for too many of their adepts, not to teſtify their gratitude to him. Scarcely had this octogenary infidel arrived at Paris when they prepared the moſt pompous *fête* for his admiſſion to the myſteries. At eighty years of age he was *admitted to the light*. After having taken the oath, the ſecret which flattered him the moſt to learn was, that the adepts, in future his brethren, had long ſince been his moſt zealous diſciples. That their ſecret conſiſted in that *Liberty and Equality* which he had himſelf oppoſed to the Goſpel of his God and to the pretended Tyrants of the Earth. The Lodge reſounded with ſuch applauſe, the adepts rendered him ſuch honours, and he ſo perfectly felt the cauſe of them, that, thinking his pride gratified and his vow of hatred accompliſhed, he blaſphemouſly exclaimed, *This triumph is well worth that of the Nazareen.* The ſacred formula of the myſteries was ſo dear to him, that the ancient adept Franklin, having meanly preſented him with his children to bleſs, he only pronounced over them the words *Equality and Liberty.**

If, after all the proofs we have given of the meaning attached to thoſe words by the profound adepts, any one ſhould doubt of their application to Chriſt and the throne, let him reflect on the interpretation of them given by Voltaire to the Geneveſe; and particularly what extent he gave them on his admiſſion among the brethren of *Liberty and Equality*; let him be carried back to this initiation, let him behold the crowned adept, thoſe who crown him, and thoſe who ſurround him, and can any other proof be required of the object of their myſteries than the liſt of theſe attendant brethren. There on the ſame line he would behold Sophiſters and Maſons, and particularly thoſe who by their writings have prepared the downfall of the Altar and the Throne, who by their votes have decreed it, and by their crimes have conſummated ſo iniquitous an undertaking. There he would meet the impious brethren, ſuch as Voltaire, Condorcet, Lalande, Dupuis, Bonneville, Volney, and all the other blaſphemers both modern and ancient; there again would he ſee the rebellious brethren, a Fauchet, Bailly, Guillotin, La Fayette, Menou, Chapellier, Mirabeau, and Syeyes; there in the ſame Lodge he would find the adepts of

* See the life of Voltaire.

Holbach's club, and thoſe of *Philip L'Egalité*. Whence this concord, what object can unite ſo many *impious* brethren, ſo many *rebellious* brethren in the ſame Lodge, if not the identity of their ſecret myſteries? and why this concourſe of the Sophiſters to the Maſonic Lodges, if not for the mutual ſuccour they are to afford each other?

It was not ſufficient for the heroes of the Encyclopedia to unite under their ſtandards againſt Chriſt the infidels of the court and of every claſs. Many in all claſſes who had remained faithful to their God were alſo true to their King. Even in the impious part of the Ariſtocracy many men were to be found, whom fortune, ambition, or cuſtom attached either to the perſon or to the exiſtence of the Monarch. There exiſted a public force, which the duty or intereſt of its chiefs might oppoſe to their machinations; and a multitude of Citizens might have riſen againſt the Conſpirators.

But however numerous the diſciples of impiety may have been, ſtill the multitude ſided with the altar and the throne. The Sophiſters ſaw they had not as yet ſufficiently triumphed over the public opinion; they felt that it was neceſſary to acquire ſtrength.

Having long meditated on the arts of rebellion, they ſoon perceived what advantages might be drawn hereafter from the Maſonic Lodges. From the period of their coalition a revolution was made in the French Maſonry, the adepts of which ſoon became the children of the Encyclopedia. The Martiniſts alone, with ſome few Cabaliſtic Lodges, remained true to their ſlave Curbicus; all others adopt the impiety of Voltaire. The real ſource of the myſteries was to be traced by the forms preſerved; but it was at this period that all thoſe novelties were introduced which make it more difficult to trace them. It was on this coalition that all our Dualiſt Maſons were transformed into Atheiſts, Deiſts, or Pantheiſts. It was then that the degrees of *the Knights of the Sun and of the Druids* were added to the former ones; but they are nothing more than the impious degrees of modern Sophiſtry.

Be they however children of Manes, or the offspring of the Encyclopedia, it was always the ſame hatred againſt the altar and the throne, the ſame conſpiracy which conſtituted the grand object of the Occult Lodges. To ſecure the triumph of Holbach's club, the Sophiſters had only to aſſure themſelves of the ſupport of the

pikes ;* and by means of the interior intercourſe of the Maſonic Lodges they hoped to effectuate it. At the head of this correſpondence was a general office called the *Grand Orient*, apparently under the direction of the Grand Maſter, but really conducted by the moſt profound adepts. This was the ſeat of Government, the high tribunal where all the Maſonic differences or ſuits were ſettled ; it was alſo the ſupreme council whoſe orders could not be violated or diſobeyed without incurring the penalties of perjury.

Government of the Lodges.

It was to this tribunal that the different Lodges ſpread throughout the country ſent their deputies, who, reſiding there, were entruſted with the forwarding of orders, and with notifying their execution. Every Lodge had its préſident called the *Venerable*, whoſe duty conſiſted in forwarding the orders of the *Grand Orient*, or in preparing the brethren for the orders they were to receive. All inſtructions were tranſmitted in a ſecret language, in a particular cypher, or by private means. Leſt any falſe brother or Maſon, not ſubject to the inſpection of the *Grand Orient*, ſhould intermix with the real adepts without being diſcovered, there was a watch-word which changed every quarter, and was regularly ſent by the *Grand Orient* to ever Lodge under its inſpection.

Every branch of this government was bound by the oaths of not revealing to the prophane the ſecrets of Free-maſonry. Each Lodge ſent its contributions quarterly for the maintenance of the central office, and to cover all expences which this office judged neceſſary to be incurred for the general intereſt of the craft. Thoſe Lodges that were not under the inſpection of the *Grand Orient*, were under a ſimilar government of a Mother Lodge, which alſo had its Grand Maſter and kept the ſame ſort of correſpondence.

This part of their conſtitutions was generally known to all the brethren ; but I have often repeated that with reſpect to the Occult Lodges they were in the dark. The day was to come when the greateſt novice in the art was to ſhow as much zeal as the moſt profound adept. To effectuate this, it was only neceſſary to fill

* I hope the reader will remark here, that the ſwearing in of the multitude is the laſt ſtep of a conſpiracy, and not the firſt, as ſome (little verſed in theſe black arts) are perpetually repeating ; and that as long as the authors remain undiſcovered, it is but of little avail to diſcover the vulgar and often miſled agents. T.

their ordinary Lodges with hair-brained young fellows, ignorant citizens, and even thick-headed workmen, who had been previouſly miſled by the impious doctrines of the Sophiſters, and with all thoſe who were carried away by that torrent of declamation, calumnies, &c. directed againſt the altar, the throne, and all the higher orders of ſociety.

With ſuch a ſpecies of brethren the Occult Myſteries were unneceſſary, and without any further inſtructions the warhoop of Liberty and Equality was more than ſufficient to excite their enthuſiaſm and direct their blows. A chief in each Lodge, or a very few adepts in direct correſpondence with the central office of the Conſpirators, might eaſily be informed of the day and hour on which it was neceſſary that the minds of theſe underling adepts ſhould be worked up to revolutionary fury, and to point out the objects and perſons on whom they were to vent their rage. Nor was it impoſſible to organize thoſe bands of *Brigands* and firebrands into Lodges, and thus diſtribute to each the different parts of levelling butchers and of revolutionary executioners. Theſe Lodges, multiplied throughout the ſtate in the towns and villages, might, under the direction of the central office or committee, turn out at the ſame inſtant all over the country, thouſands and tens of thouſands of adepts all enthuſiaſtically arrayed under the banners of Liberty and Equality, armed with pikes, hatchets, and torches, carrying fire and deſolation wherever their courſe was traced, knowing beforehand what victims were to be ſacrificed, what caſtles and country houſes to be burnt, and what heads to be carried before the triumphant levellers of Liberty and Equality; thus preſerving the moſt exact accord in the midſt of rebellion, levelling at one blow all public force, all public juſtice, diſorganizing every thing and throwing every thing into confuſion. But, in order to eſtabliſh its new empire and organize its own power, it only had to transform its ſecret dens of conſpiracy into Jacobin clubs, and its grand adepts into municipal officers. Thus at length, it gave birth to a Revolution irreſiſtible, conſummated, and irreparable even in the firſt hours of its exiſtence, and before any one had thought of meaſures to oppoſe it.

In thus deſcribing what might have been done by means of that tenebrous ſecrecy of the Maſonic government and Lodges, I have only anticipated what re-

ally was done by the Sophisters to effectuate the French Revolution. As early as the year 1776, the central Committee of the *Grand Orient* instructed the directing adepts to prepare the Brethren for insurrection, and to visit the Lodges throughout France, to conjure them by the Masonic oath, and to announce that the time was at length come to accomplish *it* in the death of tyrants.

Deputies sent from the *Grand Orient.*

The adept who was intrusted with the visitation of the Northern provinces was an officer of artillery called Sinetty. His Revolutionary Apostleship led him to Lille. The regiment of La Sarre was at that time in garrison there. The Conspirators wished particularly to gain proselytes among and make sure of the military brethren; Sinetty was far from succeeding according to his wishes; but the method and plans he adopted are all that can be necessary for our object. To explain this matter to our readers, we will lay before them the relation made by one of the officers of La Sarre, an eye-witness, and one of the many whom Sinetty had chosen to be present at the meeting where he was to disclose the object of his Apostleship.

"We had," said this worthy officer to me, "our "Lodge. It was to us, as to most other regiments, a "mere plaything. The trials to which the new can- "didates were subjected afforded us much amusement. "The Masonic feasts made us spend our leisure hours "agreeably, and refreshed us from our labors. You "very well understand that our *Liberty and Equality* "was not that of the Jacobins. The greatest part and "nearly the whole of the officers gave proofs of this "at the Revolution. We indeed little thought of any "such Revolution when an officer of artillery called "Sinetty, a famous Mason, presented himself at our "Lodge. He was received as a brother. At first he "did not appear particular. A few days after he invi- "ted about twenty of us to meet him at a tea-garden "called the Bonne Aventure, a little out of Lille. We "thought he wished to return the compliment of the "feast we had given him, and expected a common "Masonic repast, when on a sudden he holds forth, "declaring he had important secrets to communicate "from the *Grand Orient.* We listen to him; but "judge of our surprize when we heard him in the most "emphatic and enthusiastic tone declare, 'That at "length the time was come, that the plans so ably con- "ceived and so long meditated by the true Masons were

" on the eve of being accompliſhed; that the univerſe " would be freed from its fetters; Tyrants called Kings " would be vanquiſhed; religious ſuperſtitions would " give way to light; Liberty and Equality would ſuc- " ceed to the ſlavery under which the world was op- " preſſed; and that man would at length be *reinſtated* " *in his rights.*'

" While our orator continued theſe declamations " we ſtared at each other, as much as to ſay, ' What " is this madman about?' We hearkened to him for a " whole hour, and ſilently; meaning afterwards to " joke among ourſelves. What appeared to us the " moſt extravagant was the confident manner in which " he aſſerted, that it would be vain in future for Ty- " rants or Kings to pretend to oppoſe their vaſt plans; " that the Revolution was infallible and near; and that " the altar and the throne would be overturned.*

" He ſoon perceived that we were not Maſons of " his ſtamp, and left us to go and viſit other Lodges. " After having laughed for ſome time at what we con- " ceived to be the conceits of a heated brain, we for- " got the ſcene till the Revolution (which convinced us " but too forcibly how much we had miſconcieved the " man) recalled it to our minds."

When I had determined on publiſhing this fact, I knew how neceſſary it would be to authenticate it by the ſignature of him to whom we are indebted for the above account; but it may eaſily be conceived that he did not wiſh to have been looked upon as having betrayed the ſecrets of the Lodge. Fortunately there are now in London many who were preſent at that meeting; for example, the Comte de Martange, Mr. de Bertrix, Mr. Le Chev. de Myon, all formerly officers in the regiment of La Sarre. Though I have not the honor of their acquaintance, and that they may be a little ſurprized at ſeeing themſelves named here, ſtill I am not afraid of being contradicted by them, either as to the miſſion or the manner in which Sinetty fulfilled it; and eſpecially

* Nothing perhaps can ſhow the danger and impolicy of oaths of ſecrecy more than this paſſage: For, any rebel, provided he be bound by the ſame oath, may come and make propoſitions to you of the moſt dangerous tendency; and if, through weak- neſs or depravity, they are hearkened to, he finds Conſpirators ready made; if rejected, they are ſtill kept ſecret by thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be bound to ſecrecy, forgetting that in this caſe by the very act they become perjured to their oath of allegiance and to their God. T.

when I add that it was their attachment to their King which misled them with respect to this designing madman. So far were they from any revolutionary ideas, so well did they know the dispositions of the French officers, and so firmly did they think the authority of the King established, that they believed this Sinetty to be a madman, and all his message from the Master Lodge to be no more than the reveries of a heated brain. Now, that the Revolution has dissipated the illusion, I leave the historian and the reader to meditate on so important a fact. The consequences flow of themselves. They manifest all that the brethren, either Sophisters or Masons, coalesced in their central committee, expected from the chosen adepts which they had sent into the provinces to prepare the insurrection. But it was reserved to Syeyes and Condorcet to establish in the very centre of Free-masonry an Apostleship much more general, whose object was to Jacobinize not the Lodges only but the whole Universe.

Establishment of the Masonic Propaganda.

That Condorcet, whom we have observed so jealous of fraternizing with the *Albigeois*, *Patarins*, or *Catares*, in short, with all the Jacobins of the middle age, had, without doubt, studied their means. What history relates of them, to inflame the indignation of the reader, is exactly what he adopted and imitated of their abominable artifices; and he even surpassed them.* That

* Notwithstanding I have already given various proofs of the coincidence between the modern Jacobins and those of the middle ages, I think it proper to lay before my reader an historical fragment very precious, though little known. It is a letter written in 1243, by one Yvon of Narbonne to Gerald Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and preserved by Matthew Paris, a cotemporary author. In this letter Yvon says, that, accused of leaning towards the Errors of the *Patarins*, he thought it prudent to seek safety in flight. Arrived at Come, in Italy, he meets with some *Patarins*, and declares himself to be persecuted for professing their doctrines. He is received as a brother, sumptuously treated, and entrusted with information, of which he gives the following account:

"For three months," says he, "I was among them, well fed, "splendidly and voluptuously feasted; learning each day some "new error or rather horror against faith, to all which I pretended "to assent. *By dint of good treatment they obliged me to promise, "that in future, whenever I was in company with Christians*, I "would do my utmost to prove that the faith of Peter never saved "any body. *As soon as they had wrested from me this oath*, they "began to discover their secrets to me. They told me, among "other things, that from several towns in Tuscany and from al-

zeal ſo common to the adepts did not appear active and ardent enough for him. He joined with Syeyes to found in Maſonry itſelf a true Apoſtleſhip of Jacobiniſm.

The Lodge eſtabliſhed at Paris, Rue Coq-heron, and preſided over by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, was more particularly frequented by the profound Maſons. After the *Grand Orient*, this was the Lodge wherein the deepeſt plots were contrived, where Syeyes and Condorcet, with the moſt zealous of the brethren, held their meetings. This was alſo the hotbed whence ſprung the Propaganda. Of all the writers who have treated of this eſtabliſhment, none were better acquainted with it than Mr. Girtanner, who lived at Paris in the midſt of the Sophiſters and Maſons. He afterwards lived with the Jacobins, and pryed into every thing with the eye of a correct obſerver. A learned Foreigner and a Phyſician were qualities which rendered him leſs ſuſpicious, and he was much in their confidence. What we

" moſt all the towns in Lombardy, they carefully ſent ſome of " their moſt docile diſciples to Paris, who were there to apply " to all the ſubtilties of Logic and intricate queſtions of Di- " vinity, in order to prepare them for maintaining their own " errors and combating the Apoſtolic Faith. That beſide this " they had a great number of merchants whom they ſent to the " different fairs with a view of perverting the richer laity, and " in a word all thoſe with whom they converſed or aſſociated at " table. Thus by the extent of their commerce they on one " hand enrich themſelves by other men's money, and on the " other pervert ſouls."

This, beyond a doubt, is a ſecret ſociety, a perfect Propaganda. When we reflect that this ſociety was entirely compoſed of Manichæans, teaching that all men were free and equal, and were to obey neither *the ſpiritual nor temporal power*, one can hardly view them in any other light than as Jacobin Maſons. Still leſs can we miſtake them when we obſerve the new adept travelling from Come to Milan, to Cremona, to Venice, and even to Vienna, always received and feaſted by the brethren, only making himſelf known and getting himſelf acknowledged by *means of certain ſigns which were always ſecretly given to him*, Semper in receſſu accepi ab aliis ad alios inter ſigna. (*Math. Paris Hiſt. Ang. ann.* 1243).

It is true, that this is a letter written by a penitent adept, who is ſorry for having ſwerved from the true faith, lamenting the horrors he had been guilty of with the other brethren, and only conſoling himſelf with the happy recollection of having reclaimed ſeveral from their errors, and craving pardon and penance for his paſt wickedneſs. But theſe circumſtances all become new proofs of his ſincerity, and only depict in ſtronger colours the connection between the ſecret aſſociations of the children of Manes, the true Jacobins of the middle age, and the ſecret aſſociations of the Occult Maſons, or of our modern Jacobins.

are about to lay before our readers concerning the Propaganda is nearly all extracted from his Memoirs on the French Revolution.

" The Club of the Propagandists is widely different " from that of the Jacobins, though both frequently " unite. That of the Jacobins is the grand mover of " the National Assembly; that of the Propaganda " aims at nothing less than being the mover of all hu- " man nature. This latter was in existence as early as " the year 1786. The Chiefs are the Duc de la Roche- " foucault, Condorcet, and Syeyes."

For the honour of this unfortunate Duke, we hasten to say, that the Revolutions soon reclaimed him from his errors. He had made himself Grand Master of several Lodges, and was the tool of Syeyes and Condorcet, who made use of his riches to forward their plans. When he beheld the disorganization of France succeeding to the first Constitutionalists, his zeal for the Propaganda was greatly abated. He at length abandoned it, and Condorcet and Syeyes remained the sole Chiefs.

" The grand object of the Propagandist's Club," says Girtanner, " is, to establish a philosophical order of " things, paramount to all the received opinions of hu- " man nature. To be admitted into this society it is " necessary to be a stickler for the Modern Philosophy, " that is to say, Dogmatic Atheism; or else to be am- " bitious, or discontent with the present Government. " The first requisite on your initiation is, a promise of " the most profound secrecy. The candidate is then " informed, that the number of adepts is immense, " and that they are spread all over the world. That " all are perpetually in quest of false brethren to make " away with them, and to revenge themselves on any " who should betray their secret. The candidate then " promises to keep no secret from the brethren, but al- " ways to defend the people against the Government; " to oppose all arbitrary orders, and to do all in his " power to introduce a general toleration of religions.

" This association is composed of two sorts of mem- " bers, those who pay and those who do not. The " first class subscribe at least three Louis a year, and the " rich double the sum. The subscribers are about five " thousand; all the rest engage to propagate the prin- " ciples of the society, and to act according to its " views. These latter may be fifty thousand.

"In 1790, the general fund of the order amounted "to twenty millions of livres (900,000l.) in ſpecie; "and according to ſtatements made, there were to be "ten millions more before the end of 1791.

"They have two degrees, that of *candidate* and that "of *initiated*. Their whole doctrine reſts on the fol- "lowing baſis, *want and opinion are the two agents which* "*make all men act. Cauſe the want, govern opinions*, "and you will overturn all the exiſting ſyſtems, how- "ever well conſolidated they may appear.

"They will alſo add, it is impoſſible to deny that the "oppreſſion under which men live is moſt frightfully "barbarous. It is incumbent on the lights of philoſo- "phy to quicken the minds of men, and to ſpread the "alarm againſt oppreſſors. That once done, it will "need only to wait the favourable moment when all "minds will be diſpoſed to embrace the new ſyſtems, "which muſt be preached throughout all Europe at the "ſame time. If any opponents obſtruct the way, let "them be gained by *conviction* or by *want*. If they per- "ſiſt in their oppoſition, treat them like Jews, and re- "fuſe them every where the rights of Citizens."

A very curious article in their code, and which ſhould not be overlooked (as being probably ſuggeſted by the little ſucceſs they obtained at the outſet,) is that which inſtructs the brethren not to try their plan until they are certain of having *created want*. It alſo ſays, that it would be better to defer the ſcheme for fifty years than fail in it through too much precipitation.

"The Propaganda found much difficulty in gaining "footing in Holland; and it only ſucceeded at laſt by "perſuading the people there that they muſt be led "away by the general torrent.—At preſent it draws "large ſums of money from all thoſe provinces for the "general fund."*

Such is the account given by Mr. Girtanner as early as the month of February 1791. A letter, dated Paris, September 1, 1792, confirms them all, ſaying, "You "may reſt aſſured, that all that I wrote to you con- "cerning the Propaganda is perfectly exact. At moſt "there are but a few ſlight errors in the figures, as in "the round numbers, which muſt be taken as aproxi- "mations. *The Propaganda is at preſent in full activity.* "YOU WILL SOON PERCEIVE ITS EFFECTS.

* See Girtanner, Vol. III. in German, from page 470 to 474.

At the very period when Mr. Girtanner was writing this, it is eaſy to perceive to what extent they flattered themſelves with ſucceſs. The orator of the club eſtabliſhed at Bruxelles under the name of THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE had already exclaimed:

"Every where fetters are forged for the people; "but Philoſophy and Reaſon ſhall have their turn; "and the day ſhall come when the Supreme and Sove- "reign Lord of the Ottoman Empire ſhall lie down to "reſt a Deſpot, and find himſelf on waking a ſimple "Citizen."*

* Ibid.——It is worthy the attention of every Engliſhman, that the work on the Rights of Man, which appeared under the name of Thomas Paine, was publiſhed as early as the year 1791; that it was profuſely ſpread all over Great-Britain and Ireland (in the latter of which places it may be ſaid to have been the forerunner of the unhappy broils we have ſince witneſſed,) and it was ſold (as I am credibly informed) as low as for 3d. or 4d. to the Iriſh Peaſantry. We ſhould ſwell this note to a volume were we to enumerate the miſerable or rather the abominable penny publications that prove the almoſt *licentious* liberty of the preſs, and that have been and continue to be ſold of late. Even Newspapers have taken up the taſk. The GAZETEER at this moment comes to hand (Saturday the 16th September 1797,) in the third page and fourth column, &c. (of which) I read in large letters, "We live in an age pregnant with the ſeeds of deſtruction *to one "claſs of men*, and with the means of triumph to another. The "energies of men are all actuated, they are embattled againſt ER- "ROR *and Superſtition, along with its hideous train of Mitres, "Diadems, and Sceptres is* DESTINED TO VANISH, overwhelmed "and exploded by the intrepid reaſonings of all good, virtuous, "independent friends." The writer then talks of *Scourges of Induſtry* and of friends of man; but, alluding to the French Revolution of the 4th of September, he continues: Theſe "events will be found to be highly conducive to the promotion "and the final ſucceſs of *thoſe ſchemes which have been conceived "and arranged in the retreats ſacred to Philoſophy*, and to the "deſcription we thus allude to. *The* PROJECT *is the* EMANCI- "PATION *of a world.*"

In the next column we find, that mankind are not only indebted to them (the French Government) for Liberty; but "they "owe it to them, that the horrible reign of Prieſt-craft and "MONARCHIC INSTITUTIONS have not been reſtored in one "country and eſtabliſhed for centuries in every quarter of the "globe. To them we owe the renewed guarantees of *ulti- "mate victory in the ſtruggle* TO PULL DOWN AND DESTROY "THRONES. To them ENGLISHMEN CAN ONLY LOOK WITH "CONFIDENCE *for a redreſs of thoſe grievances which have been* "GENERATED IN THE LAP OF MONARCHY, and nouriſhed "and foſtered from the cradle, to a ſtate of manhood by wicked "Miniſters, and *the ſycophant eulogiſts* OF A WORTHLESS "COURT. *From them, Europe is yet deſtined to receive the* "PALM OF LIBERTY, &c. &c. Glorious events! and glorious

As a corroborative proof, let the reader recal to his mind what I ſaid concerning that adept who was for a long time an unheeding Maſon; was only initiated in the laſt myſteries when, on his reception to the degree of *Kadoſch*, he was judged a proper perſon to be admitted into the Propaganda; and who had it left to his choice to go to London, Bruxelles, or even to Conſtantinople, and, provided he would but propagate the principles of the French Revolution, was certain of repairing from the fund of the brotherhood the loſs that his fortune had ſuſtained.

It is thus that many new degrees had been added to Maſonry, and even a new ſociety, which the reſtleſs enthuſiaſm of the Sophiſters of Impiety had invented to ſpread the ancient ſyſtems of diſorganizing Liberty and Equality, and to enſure their triumph. It was to the Propaganda that they were indebted for the immenſe number of their adepts; or rather, in rendering Impiety ſo common, the ſpirit of Philoſophiſm had gained ſo much ground, that it was ſcarcely neceſſary to be initiated into the Occult myſteries to be a complete conſpirator.

At that time few novices were to be found either in the Grand Lodges of the *Orient* or of the *Contrat Social*. The Revolution was ſo openly carried on there, that the Court could not be ignorant of it. Among the number, it was impoſſible that ſome ſhould not look upon the Revolution as a moſt dreadful ſcourge, and in reality ſeveral were of this opinion. With certainty I may number among theſe latter the French Nobleman who received the letter mentioned before, from Alfonſe Le Roi.

The Court and Lewis XVI. informed of the Conſpiracy, but to no purpoſe.

Being queſtioned, whether he had not obſerved ſomething among the Maſons tending towards the French Revolution, he made the following reply: "I have "been the orator in many Lodges, and had got to a "pretty high degree. As yet, however, I had obſer- "ved nothing which in my opinion could threaten the "ſtate. I had not attended for a long time, when in "1786 I was met in Paris by one of the brethren, who

"times, in which men live *only to witneſs the downfal of ſome* "*pretended* at (probably miſprinted for *as*) *the prelude to* THE "OVERTHROW OF SOME THRONE."—Such are the doctrines forced upon that part of the public who ſupport this Paper. They need no comment, but are ſuch as ſhould rouſe the attention of every Engliſhman to oppoſe them. T.

" reproached me for having abandoned the aſſociation ; " he preſſed me to return, and particularly to attend a " meeting which he told me would be very intereſting. " I agreed to attend on the day mentioned, and was ex- " tremely well received. I heard things which I can- " not tell you ; but they were of ſuch a nature, that, " full of indignation, I went immediately to the Min- " iſter. I ſaid to him, *Sir, I am not entitled to queſtion* " *you ; I am aware of the importance and of the conſequen-* " *ces which may reſult from my entruſion ; but were I to* " *be ſent to the Baſtille, I muſt aſk you (becauſe I believe the* " *ſafety of the King and of the State is at ſtake,) whether* " *the Free-maſons are watched, and whether you are ac-* " *quainted with what is contriving in their Lodges ?* The " Miniſter turned upon his heel, and anſwered, *Make* " *yourſelf eaſy, Sir, you ſhall not go to the Baſtille, nor* " *will the Free-maſons trouble the State.*"

This miniſter was not a man who could be ſuſpected of having in any degree tampered in the Revolution ; but he moſt certainly thought it chimerical even to ſurmiſe a plan of overthrowing monarchy, and concluded, like the *Comte de Vergennnes*, that, while he had the control of an army of two hundred thouſand men, a revolution was little to be feared.

Lewis XVI. was himſelf warned of the dangers which threatened his throne, but continued in that ſecurity which only ceaſed to delude him on his return from Varennes, when he ſaid to a perſon in whom he confided, *Why did I not believe, eleven years ſince, what I ſo clearly ſee to-day ! for I had been warned of it ſo long ago as that.*

If any one was entitled to diſbelieve plots formed againſt his perſon or his throne, it was certainly the unfortunate Lewis XVI. Seeking only the happineſs of his ſubjects in all the ſincerity of his heart, never having committed a ſingle act of injuſtice, perpetually ſacrificing his own intereſt to that of his people, and ambitious of nothing ſo much as of the love of that ſame people, how was it poſſible for him to conceive that the conſpirators could ſucceed in repreſenting him as a tyrant ? Lewis XVI. had not one of thoſe vices which draw down hatred on the Monarch's head. Publicly proclaimed the juſteſt of Princes, and the moſt honeſt man of his empire, he was unfortunately the weakeſt of Kings—But if ever Miniſters prepared a Revolution, it was certainly thoſe in whom he placed

his confidence. He began by entrufting himſelf to *Mr. De Maurepas*, whoſe inactive and careleſs diſpoſition, dreading nothing ſo much as violent ſhocks or tempeſtuous broils, quietly permitted all thoſe to gather which were only to burſt forth when he was gone. The Sophiſter *Turgot* appeared but for a moment, as it were to make an eſſay of thoſe ſyſtems which ſilently ſapped the throne. The ſordid œconomy of *Mr. de St. Germain* only ſerved to deprive the Monarch of his braveſt ſupporters. The quack *Necker* ſhowed no talent but that of ruining the public treaſury with his loans, and of accuſing *Mr. de Calonne's* profuſion of the fact. Under Mr. de Vergennes, falſe policy fomented external Revolutions, but to infuſe the ſpirit for, and prepare interior ones. Greedy courtiers diſguſt the Monarch with their intrigues, alienate the people by their ſcandals, corrupt them by their impiety, and irritate them by their luxury. The aſſembly of the *Notables* convene with the apparent intention only of repairing great errors, at the ſole expence of the Nobility and Clergy; and nothing guaranteed that great ſacrifices would not prove a great ſource for new dilapidations. New diſſentions threatened to break out between the King and the High Courts of Judicature, when Brienne was on the eve of making his appearance to complete the ruin by turning on the Monarch all that contempt and hatred which ſhould juſtly have been heaped upon himſelf. Not a ſingle miniſter attempted to brook the torrent of Rebellion and Impiety; not one reflected on the inefficacy of the laws for a people who hated their chiefs, and had loſt all tie of religion. The Sophiſters of Holbach's club, thoſe of Maſonry, and all the malecontents of all claſſes, whether noble or plebeian, had but little to do to create the deſire of a Revolution; and that was the period which our conſpirators waited for to conſummate their plots; that was what the Propagandiſts called *creating want*. Every thing denoted that the time was come, and they applied themſelves to muſter up their forces for the completion of the cataſtrophe.

Friends of the Blacks.

In the year 1787, about the ſame time that Mr. de Calonne, anxious to retrieve the finances from the diſorder into which Necker had thrown them, was convening the *Notables*, a ſecret aſſociation, ſuppoſed of new invention, eſtabliſhed itſelf at the *Hotel de Luſſan* in the ſtreet *Croix des Petits Champs*, under the name

of *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks.) There was nothing new in this aſſociation but the name. All ſectaries of Liberty, whether ancient or modern, every claſs of Sophiſters, and all the Revolutionary Maſons, had adopted this appellation only the better to conceal the grand object of their Conſpiracy under the ſpecious pretext of humanity. While occupying all Europe with the queſtion they had propoſed, on the ſlavery of the Negroes in America, they never loſt ſight of that Revolution which they had ſo long meditated, and which was to liberate all Europe from the pretended ſlavery of the laws and of ſuppoſed tyrants. Their Lodges might become ſuſpicious by their daily meetings, and they wiſhed not to loſe ſight for a ſingle hour of the grand object of their plots. The adepts did not agree as to the *method* of the Revolution, or as to the laws to be ſubſtituted to thoſe of the Monarchy. All however were unanimous on *Equality and Liberty*, the grand ſecret of their myſteries. They alſo agreed, that both Liberty and Equality were at an end, wherever the people were not ſovereign, and did not make their own laws, wherever they could not revoke and change them at pleaſure, and particularly where the people were ſubjected to a Monarch or Magiſtrates who governed in their own right, or who were not the agents and the executors of their will, and ſubject to be recalled whenever it might pleaſe the people. But among the adepts were many Sophiſters who ſhaped out *Liberty and Equality* according to their own intereſts, their diſpoſitions, their rank and their fortunes. They were in ſome ſort the Ariſtocratic Jacobins. The adept Counts, Marquiſſes, Dukes, Knights, and wealthy Citizens, all theſe were perfectly of opinion, that they were to loſe nothing of their rank or fortune in this new ſyſtem of Equality, but that, on the contrary, they were to ſhare among them all the rights, authority, and influence which they were to wreſt from their unfortunate Monarch. In a word, they wiſhed for ſuch a King as the firſt Jacobin Legiſlators dreamt of, a King whom they could domineer over, and who had no authority over them. Others wiſhed for an Equality of Liberty in the grandees or wealthy, counterpoiſed by an Equality of Liberty in the plebeians, and concentrating in a common chief the King. This was the Equality of the *Monarchiſts*, who thought themſelves

guiltleſs rebels becauſe they were not ſufficiently powerful to direct the courſe of the rebellion. As for the laſt claſs, they wiſhed neither for a conſtitutional nor any other King. With them every King was a Tyrant, and every tyrant was to be overthrown; all Ariſtocracy was to be exploded; all titles, rank, or power was to be levelled; and this laſt claſs alone was initiated in the profound ſecrets of the Revolution. They conceived that they could only proceed by degrees; that it was neceſſary to unite in order to compaſs the overthrow of the exiſting order of things; and, that accompliſhed, to wait the favorable moment for accompliſhing their ultimate deſigns.

It was in this view that Briſſot, Condorcet, and Syeyes propoſed to form a general union of all the adepts, whatever might be their Revolutionary Syſtems, under the title of *Friends of the Blacks*, it was even agreed, that every man who had any ſerious cauſe of complaint againſt the court ſhould be invited to join them. This was the reaſon why they invited the *Marquis de Beaupoil de St. Aulaire*, whom they ſuppoſed to be imbued with their principles through deſire of revenge. But they were groſsly miſtaken. The Marquis had great reaſon to complain of the Miniſtry; but no one could better diſtinguiſh the cauſe of the Monarch from the injuſtice of his Miniſters.

This however proved a fortunate error for hiſtory. What I am about to preſent to the reader concerning this aſſociation is made public by permiſſion of Mr. de Beaupoil. He was kind (and I will ſay patriotic) enough to favor me with an account of what he had been eye-witneſs to in that ſecret ſociety; and in vain would the hiſtorian ſeek a better authority.

Conſonant to the wiſhes of its projectors, the aſſociation of the *Friends of the Blacks* was compoſed of all the adepts who had imbibed the principles of modern Philoſophiſm, and they were generally initiated in the myſteries of Free-maſonry. In the multitude of brethren were many thouſands of dupes, all ardent for, all ready to ſecond the Revolution, and all promoting it with their utmoſt exertions. Each member ſubſcribed two guineas, and was entitled to attend the deliberations. That the plans might be better digeſted, a *regulating committee* was formed of the following perſons, viz. Condorcet, Mirabeau the elder, Syeyes, Briſſot, Carra,

the Duc de la Rochefoucault, Clavieres, Pelletiere de St. Fargeau, Valadi, La Fayette, and ſome others.

Conſpirators under the name of *Friends of the Blacks.*

Had I not even mentioned the French Revolution, this liſt of its prime movers muſt naturally make it occur. And what could be the object of ſuch a ſociety, which begins by giving itſelf a *regulating committee* compoſed preciſely of all thoſe men who, in the courſe of the revolution, have ſhewn themſelves its greateſt abettors? A Condorcet, who would have ſmiled at the conflagration of the univerſe, provided neither Prieſt nor King could ſpring from its aſhes!* A Mirabeau, who to the impiety, the ambition, and all the other crimes of a Catiline, had nothing of his own to add but cowardice, and ſtill retained all the daring profligacy of his patron.†

When the hiſtorian ſhall depict a Syeyes, let him begin with the viſage of a ſnake; for it is ſolely to the art of hiding his venom that that abominable character is indebted for his reputation of a profound genius. Like Mirabeau, he had long ſtudied the Revolutionary arts; he left to the latter the more ſtriking features of crime, reſerving to himſelf thoſe luxuries of obſcure criminals, who point out to the ruffians the crimes to be committed, and then ſculk behind their blood-thirſty cohorts.‡

With all the deſire of operating a Philoſophical Revolution, and of conducting it with profound policy, Briſſot only dared appear on the ſecond rank: But he had already formed the plan of his Republic, and his Philoſophiſm only ſhrunk from the horrors of the Revolution, when the axe, with which he had himſelf aſſailed the throne, was ſuſpended over his own head.‖

Claviere, a greedy and frigid ſtock-jobber, comes from Necker's own country to ſell to the Pariſians the Revolutionary arts which he had practiſed there. Moderate in his expreſſions, even when he inſinuated the moſt treacherous and ferocious means, he ſeemed to have ſecretly watched Syeyes to learn the art of forming diſciples.§

After having kiſſed the gallows, Carra appears to revenge himſelf on thoſe laws which had not puniſhed

* He murdered himſelf. T.

† Died in great agonies of pain, 3d April 1791, ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by the Jacobins. T

‡ Still exiſts, 20th September, 1797. T.

‖ Was guillotined 31ſt of October 1793. T.

§ Murdered himſelf the 1ſt of December 1793. T.

him for his thefts, and he ſeems to enjoy the liberty to which he is reſtored only to blaſpheme like a demoniac both God and King.*

He that is ignorant of the effect of flattery on a weak mind, will be ſurpriſed to ſee the name of Rochefoucault among beings of this ſpecies. Condorcet wanted a tool; as long as he could direct this unfortunate Duke he led him every where, to the Lodges, to the Clubs, to the National Aſſembly; he even perſuaded him that he was leading him through the paths of virtue and honour.†

As to La Fayette, on his white horſe at the head of the Revolutionary bands, he thought himſelf the favorite child of Mars; ſeated near the Sophiſters, he believed himſelf a Philoſopher; and, the Hero of the Fiſh-market, he affects to rival Waſhington. Happy for him if his misfortunes have inſpired him with a due ſenſe of ſhame and ſorrow for having been ſo long a time the puppet of the Sophiſters and incendiary firebrands.

Laſtly, the Advocate Bergaſſe was called to this regulating committee. This man had neither the folly of La Fayette nor the wickedneſs of Condorcet, but he believed in Revolutionary Liberty and Equality as he did in the *Somnambules*, who had perſuaded him that he was their Meſſiah He even expected to act the part. When, in the firſt days of that Aſſembly which was called National, he was entruſted with the care of framing the code of Liberty and Equality, he was quite ſurpriſed to find himſelf coupled with Mounier and ſeveral other co-deputies. He meant alone to reſtore the people to Liberty and Equality, and to triumph over Deſpotiſm. It was not the ſuperiority of talents nor his high repute for honeſty that acquired him his ſeat in this committee, but the wild enthuſiaſm of his ideas and his thirſt after a new order of things. Happily for him, what made him quit the new Legiſlators, made him alſo abandon the Conſpirators. His ſeceſſion only left Condorcet, Syeyes, Mirabeau, and the other rebels, more at liberty to act.

When the Marquis de Beaupoil was invited to inſcribe his name on the liſt of this aſſociation, he can-

* Guillotined the 31ſt of October 1793. T.

† When he could lead him no longer he ſent aſſaſſins to murder the Duke, who was torn to pieces by the mob, September 2, 1792. T.

didly believed that its object was the conſideration of thoſe queſtions, ſo worthy a generous ſoul, on the means to be propoſed to the King of alleviating or perhaps aboliſhing the ſlavery of the Negroes. He did not however remain long in his error. The eſtabliſhment of Liberty and Equality, and the compiling of the Rights of Man, were the leading features of all their deliberations, and conſequences of the moſt alarming nature to Sovereigns were drawn and debated without the leaſt heſitation.

" Notwithſtanding my profeſſed averſion for ſuch " opinions," ſays the Marquis, " I had the conſtancy " to attend the meetings of the regulating committee " till I was perfectly maſter of their plans. I remark- " ed that all the members of the aſſociation were alſo " members of the Maſonic Lodges, and particularly of " that ſociety actuated by the ſame principles called *Phi-* " *lantropes*. I alſo obſerved that there already exiſted " a cloſe correſpondence with the other aſſociations of " the ſame ſort both in Europe and America, and the " general talk was on the certainty of a Revolution " which was nigh at hand. Thoſe brethren who did " not belong to the committee came to bring their mon- " ey, and repeat their moſt ardent wiſhes for the ſuc- " ceſs of its arduous undertakings. They then mix- " ed in the different Lodges and Clubs, which in " fact profeſſed the ſame principles, and the regulating " committee primed over theſe various Clubs, only be- " cauſe it was compoſed of the moſt wicked members " from each. Object of their committee.

" Their grand object known, I might have pryed in- " to their moſt ſecret myſteries; but I diſdained diſſim- " ulation; and had I remained longer in this haunt of " Conſpirators I muſt have adopted it. Full of indig- " nation, I declaimed vehemently againſt their plots; " I required that my name ſhould be eraſed from the " liſt; I blotted it out myſelf, and left their den for " ever.

" I ought certainly to have haſtened to inform Gov- " ernment of the doctrines and plans of this Aſſocia- " tion;* but to denounce a ſociety which had admit- " ted me to its myſteries, bears a face of perfidy which " I ſhould have rejected had it occurred. I confined " myſelf therefore to printing a ſort of antidote under

* This is a moſt awful example of the fatal conſequences of oaths of ſecrecy. T.

« the title of *Unity of the Monarchical power*. Some time « after that, I printed a work called *Of the Republic and « of the Monarchy*, with a view to warn the King, and « the nation at large, of the consequences pending on « the Revolution. This was more than necessary to ex- « pose me to all the vengeance of the Conspirators. I « was acquainted that the very day after my erasure, « the whole sitting was spent in suggesting means of « punishing what they called my treachery; many vi- « olent opinions were broached; but Mirabeau only vo- « ted for calumny and other means of representing me « as a dangerous man, and one to whom no credit was « due. Carra and Gorsas were entrusted with the com- « mission, and it was from their pens that flowed the « most violent declamations against me; and when the « proscriptions began my name was to be found fore- « most upon the list."

If the candour and loyalty of the Marquis hindered him from staying any longer among these Conspirators, his account at least demonstrates that he had remained long enough to remove all doubt as to the grand object of their mysteries. I really believe myself entitled to announce to the public, that a day will come when even all the most secret deliberations of this den of Conspirators will be made public.

When the Revolution rendered it unnecessary for the prime agents to wear the mask any longer, the name of *Friends of the Blacks* was thrown aside and the association appeared to be dissolved. *The regulating committee* remained, and only enveloped itself in greater darkness the more surely to direct all the Parisian Clubs, the Sections, the Revolutionary Societies, and even the Jacobins themselves. If Gobet,* the too famous in-

* I may now declare it, since this unhappy Gobet has fallen a victim to his vain terrors and mean apostasy. It was he whom I would not name when speaking (in my *History of the French Clergy during the revolution)* of the Constitutional Bishops that wished to retract. Gobet was at their head. He requested several conferences with me, and we had three, which lasted two hours each. Every thing was prepared. Rome had answered with all the tenderness imaginable to Gobet's promises. His retractation was comprised in six letters, which were already written and directed to the Pope, the King, the Archbishops, the Clergy, the Department, and the Municipality of Paris. But the unfortunate man wished first to quit France, to be out of the reach of the Jacobins. The report of his departure was whispered about, he was frightened, he remained, and Robespierre ordered him to be guillotined on the 9th of April 1794.

truded Archbiſhop of Paris, was not a member of this committee he knew their plans; he muſt even have been preſent at their meetings more than once. He would not otherwiſe have ſpoken ſo emphatically of what was contriving there at the time this unhappy apoſtate requeſted ſome ſecret conferences with me, concerning his reconciliation with the church. I am at preſent perfectly perſuaded, that it was the fear of the regulating committee which hindered him from keeping his word, and in ſome ſort atoning for the horrible ſcandal he had given. It is true, that he never ſpoke to me of the committee but in general terms, yet it was always with ſo much terror that I could eaſily furmiſe the atrocity of their plans: "No," ſaid he, "no, you cannot "conceive you could not give credit to the lengths they "mean to go, what plans, what means they have in "agitation. You have ſeen nothing as yet." We were, nevertheleſs, in April of the third year of the Revolution, and I had witneſſed many horrid ſcenes.

Long before this period I was acquainted with an adept, a great Maſon and Deiſt, but an enemy to carnage and plunder. He wiſhed for a *Philoſophical Revolution* conducted with more order and leſs violence, and was a member of the regulating committee. I ſhall never forget what he told me one day, when ſpeaking of the committee in nearly the ſame terms as Gobet had done. I could have foretold all that has ſince been done againſt the Nobility, the Clergy, and the King. "I "go there," ſaid he, "but with horror, and to oppoſe "their frightful projects. Hereafter ſhall be known all "that is carried on there, and how thoſe ſavage minds "add to the horrors of the Revolution. It ſhall be "known, but after my death. I am too wiſe to publiſh "it during my life. I know too well what they are."

I will not attempt to ſupply from my imagination what might be furniſed from ſuch a ſpeech, reſpecting a committee entirely compoſed of the moſt inveterate enemies of the altar and of the throne which Maſonry or the Sophiſters could produce. But I will lay before my readers what I have learned from various adepts concerning that part of the Conſpiracy to which this volume has naturally led us.

Correſpondences of the committee.

Of all the means adopted by the regulating committee, that which contributed the moſt to form the immenſe multitude of armed men which they wanted, was their correſpondence with the Maſonic Lodges diſper-

ſed at that time all over France in great numbers. In Paris alone there were one hundred and fifty, and as many in proportion, if not more, in the other towns and even in the villages.

Deliberations taken at the *regulating committee* were tranſmitted to the *central committee of the Grand Orient*: thence they were ſent to the *Venerables* or Maſters of the different Lodges in the provinces. The very year in which this regulating committee was eſtabliſhed a great many of the *Venerables* received inſtructions accompanied by the following letter: "As ſoon as you "ſhall receive the encloſed packet you will acknowl- "edge the receipt of it. You will ſubjoin the oath of "punctually and faithfully executing all orders which "you ſhall receive in the ſame form, without making "any inquiry whence they come or by whom they ſhall "be ſent. If you refuſe this oath, or if you are not "true to it, you will be looked upon as having violated "the oath* which you took at your initiation. Re- "member the *Æqua Tophana* (the moſt ſubtle of poi- "ſons.) Remember the *poniards* that will ſtart from "their ſheaths to pierce the heart of a traitor."

Such nearly were the contents of a letter received by a man formerly a moſt zealous Maſon, and of whom I learned that ſimilar orders had been ſent to the other Maſters of Lodges. For nearly theſe two years paſt I have been in poſſeſſion of a memorial which names ſeveral of the *Venerables* who received theſe inſtructions and faithfully complied with them. Such was the conduct of La Coſte, a Phyſician of Montignac-le-Comte, in Perigord, originally the founder of the Lodge in that town, a Deputy at the ſecond Aſſembly, and finally voting the King's death in the third. I can alſo name the Attorney Gairaux, who did not ſhow leſs zeal for the Revolution. He was not the Maſter of the Lodge when theſe firſt inſtructions were ſent. The

* This is another example of the fatal conſequences of binding oneſelf by oaths of the tendency of which we are ignorant. It may alſo ſerve to explain the queſtion before noticed in page 153, as being put at the initiation of the Fellow-craft to the degree of Maſter: *Brother, are you diſpoſed to execute all the orders of the Grand Maſter, though you were to receive contrary orders from a King, an Emperor, or any other Sovereign whatever?* —The danger of ſuch oaths will receive a ſtill ſtronger demonſtration in the Third Part of this Work, when we come to treat of the dark and iniquitous Cabals and menacing Conſpiracies of the *Illuminès*. T

packet was delivered to the Chev. de la Calprade, at that time entrusted with the hammer at the Lodge at Sarlat; but, surmising to what lengths these first letters might lead him, he very providently resigned his place to Gairaux.*

I am thus minute in my accounts, because it is essential that history be informed how so deep a plot was carried on, and how those millions of armed men appeared to second it at the same instant in every part of France.

Farther extension of Free-masonry.

Lest their numbers should not be sufficiently great, *the regulating Committee* resolved on admitting a class of men, which had long since been excluded, to the lesser mysteries of Masonry. It was that of the day labourers, and all the lower classes of mechanics, even vagabonds and ruffians.—With these men *Liberty and Equality* needed no farther explanation. It was easy for the adepts to infuse the revolutionary enthusiasm into them by the power of these words alone.

The Masons of a higher rank in Paris did not like to fraternize with such brethren. It was necessary to call some from the Provinces, and in a short time the suburbs of *St. Antoine* and *St. Marceau* were entirely Masonized.

Strength and numbers of the Free-masons.

Many years before the formation of this Regulating Committee, the well-informed adepts would write that the number of Free-masons was *incomparably* greater in France than in England; that the hair-dressers and valets, and every sort of profession flocked to the Lodges.† It will not be an exaggeration therefore to calculate the number of Free-masons at six hundred thousand; and at that period it could not be supposed that the generality of this immense number were averse to the plans of the Occult Lodges. Impiety and the declama-

* I was in possession of another memorial which I am sorry to say has been mislaid. It was the account of a gentleman, who, having refused to continue the correspondence with the Masonic Central Committee, was punished for it by him to whom he delivered it over. At the first dawn of the Revolution he was thrown into prison as an Aristocrate. Orders were sent for his delivery. The master, now become a Municipal Officer, changed the order for that of letting him walk upon a very high terrace. At the same time orders were given to the sentry to throw him off it, and these latter orders were executed. He did not die however of the fall, and I believe he is at present living in Spain.

† Uber die Alten and Newen Mysterien bey Frederich Maurer, 1782.

tions of the Sophisters supplied the last mysteries. The greatest novices were enthusiastically wedded to the ideas of Liberty and Equality. Let a hundred thousand of the brethren be subtracted as untainted with these principles, it will be the most the historian can do in favour of our youth who remained faithful to the spirit of their forefathers. Thus the *Regulating Club* could rely upon the support of five hundred thousand brethren, at that time spread all over France, all zealous for the Revolution, all ready to rise at the first signal and to impart the shock to all other classes of the people. The Sophisters already boasted that it was not such an easy thing to triumph over three millions of men.

This was the plan adopted by the Committee to organize the Revolutionary bands. The Sophisters had cleared the way by perverting the public opinion. The hiding places and dens of a sect, the sworn enemies to Christianity and Sovereigns, had opened and expanded themselves. The adepts of Occult Masonry had multiplied; their ancient tenets of Impiety and Rebellion had identified them in the new Lodges with that of modern Philosophism. Opinion had gained the heart; but plots, cunning, and secret artifice, had mustered up the forces. Had *Necker*, *Briennes*, the *Deficit* or the *Notables* never been mentioned in France, had Lewis XIV. been upon the throne when the *Regulating Committee* and the *Central Club* of Masonry should have completed the organization of their skulking adherents, Lewis XIV. himself would not have stopped the Revolution. It would have found chiefs. Public opinion would have named them, and the banners of truth would have been deserted. At the sound of *Liberty and Equality* he would have seen his legions disband, and rally under the standard of revolt. Had Lewis XVI. refused to convoke the States General, the Regulating Committee would have convened them; five hundred thousand adepts under arms would have supported the convocation, and the people would have flocked to the elections.

Philip d'Orleans elected Chief of the Conspirators.

Such was the progress of this twofold Conspiracy at the time of the convocation of the States General. The skulking Sophisters of Masonry and the barefaced Sophisters of Holbach's Club perceived that it would be necessary to choose a chief who might be made the stalking-horse, and give them a sanction by his name. He was to be powerful, that he might forward the

crimes which they had planned; he was to be cruel, leſt he ſhould flinch at the ſight of the numerous victims that were to be ſacrificed to their horrid plots. He needed not the talents, but the vices of a Cromwell. The conſpirators ſoon caſt their eyes on *Philip D'Orleans*, the pupil of ſome evil Genius.

D'Orleans, for his part, was conſpiring as well as the combined Sophiſters. More wicked than ambitious, he aſpired at the Throne; but, like the evil genius, he delighted in ruin and devaſtation, even though he ſhould not thereby exalt himſelf: *Philip* had ſworn to ſeat himſelf on the Throne, or to overturn it though he were to be cruſhed under the ruins. For a long time had this unparalleled monſter been callous to honor or remorſe; a brazen front repelled the ſhafts of contempt or of diſdain, nor was he to be affected by the hatred of man or of heaven. A youth ſpent in debauchery had deadened every honorable ſentiment of his heart, and by the blackeſt deeds he ſought to enſure his expectations of fortune. At an age when the love of riches is ſcarcely known, public report accuſed him of having enticed the young Prince of Lamballe into debauchery merely to ſecure to himſelf the immenſe fortune of this young Prince, who fell a victim to his cunning, while in queſt of pleaſure. Nor is there an action of his life which could render at all improbable ſuch atrocious perfidy. Time only more and more developed a heart capable of ſuch deſigns; he was cowardly and revengeful; ambitious and cringing; prodigal and avaricious. Proud of his name and the rank of Prince, he was the humble ſervant of the vileſt populace; choleric and impetuous before his friends, cool and diſſembling before thoſe whom he wiſhed to ruin, callous to all good actions if he ſaw no direct means of diverting them to evil purpoſes, and never meditating ſuch dark and hideous plots as when he aſſumed the character of ſenſibility and benevolence. Little capable (from cowardice) of daring crimes, he was wicked enough to dedicate his riches to the completion of them. His heart, in a word, was the common ſewer of every baleful paſſion, and of every vice. He needed but the opportunity to diſcover his bias to evil; and ſuch was the chief with which Lucifer preſented the Conſpirators.

During the contentions which ſubſiſted between the Court and the Parliaments *Philip* had leagued with ſeveral of thoſe Magiſtrates who were more worthy of

being ſeated in the Regulating Club of the Conſpirators than in the firſt Tribunal of the kingdom. He was much more employed as their tool to inſult the Royal Majeſty in the very ſanctuary of the laws, than as a leader againſt the encroachments of Briennes.*

Lewis XVI. for the firſt time ſhowed his reſentment, and Philip was exiled to Villers-Coterets. This was the ſpark that fired D'Orleans's heart with vengeance. He already hated Lewis XVI. becauſe he was King; he hated Marie Antionette becauſe ſhe was Queen; he ſwore their ruin; he ſwore it in the tranſports of rage and fury; nor did his agitation ceaſe but to leave him at liberty to meditate the means of vengeance. His firſt ſtep was to call to his councils the greateſt villains France could produce. That Laclos whoſe ſable genius ſeemed to riſe from the Stygian Lakes to guide the venemous and tortuous courſe of the blackeſt crimes.

Mirabeau and Syeyes flocked thither, nor was it difficult for them to point out the great helps to be acquired from the Maſonic Lodges, of which he had been choſen the honorary chief. The Legions of Hell are bound by the bonds of friendſhip when evil is their object, and the grand plan was combined during the ſhort period that Philip remained in exile. At that time he was initiated in the Occult Myſteries, but not as men of his rank formerly were; for it is certain that the brethren had conſidered him as ſufficiently wicked to be admitted to their deepeſt myſteries. It is certain that the King-killing trial of the Vault in the degree of *Kadoſch* was a voluptuous one for him.—In pronouncing theſe words, *Hatred to all Worſhip, Hatred to all Kings*, he muſt have ſeen all his hopes vaniſh of ſeating himſelf on the throne of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. but he breathed vengeance; and, though he were to expend his life and fortune in the purſuit, he would not relent. He renounces the throne under the penalty of perjury, and was overjoyed at having aſſociated with men who had ſworn to deſtroy all thrones, provided they would firſt ſtrike that of his own relative and King.

This oath diſcovered to him an ocean of crimes, but he did not ſhrink at their ſight; they only ſerved to ſtimulate him to the perpetration of them. Briſſot declared that he ſubſcribed to them all at that period, but that *the Court was too ſtrong as yet*, and that he only retired to England to gain time, and to let the Revolution ri-

* Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the Duke of Orleans.

pen. The Marquis de Beaupoil atteſts this fact, in his memorial, as having heard Briſſot himſelf declare it.

The time was not yet come upon which the Regulating Committees had decided. They waited for the States General; their artifices, their clubs, and a cloud of writers had nearly made the demand general. The Parliament of Paris called for them. France looked up to them as the regenerating power; but I have not as yet enumerated all the plots nor all the ſects which clamorouſly called for them to emtomb the Monarchy and all its laws.

In theſe divers plots the Sophiſters of the Encyclopædia, oppoſing the rights of Liberty and Equality to the Altar, had thrown themſelves headlong into the gulph of hatred to Royalty.—The Tenebrous and Occult Lodges of Maſonry, the antique myſteries of the adopted ſlave, had received the diſciples of Voltaire and Diderot into their boſom, but to connect and more ſecretly invigorate that hatred of Chriſt and of Kings. The Sophiſters of Impiety and of Rebellion had only intermixed their plots with thoſe of the Lodges, or rather dens, ready to caſt forth their Legions of adepts and firebrands enthuſiaſtically armed to eſtabliſh their Liberty and Equality on the ruins of the Altar and the Throne. The frightful Propaganda appeared with its treaſures and its apoſtles.—The *Central* and the *Regulating Committees* could boaſt of their *Secret Correſpondences*, their council, and their chief—all the forces of Rebellion and of Impiety were organized—ſtill thoſe were not the only ſcourges that were to deſolate France.

Under the name of ILLUMINES a band of Conſpirators had coaleſced with the Encyclopediſts and Maſons, far more dangerous in their tenets, more artful in their plots, and more extenſive in their plans of devaſtation. They more ſilently prepared the exploſions of the Revolutionary volcano, not merely ſwearing hatred to the Altar of Chriſt and the Throne of Kings, but ſwearing at once hatred to every God, to every Law, to every Government, to all ſociety and ſocial compact; and in order to deſtroy every plea and every foundation of the ſocial contract, they proſcribed the terms MINE *and* THINE, acknowledging neither Equality nor Liberty but in the *entire, abſolute, and univerſal overthrow of all PROPERTY whatever.*

That ſuch a ſect could have exiſted; that it could have acquired power; that it does exiſt; and that it is

to this ſect that the moſt terrible ſcourges of the Revolution are to be traced, are without doubt among thoſe extraordinary phenomena, of the reality of which the moſt incontrovertible proofs alone can convince the reader. Such will be the object of the third Part of theſe Memoirs.

After having ſucceſſively developed the Conſpiracy of the *Sophiſters of Impiety*, that of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion*, and that of the *Sophiſters of Anarchy*, it will be eaſy for us to apply the different diſaſtrous conſequences of each of theſe conſpiring ſects to the French Revolution, and to prove that the Monſter called JACOBIN is no other than the aggregate of the triple conſpiracy and of triple ſect.

END OF THE SECOND PART.

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATING THE

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM.

A TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH OF

THE ABBE BARRUEL.

PART III.——VOL. III.

THE ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY.



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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

On the Illuminees and on the different Works whereon these* MEMOIRS *are grounded.*

THE third conſpiracy, which I am now about to inveſtigate, is that of the *Atheiſtical Illuminees*, which at my outſet † I denominated *the conſpiracy of the Sophiſters of Impiety and Anarchy againſt every religion natural or revealed; not only againſt kings, but againſt every government, againſt all civil ſociety, even againſt all property whatſoever.*

The name of Illuminee which this Sect (the moſt diſaſtrous in its principles, the moſt extenſive in its views, the moſt atrociouſly cunning in its means) has choſen, is of ancient ſtanding in the annals of diſorganizing Sophiſtry. It was the name which Manes and his diſciples firſt affected, *gloriantur Manichæi ſe de cœlo illuminatos.*‡ The firſt Roſicrucians alſo, who appeared in Germany, called themſelves Illuminees. And later, in our time, the *Martiniſts* (with many other ſects) have pretended to Illuminiſm. As an outline for hiſtory I diſtinguiſh them by their plots and tenets, and will reduce them into two claſſes, the *Atheiſtical* and the *Theoſophical* Illuminees. Theſe latter more particularly comprehend the *Martiniſts*, whom I have already mentioned in my ſecond volume, and the *Swedenbourgians*, whom I ſhall mention in their proper place, where alſo I ſhall give what information I have been able to collect relating to them. The *Atheiſtical* Illuminees are the objects of the preſent volume, and it is their conſpiracy that I mean to diſcloſe.

The very numerous letters, books, and manuſcripts,

* The Tranſlator thinks it proper to inform the Reader, that, conſidering how much the abuſe of terms, ſuch as of *Philoſophy*, *Reaſon*, &c. &c. has contributed to diffuſe the new-fangled doctrines, he has adopted in the preſent volume (which may be ſaid to be the firſt methodical work publiſhed on the ſubject of which it treats) the words *Illuminee*, *Illuminize*, and *Illuminization*, though *Illuminate* and *Illumination* might perhaps be more correct expreſſions. Every reader will feel, that the illumination of the world, and to illuminate mankind, are objects worthy of the true philoſopher. But may the man be ever accurſt who ſhall attempt to *illuminize* his countrymen, or aim at the *illuminization* of the world! T.

† Vol. I. Page xxii. ‡ Gaultier, Verbo MANICHÆI, Sect. 3.

which I have received since the publication of my proposals, has rendered it impossible for me to comprise the proposed investigation in one volume. The baleful projects of the Sect and the laws for their execution are so strangely combined, that I thought it necessary to begin by making my reader perfectly acquainted with its code; that is to say, with the regular progression of its degrees, mysteries, and government.

This alone requiring an entire volume, I am reduced to the necessity of giving a *fourth*, in which I shall develope the History of Illuminism, and make an application of the triple conspiracy to the French Revolution. I have more particularly applied myself to the investigation of the legislative part of this conspiring Sect, as no work has yet been published in which the whole of their code is to be found. Detached parts only were to be met with scattered throughout the papers which had been seized by the public authority. These I have collected and digested; thus enabling the reader more easily to judge what has been and what must have been the result of such laws. In such an undertaking, I feel myself bound to lay before the public an account of the documents on which I ground my proofs. The following then is a list of the principal works, with a few observations on each, that the reader may form his own judgment as to their authenticity.

I. The first is a collection entitled "Some of the "Original Writings of the Sect of Illuminees, which "were discovered on the 11th and 12th of October, "1786, at Landshut, on a search made in the House of "the Sieur Zwack, heretofore Counsellor of the Regency; and printed by Order of His Highness the Elector. "Munich, by Ant. Franz, Printer to the Court*."

II. The second is a supplement to the *Original Writings*, chiefly containing those which were found on a search made at the castle of Sandersdorf, *a famous haunt of the Illuminees*, by order of His Highness the Elector. Munich, 1787.†

These two volumes contain irrefragable proofs of the most detestable conspiracy. They disclose the principles,

* Einige original schriften des Illuminaten Ordens, welche bey dem gewesenen regierungsrath Zwack, durch vorgennommene haus visitation zu Landshut den 11 und 12 Octob. 1786, vorgefunden worden. Auf höchsten befehl seiner churfürstlichen Durchleucht zum druck befördert. München. Gedruckt bey Ant. Franz churfl: hof-buch-drucker.

† Nachrichten von weitern Original schriften, &c. &c.

the object, and the means of the Sect; the essential parts of their code, the diligent correspondence of the adepts, particularly that of their chief, and a statement of their progress and future hopes. The editors indeed have carried their attention so far, as to mention by whose hand the principal documents or letters were written. At the beginning of the first volume, and on the frontispiece of the second, is seen the following *remarkable advertisement* by order of the Elector:—"Those who may harbour any doubt as to the authenticity of this collection, have only to apply to the office where the secret archives are kept, at Munich, and where orders are left to show the originals."*

I entreat that my readers will recollect this advertisement whenever they shall see the *Original Writings* cited.

III. "The *True Illuminee*, or the real and perfect *Ritual* of the Illuminee; comprehending the Preparation, the Noviciate, the Minerval Degree, that of the Minor and Major Illuminee, all without addition or omission."—With respect to the authenticity of this work, we need only quote the testimony of the Baron Knigge, surnamed *Philo*, the most famous of the Illuminees after the Founder of the Sect; and who was actually the chief compiler of its Code, as he tells us himself: "All these degrees (says he) such as I composed them, have been printed this year at *Edesse* (Frankfort on the Mein) under the title of the *True Illuminee*. I am ignorant of the author; but *they appear exactly as they flowed from my pen;* that is to say, as I compiled them‡." This certainly is an authenticated document *on the sect*, and recognized by the compiler himself.

IV. I now proceed to a work which was published by this same Philo, under the title of "*Last Observations*, or *last Words of Philo*, and Answers to divers Questions on my connections with the Illuminees." In this work *Philo* Knigge gives us an account of himself and of his Illuminism, of his agreements with the chiefs of the Sect, and of his labours for it. His vanity, however, makes this narrative fulsome. The reader will

* Wer an der aechtheit dieser versammlung einen zweifel trägt, mag sich nur bey den hiesigen geheimen archiv melden, all wo man ihm die urschrifften selbst vorzu legen befehliget ist. München 26 März 1787.

‡ Philo's Endliche erklärung, &c. Page 96.

obſerve in his writings one of thoſe pretended Philoſophers who treat all religious objects with that contempt which they themſelves deſerve. This is of no conſequence; he attempts to juſtify his own conduct; his avowals may therefore be received in teſtimony againſt the Sect.

V. "The laſt Works of Spartacus and Philo;" *Die neuſten Arbeiten des Spartacus und Philo.* Except the *Original Writings,* this is the moſt intelligent and important work that has been publiſhed on the Illuminees. It contains the two degrees of the greateſt conſideration both on account of the myſteries revealed in them by the Sect, and of the laws laid down for the adepts.---Not a ſhadow of doubt can be maintained as to the authenticity of this work. Theſe degrees and laws are publiſhed with a certificate of Philo atteſting their conformity with the original, and under the ſeal of the Order. This certificate was ſcarcely neceſſary. *Whoever can read* muſt eaſily perceive that theſe degrees and theſe laws are no other than a compilation, and often (in the moſt eſſential parts) but a copy of the diſcourſes, precepts and principles, contained in the *Original Writings.* The publiſher is a man who has paſſed through all the degrees of Illuminiſm. More dexterous than Philo, he makes himſelf maſter of his ſecret, and of that of the whole Sect. The better to unmaſk Illuminiſm, he becomes an Illuminee; and he has ſo well ſucceeded, that no member of the Order was better acquainted with it than himſelf.

VI. The ſame writer has publiſhed *A Critical Hiſtory of the Degrees of Illuminiſm,* a valuable work, in which every thing is proved from the very letters of the grand adepts.

VII. The *Directing Illuminee,* or the *Scotch Knight.* This may be ſaid to be the counterpart of the *Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus.* It is a deſcription of the moſt important intermediary degree of Illuminiſm. The Editor does not indeed publiſh it under the ſignet of the Order; but when the reader has compared it with the *Original Writings,* and even with the criticiſm on it by the chief, who was not much pleaſed with the compiler, he will ſoon decide that the grand ſeal of the Order is not neceſſary to authenticate it.

VIII. *Remarkable Depoſitions reſpecting the Illuminees.* Theſe are three juridical depoſitions on oath, and ſigned 1ſt by Mr. *Coſandey,* Canon and Profeſſor at

Munich; 2dly by Mr. *Renner*, Prieſt and Profeſſor of the ſame Academy; 3dly by Mr. *Utzſchneider*, Counſellor of the Electoral Chamber; 4thly by Mr. *George Grumberg*, a member of the Academy of Sciences, and Profeſſor of Mathematics. As every thing is juridical in theſe depoſitions, it would be uſeleſs for me to inſiſt on the weight they muſt carry with them. Theſe were four pupils who did not wait to be initiated in the grand myſteries of the Sect to form their judgment on, and to quit the Sect. They were cited at a tribunal to declare all they knew, and they anſwered with moderation and truth. Their depoſitions will find a place in the hiſtorical part of this work.

IX. The *Apologies* publiſhed by ſome of the leaders of the Sect are alſo to be claſſed among the incontrovertible evidence which we have acquired. Theſe gentlemen will not be expected to have aggravated their own wickedneſs.

X. The liſt would be endleſs were I to ſubjoin all the works that have been written againſt the Sect. But I muſt diſtinguiſh in this place the works of Mr. *Hoffman*, Profeſſor at the Univerſity of Vienna. I am but little acquainted with thoſe of Doctor *Zimmerman*, though I have been informed by letter, that he furniſhed many valuable articles in a journal publiſhed at Vienna, and chiefly directed againſt the Sect. I often find Mr. *Stark*'s name mentioned as a ſtrenuous opponent of the Sect. I have ſeen no publication with his name to it, except an Apology in Anſwer to the Calumnies of the Sect, which it continues to repeat, notwithſtanding the victorious manner in which he has anſwered them.

Among the anonymous writings I find an excellent work entitled the *Ultimate fate of the Free maſons (Endliches ſchickſal des Frey-maurer Ordens)*. It is a diſcourſe pronounced at the breaking-up of a Freemaſons Lodge. The writer of this diſcourſe gives an excellent ſtatement of the reaſons why the Lodges ſhould ſuſpend their labours ſince Illuminiſm had intruded itſelf into Maſonry.---I believe he would have pronounced this diſcourſe much ſooner, had he known that all Lodges were not ſo pure as his own.

I have alſo peruſed the *Biographical Fragments* of the Sieur *Bode*, a famous Illuminee; theſe will be very uſeful in our Hiſtorical Volume. As to numberleſs other

works which I have read on the same subject, it will suffice to give the titles of them when quoted. I have said more than enough to shew that I am not in the dark with respect to the subject on which I am writing.

I could with to express my gratitude to those virtuous men who, by their correspondence, and the memorials which they have sent me, have greatly advanced my undertaking. But open expressions of such a gratitude would prove fatal to them. To have contributed to the public utility is a sufficient reward for their virtue; and if my work is not so perfect as it ought to be, it arises not from any want of energy in their endeavours.

I find myself much against my will obliged to answer certain objections which my Translator has made, and which will, doubtless, be repeated by many other readers, grounded on the work of Mr. Robison, entitled *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, &c. &c.* That work was published just as this Third Volume was going to the press. Its author had not then met with my two first Volumes; but in a second Edition he is pleased to mention them in his Appendix. I am much flattered by his approbation, heartily congratulate him on the zeal he has himself shown in combating the public enemy, and am happy to see that he has wrought on the best materials. Without knowing it, we have fought for the same cause with the same arms, and pursued the same course; but the public are on the eve of seeing our respective quotations, and will observe a remarkable difference between them. I fear lest we should be put in competition with each other, and the cause of truth suffer in the conflict. I entreat the reader to observe, that these differences arise from the different methods followed by him and myself. Mr. Robison has adopted the easiest, though the most hazardous method. He combines together in one paragraph what his memory may have compiled from many, and sometimes makes use of the expressions of the German author when he thinks it necessary. Besides, he has seen much, and read much, and relates it all together in the paragraphs marked by *inverted Commas*. The warning he has given in his preface will not suffice to remove the objections of some readers. In some passages he has even adopted as truth certain assertions which the correspondence of the Illuminees evidently

demonſtrate to have been invented by them againſt their adverſaries, and which in my Hiſtorical Volume I ſhall be obliged to treat in an oppoſite ſenſe. Nor will I pretend to ſay, that Illuminiſm drew its origin from Maſonry; for it is a fact demonſtrated beyond all doubt, that the founder of Illuminiſm only became a Maſon in 1777, and that two years later than that he was wholly unacquainted with the myſteries of Maſonry*.

I know perfectly well, that this will not make Illuminiſm leſs diſaſtrous; nevertheleſs I am obliged to differ from Mr. Robiſon when treating on that ſubject, as well as on ſome other articles.---So much for objections; here is my reply.

In the firſt place Mr. Robiſon and I always agree as to the eſſential facts and the Conſpiracy of the Illuminized Lodges; we alſo agree on their maxims and degrees; and this muſt be ſufficient to convince the reader.

In the next place, in his general view of the Sect he has obſerved its deteſtable and moſt dangerous principles. Like a traveller he has ſeen the

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens . . .

But he has not deſcribed its forms, its manners, and its habits. Nor would it be very prudent to reject his narrative becauſe ſome few circumſtances are not perfectly authenticated, or becauſe here and there ſome want of order may be obſervable.

In ſhort, if we except one or two letters, which may be ſaid to be tranſlations, all the other quotations (though in the form of letters) cannot be called ſo, for they are not to be found in the letters of the Illuminees. They are Extracts from different parts, all brought together under one head; Mr. Robiſon has given them to the public in his own ſtyle, and ſometimes makes the Illuminees ſpeak in clearer terms than is done in the Originals. His addition in the Tranſlation of the famous letter from Spartacus to Marius, page 165-6†, has given riſe to numberleſs queſtions, how the---*even d*---, was expreſſed in the German text. A parentheſis follows *(can this mean death?)* I was obliged to anſwer that the *even d*---, as well as the parentheſis, were additions; but at the ſame time they were not additions contrary to the ſenſe of the letter. I could willingly have attri-

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 6, to Ajax. Ibid. Let. 36, to M. C. Porcius—and the firſt Pages of the Critical Hiſtory of the Degrees.

† See Page 4, of this Volume.

buted theſe deviations to a difference in the editions of the Original Writings; but a new work muſt be ſuppoſed, as well as new letters, to juſtify the quotations; and all Germany muſt have noticed ſuch changes. In the firſt place, the Court of Bavaria would have proteſted againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition; as the Original Writings could not have coincided with an edition ſo diſſimilar; next, the Illuminees who have not ſpoken in ſuch clear language, though clear enough in their letters; in fine the authors who have combated Illuminiſm, and whoſe quotations all exactly agree with the Edition of Munich. The Pages may change in different Editions; but whole Letters and Diſcourſes cannot, eſpecially when the public may, as we have ſeen above, have acceſs to the Originals.

As for me, whoſe name cannot be expected to have ſuch authority as Mr. Robiſon's, I have taken all the precautions of which I felt myſelf to ſtand in need†. I never make a quotation but with the Original before me; and when I tranſlate any paſſage which may ſtagger the reader, I ſubjoin the original, that each may explain and verify the text. I follow the ſame line of conduct when I compare the different teſtimonies. I never mention a ſingle law in the code without having the original before me, or the practice of it to vouch for my aſſertion. Hence it will be perceived, that we are not to be put in competition with each other; Mr. Robiſon taking a general view, while I have attempted to deſcend into particulars: as to the ſubſtance we agree. I heartily congratulate him on his zeal in combating the monſter; and though we do not agree in certain particularities, we both evince the monſtrous nature of the Sect, and the certainty of its horrible Conſpiracies.

† I am alſo afraid the difference that exiſts between the degrees of Roſicruſian, of which Mr. Robiſon is in poſſeſſion, and thoſe which I have mentioned, may give riſe to argument. I anſwer, 1ſt. That I am acquainted with three degrees of Roſicruſians, very different in themſelves; 2dly. That the Catechiſms, Queſtions and Rituals for the ſame degree greatly differ in different countries; 3dly. That I have followed the works of *Mr. L'Abbe Le Franc*, which Mr. Robiſon has quoted; 4thly. That Mr. Robiſon allows the degree of *Knights of the Sun* as deſcribed by me to be ſimilar to that which he is in poſſeſſion of. Since the publication of my Second Volume, I have received an account of the ſame degree which coincides with what I had ſaid, and this degree is a ſufficient ground for all that Mr. Robinſon or myſelf have aſſerted on the attack carried on by Maſonry againſt Religion and Governments.

THE

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY.

CHAP. I.

Spartacus-Weiſhaupt, Founder of the Illuminees.

THERE ſometimes appear men formed with ſuch unhappy diſpoſitions, that we are led to conſider them in no other view than as emanations from the evil genius, bereft by the avenging God of the power of doing good. Imbecil in the ſphere of wiſdom, ſuch men are only efficient in the arts of vice and deſtruction; they are ingenious in thoſe conceptions, ſkilful in that cunning, and fruitful in thoſe reſources which enable them deſpotically to reign in the ſchools of falſehood, depravity, and wickedneſs. In competition with the Sophiſters, theſe men will ſurpaſs them in the arts of exhibiting error in falſe and deluſive colours; of diſguiſing the vicious paſſions under the maſk of virtue; and of clothing impiety in the garb of philoſophy. In the den of conſpirators they are pre-eminent by the atrocity of their deeds; they excel in the arts of preparing revolutions, and of combining the downfal of the Altar with that of Empires. If their career be ever impeded, it is only when they approach the paths of virtue and of real ſcience. When Heaven in its wrath permits a being of this ſpecies to appear on the earth, it has only to put nations within the ſphere of his activity, and it will be awfully avenged. Spartacus Weiſhaupt.

With ſuch qualities, and under ſuch auſpices, was born in Bavaria, about the year 1748, Adam Weishaupt, better known in the annals of the ſect by the name of Spartacus. To the eternal ſhame of his Serene protector, this impious man, heretofore Profeſſor of Law at the Univerſity of Ingolſtadt, but now baniſh-

ed from his country as a traitor to his prince and to the whole univerſe, peacefully, at the court of Erneſt Lewis duke of Saxe Gotha, enjoys an aſylum, receives a penſion from the public treaſury, and is dignified with the title of Honorary Counſellor to that Prince.

An odious phenomenon in nature, an Atheiſt void of remorſe, a profound hypocrite, deſtitute of thoſe ſuperior talents which lead to the vindication of truth, he is poſſeſſed of all that energy and ardour in vice which generates conſpirators for impiety and anarchy. Shunning, like the ill-boding owl, the genial rays of the ſun, he wraps around him the mantle of darkneſs; and hiſtory ſhall record of him, as of the evil ſpirit, only the black deeds which he planned or executed. Of mean birth, his youth was paſſed in obſcurity, and but a ſingle trait of his private life has pierced the cloud in which he had enveloped himſelf;---but it is one of hateful depravity and of the moſt conſummate villany.---Inceſtuous Sophiſter! it was the widow of his brother whom he ſeduced.---Atrocious father! it was for the murder of his offſpring that he ſolicited poiſon and the dagger.---Execrable hypocrite! he implored, he conjured both art and friendſhip to deſtroy the innocent victim, the child whoſe birth muſt betray the morals of his father. The ſcandal from which he ſhrinks is not that of his crime; it is (he ſays and writes it himſelf) the ſcandal which, publiſhing the depravity of his heart, would deprive him of that authority by which, under the cloak of virtue, he plunged youth into vice and error.---Monſtrous Sophiſter! he accuſes the devils of not having ſkreened him from this ſcandal by thoſe abominations which called the vengeance of the God of Nature on the ſon of Judah.---Then, impudently daring, he perjures himſelf; he calls every thing that is ſacred to witneſs, that neither he nor his friends ever knew of the exiſtence of thoſe poiſons or ſecret means of ſcreening him from infamy, much leſs that they had ever propoſed, ſought, or employed them. He challenges, and at length forces, the magiſtrates to prove the accuſation; they produce the letters of the perjured Sophiſter, and therein we behold him entreating a firſt, a ſecond, and even a third confidant, to ſeek, or cauſe to be ſought, and to communicate to him, theſe horrid arts. We ſee him recalling promiſes of three years ſtanding with reſpect to theſe

means. He complains of the little ſucceſs of his attempts, he accuſes the agents of timidity or of ignorance; he entreats and conjures them to renew their attempts, telling them, that it was not yet too late, but that expedition was neceſſary. Who can paint the depravity of this ſingle trait. How monſtrous the being who could have combined ſuch depravity! That the God who humiliates the Sophiſter ſhould have permitted this ſingle trait to have been brought to light, will ſuffice to ſhow how far wickedneſs may be carried by the man, who, with virtue on his tongue, and under the ſhade of that ſacred name, was forming and fanaticiſing the blood-thirſty legions of a Robeſpierre.

After ſo ſhocking an accuſation the reader will naturally expect us to produce incontrovertible proofs. We will, therefore, firſt lay before him the letter of *Weiſhaupt* to his adept *Hertel*; it is the Third Letter in the Second Volume of the *Original Writings* of the *Illuminees* in Bavaria.

"Now," ſays Weiſhaupt to this adept, "let me, under "the moſt profound ſecrecy, lay open the ſituation of my "heart. It deſtroys my reſt, it renders me incapable of "every thing. I am almoſt deſperate. My honour is in "danger, and I am on the eve of loſing *that reputation* "*which gave me ſo great an authority over our people.* "*My ſiſter-in-law is with child.* I have ſent her to Athens "(Munich) to Euriphon, to ſolicit a marriage licence "from Rome. You ſee how neceſſary it is that ſhe ſhould "ſucceed, and that without loſs of time; every moment "is precious. But ſhould ſhe fail, what ſhall I do?--How "ſhall I reſtore the honour of a perſon who is the vic"tim of a crime that is wholly mine? *We have already* "*made ſeveral attempts to deſtroy the child;* ſhe was "determined to undergo all; but *Euriphon* is too timid. "Yet I ſcarcely ſee any other expedient. Could I de"pend on Celſe's ſecrecy (the profeſſor Bader at Mu"nich), he could be of great ſervice to me; *he had pro*"*miſed me his aid three years ago.* Mention it to him "if you think proper. See what can be done. I ſhould "be ſorry that Cato knew any thing of it, leſt he ſhould "tell all his friends. If you could extricate me from "this unfortunate ſtep, you would reſtore me to life, to "honour, to reſt, and to authority (that is over his peo"ple). If you cannot, I forewarn you of it, I will ha-

" zard a desperate blow, for I neither can nor will lose " my honour. I know not what devil" [Here decency obliges us to be silent; but he continues] " As " yet nobody knows any thing of it but *Euriphon;* it is " not too late to make an attempt, for she is only in her " fourth month, and the worst of it is, that it is a cri- " minal case, and that alone makes the greatest efforts " and the most extreme (or boldest) resolution necessary. " Be well and live happier than I do, and do think of " some means which can extricate me from this affair. " I am yours, *&c.* SPARTACUS."

Notwithstanding his repugnance to let Cato into the secret, Weishaupt is at length obliged to write to him on the subject, and, after repeating that which through decency we have omitted above, this monster of hypocrisy says, " what vexes me the most in all this is, *that* " *my authority over our people will be greatly diminished* " ---that I have exposed a weak side, of which they will " not fail to advantage themselves whenever I may " preach morality, and exhort them to virtue and mo- " desty."*

Now let us observe the same Weishaupt barefacedly saying in his apology, " I think and declare before God " (and I wish this writing to be looked upon as a most so- " lemn declaration), that in all my life I have never heard " of those secret means (of abortion) nor of those poi- " sons; that I have never seen nor had knowledge of " any occasion when I or my friends could even have " thought of advising, administering or making any use " whatever of them. *And this I say in testimony and* " *affirmation of the truth.*"† It is thus that by the most abominable hypocrisy he sustains a barefaced and detestable perjury.

So much for the moral virtue of this man; but our chief object is, to consider him in his character of a Conspirator. Let us then descend into that baleful abyss, and observe him in the schools of impiety, rebellion, and anarchy. Here again he appears to have been ignorant of the gradations of crime, of the space that lies between the slightest deviation from rectitude and the most profound wickedness. Here, scarcely have the magistrates cast their eyes upon him when they find

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 61, to Cato.

† Introduction to his Apology, p. 6.

him at the head of a conſpiracy which, when compared with thoſe of the clubs of Voltaire and D'Alembert, or with the ſecret committees of D'Orleans, make theſe latter appear like the faint imitations of puerility, and ſhow the Sophiſter and the Brigand as mere novices in the arts of revolution. It is not known, and it would be difficult to diſcover, whether *Weiſhaupt* ever had a maſter, or whether he is himſelf the great original of thoſe monſtrous doctrines on which he founded his ſchool. There exiſts, however, a tradition which on the authority of ſome of his adepts we ſhall lay before the reader.

Tradition as to his maſter.

According to this tradition a Jutland merchant, who had lived ſome time in Egypt, began in the year 1771 to overrun Europe, pretending to initiate adepts in the ancient myſteries of Memphis. But from more exact information I have learned that he ſtopped for ſome time at Malta, where the only myſteries which he taught were the diſorganizing tenets of the ancient Illuminees, of the adopted ſlave; and theſe he ſedulouſly infuſed into the minds of the people. Theſe principles began to expand, and the iſland was already threatened with revolutionary confuſion, when the Knights very wiſely obliged our modern Illuminee to ſeek his ſafety in flight. The famous Count (or rather mountebank) Caglioſtro is ſaid to have been a diſciple of his, as well as ſome other adepts famous for their Illuminiſm in the county of Avignon and at Lyons. In his perigrinations, it is ſaid, he met with Weiſhaupt, and initiated him in his myſteries. If impiety and ſecrecy could entitle a perſon to ſuch an initiation, never had any man better claims than Weiſhaupt. More artful and wicked than Caglioſtro, he knew how to direct them among his diſciples to very different ends.

He makes choice of his ſyſtems.

Whatever may have been the fact with reſpect to this firſt maſter, it is very certain that Weiſhaupt needed none. In an age when every kind of error had taken root, he did what is naturally to be expected from men who, guided by their unhappy bias both in religious and political opinions, always ſelect the moſt abominable. He muſt have had ſome notion of the ancient Illuminees, for he adopted their name, and the diſorganizing principles of their horrid ſyſtem. Theſe notions were ſtrengthened, without doubt, by his fa-

vorite application to the disorganizing mysteries of *Manichæism*, since we may observe him recommending the study of them to his disciples as a preparatory step for, and as having a close connection with, those for which he was preparing them.* But, perfect Atheist as he was, and scorning every idea of a God, he soon despised the twofold God of Ancient Illuminism, and adopted the doctrines of Manes only in as much as they threatened every government, and led to universal anarchy. He was acquainted with the systems of the modern Sophisters; but, notwithstanding all their democracy, he did not think they had given sufficient latitude to their systems of Liberty and Equality. He only adopted their hatred for God, or pure Atheism. One class led to the destruction of all civil and political laws, the other to the overthrow of all religion; he combined them both, and formed a monstrous digest, whose object was the most absolute, the most ardent, the most frantic vow to overthrow, without exception, every religion, every government, and *all property whatsoever*. He pleased himself with the idea of a distant possibility that he might infuse the same wish throughout the world; he even assured himself of success.

With the talents of a vulgar Sophister such a hope would have been the summit of folly; but with a genius like that of Weishaupt, formed for great crimes, it was the confidence of unlimited wickedness. The Bavarian Sophister knew his powers; he believed no crime impossible; he only sought to combine them all to reduce his systems to practice. The mediocrity of his fortune had obliged him to consecrate the latter years of his education to the study of the laws. Whether by dissimulation he concealed the plans fostered in his breast, or whether he had not as yet digested them all, he however found means of getting himself named to the chair of Laws in the university of Ingolstadt, before he had attained his twenty-eighth year. On the 10th of March 1778, he writes to *Zwack* that he was not yet thirty years of age; and in the same letter he informs him, under secrecy, of his future projects on Illuminism, which he had founded two years before.

* See the degree of *Directing Illumine*, oder Scottischer riter (Scotch Knight) page 72.

He must have known himself possessed of profound dissimulation; he must have been master of strange resources, to ground his plans for the subversion of all laws throughout all empires, on the very function of public interpreter of the law. It was nevertheless at the college of Ingolstadt that Weishaupt, affecting the greatest zeal for his duty, conceived himself to be admirably situated for forming and conducting by invisible means the great revolution which he had planned. He justly estimated the influence which his office of teacher gave him over his scholars, and he had the courage to supply in private the *deficiency* of those lessons which he was obliged to give to them in public. Origin and first idea of the sect.

But it would have been too poor a conquest for Anarchy or Impiety to have gained only those who were under the eye of the founder. Weishaupt beheld mankind subject to religious and political laws from pole to pole, and his jealous zeal weighed the means which the saints had employed to extend the faith of Christ. There still existed the scattered remnants of an order which the imprudent policy of Kings had obliged the Sovereign Pontiff to sacrifice to the machinations of a philosophism, the professed enemy of both Kings and Pontiffs. Weishaupt knew how to appreciate the support which the laws had acquired from men who were heretofore spread throughout all Catholic countries, and who, in the towns and villages, publicly taught youth, thundered from the pulpit against vice, directed Christians toward the path of virtue, and went to preach the faith of Christ to idolatrous and barbarous nations. He well knew how much empires were indebted to religious orders, that in preaching the duty which each man owed to his God, strengthened the ties that bound him to his neighbour and to his Prince. Though he in his heart detested the children of Benedict, Francis, or Ignatius, he admired the institutions of these holy founders, and was particularly charmed with those of Ignatius, whose laws directed so many zealous men dispersed throughout the world toward the same object and under one head: he conceived that the same forms might be adopted, *though to operate in a sense diametrically opposite.** "What these men have done for the Altar and the Throne (said he to himself) why should not I do in

* Mirabeau de la Monarchie Prussienne, vol. 5, page 97.

opposition to the Altar and the Throne? With legions of adepts subject to my laws, and by the lure of mysteries, why may not I destroy under the cover of darkness, what they edified in broad day? What Christ even did for God and for Cesar, why shall not I do against God and Cesar, by means of adepts now become my apostles?"

In attributing such a wicked emulation to Weishaupt, I will not leave the historian to fruitless conjectures. No, these very wishes in plain language are contained in his confidential letters to his disciples; and he even reproaches them with not imitating the submission of the followers of those holy founders.* His most celebrated adepts have declared, that they had observed him copying them throughout his code;† they must also have remarked, that Weishaupt, in planning his systems according to the forms adopted by those religious founders, had reserved it to himself to add all the artifices which the most infernal policy could suggest. At the actual period when this conspirator formed his plans, he was ignorant of the object of Freemasonry:‡ He only knew that the fraternity held secret meetings: he observed that they were bound by mysterious ties, and recognized each other for brethren by certain signs and words, whatever might be their country or religion. In his mind, therefore, he combined the plan of a society, which was at once to partake as much as convenient of the government of the Jesuits, and of the mysterious silence and secret conduct of Masonry. Its object was, the propagation of the most Antisocial Systems of ancient Illuminism, and of the most Antireligious Systems of modern Philosophism.

Brooding over this disastrous project, Weishaupt cast his eyes on the young pupils whom government had entrusted to his care to form them for magistrates of their country, and defenders of the laws, and he resolved to begin his warfare against both by the perversion of these youths. He beheld in distant succession his first disciples seducing others, those again, subject to his

* Vid. Original Writings, Vol. I. let. 27, to Cato.

† See the Original Writings, Vol. I. *Instructio pro recipientibus*, art. B.—Let. 2, to Ajax.—Divers letters to Cato.—Last Observations of Philo.

‡ See hereafter the chapter on *Masonry illuminized.*

laws, forming further adepts; and thus by degrees he came complacently to view his legions multiplying and ſpreading from the towns to the country, and reſident even in the courts of Princes. He already heard thoſe oaths which, under the ſecrecy of the Lodges, were to bind the minds and hearts of thoſe new legions who, replete with his diſorganizing ſpirit, were ſilently to undermine the Altar and the Throne. He calculated the time neceſſary, and ſmiled to think that he would one day have only to give the ſignal for the general exploſion.

He founds his Illuminiſm.

Scarcely had this modern Eratoſtratus attained his eight-and-twentieth year, ere he had laid the foundations of thoſe laws which he meant to give to his diſorganizing ſect. Though he had not actually written his code, he had arranged it in his mind, and he made his firſt eſſay on two of his pupils, one named *Maſſenhauſen* (whom he ſurnamed *Ajax*), about twenty years of age, and afterwards a Counſellor at Burkhauſen; the other called *Merz* (whom he ſurnamed *Tiberius*)* nearly of the ſame age, but whoſe morals and character proved ſo abominable, that they made even his vile ſeducer bluſh. Theſe two diſciples ſoon vying with their maſter in impiety, he judged them worthy of being admitted to his myſteries, and conferred on them the higheſt degree that he had as yet invented. He called them *Areopagi*, inſtalled himſelf their chief, and called this monſtrous aſſociation THE ORDER OF ILLUMINEES.

It was on the firſt of May 1776, that the inauguration was celebrated. Let the reader well obſerve this epoch. It indicates a feeble beginning; it preceded the French Revolution but by a few years; that however was the time when that abominable ſect firſt ſtarted into exiſtence, which was to combine all the errors, all the conſpiracies, and all the crimes of the adepts of Impiety, Rebellion, or Anarchy, and which, under the name of Jacobin, was to conſummate the dreadful Revolution. Such was the origin of that ſect which I had in view when I proclaimed to all nations, and unfortunately with too much truth, "That whatever their govern-

* Weiſhaupt, in a letter to Zwack, ſays, "My three firſt colleagues were *Ajax*, *you*, and *Merz*." *(Let. 15, Feb. 1778.)* This clearly ſtates, that *Merz* was the *Tiberius* who was illuminized with *Ajax*; for it is clear that *Zwack* was only initiated ten months after the two adepts *Ajax* and *Tiberius*. *See Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. IV.*

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. IV.—Let. 2, to Philip Strozzi.

"ment or religion might be, to whatever rank they "might belong in civil ſociety, if Jacobiniſm triumph- "ed all would be overthrown; that ſhould the plans "and wiſhes of the Jacobins be accompliſhed, their "religion with its Pontiffs, their government with its "laws, their magiſtrates *and their property*, all would "be ſwept away in the common maſs of ruin! Their "riches and their fields, their houſes and their cotta- "ges, their very wives and children would be torn "from them. You have looked upon Jacobinical fac- "tion as exhauſting itſelf in France, when it was only "making a ſportive eſſay of its ſtrength."*

According to the wiſhes and intentions of this terrible and formidable ſect, nations, aſtoniſhed, have yet only ſeen the firſt part of the plans formed for that general Revolution which is to beat down every Throne---overturn every Altar---*deſtroy all property*---blot out every law---and conclude by the total diſſolution of all ſociety!

Plan of this volume.

The omen is fatal;---but (more fatal ſtill!) I have numberleſs proofs to demonſtrate the truth of this aſſertion. With reſpect to the Conſpiracies of Illuminiſm, I ſhall draw my proofs from their own code and their archives. I will begin with their code; it will lay open the object, the extent, the manner, the means and inconceivable depth of the Conſpiracies of the ſect. This Firſt Part will comprehend the plan of their conſpiracies, the extract and analyſis of the code of laws which they had conſtructed for attaining their ends. The Second Part will ſhew their progreſs and their ſucceſſes from their firſt origin, till that period when, powerful in Revolutionary Legions, without leaving their ſecret dens, they unite and confound themſelves with the Jacobins, and in uniſon with them proſecute that war of deſolation which menaces with total ruin the Altar of every God---the Throne of every Monarch ---the Law of every Society---and the Property of every Citizen. O! that I could, in delineating what the ſect has done, what it is doing, and what it ſtill meditates to do---that I could but teach nations and the chiefs of nations what they themſelves ought to do, to avert the impending danger; thoſe, I ſay, who have miſtaken theſe diſaſters for a ſudden exploſion, while they are in fact but an eſſay of the ſtrength of the ſect, and the commencement of their general plan.

CHAP. II.

Code of the Illuminees.---General System, and division of the Code.

BY the code of the sect of Illuminees I mean the principles and systems which it had formed to itself on Religion and Civil Society, or rather against all Religion and all Civil Society whatever; I mean the government and the laws which it has adopted to realize its plans, and to guide the adepts in bringing the whole universe into its systems. This was not so much a code springing from an ardent mind, and an enthusiastic zeal for a great revolution, as the offspring of reflection on the means of rendering it infallible; for no sooner had Weishaupt conceived a plan, than he foresaw the obstacles which might thwart its success. Though he decorated the first pupils whom he had seduced with the title of his profound adepts, yet he did not dare unfold to them the vast extent of his plans. Pleased with having laid the foundation, he did not hurry the elevation of that edifice, which might have been exposed to fall for want of the proper precautions; no, he wished it to be as durable as time itself. For five whole years he meditated; and he foresaw that he should still have to pause for many a tedious day on the means of securing the success of his plans. His plodding head silently ruminated and slowly combined that code of laws or rather of cunning, of artifice, of snares and ambushes by which he was to regulate the preparation of candidates, the duties of the initiated, the functions, the rights, the conduct of the chiefs, and even his own. He watched every means of seduction, weighed and compared those means, tried them one after the other, and when he had adopted any of them would still reserve the power of changing them, in case he should happen to fall upon any that would be more disastrous.

Weishaupt prepares the code of the Illuminees.

Meanwhile his first disciples, now his apostles, gained him many partizans; he seduced many himself, and di-

rected their conduct by letter. His advice was adapted to circumstances, and artfully husbanding his promises, he kept the minds of his disciples perpetually in suspense as to the last mysteries. To his trusty adepts he promises *systems of morality, of education, and of polity, all entirely new;* and they might easily surmise that this future code would be no other than that of a morality without restraint, of a religion without a God, and of a polity without laws or any dependence whatsoever;* though he did not dare entirely to throw away the mask. But his laws appeared imperfect, his snares were not sufficiently concealed, and he was convinced that time and experience alone could perfect the work on which he had so long meditated. Such are the colours, at least, in which we see him representing himself when his adepts, impatient to be initiated in the last mysteries, reproach him with the slowness of his proceedings: "It is from time and experience," says he, "that we "are to learn. I daily put to the test what I made last "year, and I find that my performances of this year are "far superior. Give me then time to reflect on what may "forward and on what may delay the execution of our "plans; to weigh what may be expected of our people "left to themselves or led and conducted by us.---Re-"member that what is done in haste, speedily falls to "ruin. Leave me then to myself, let me act alone; and "believe me, *time and I are worth any other two.*"†

His alarms. Let not the reader imagine that these meditations of Weishaupt alluded to the object of his views; that never varied; the destruction of Religion, the destruction of Society and the civil Laws, the destruction of all property,---that was the point at which he always aimed; and this impious man too well knew his crime not to be alarmed; we see him writing to his confidant, "You know the situation in which I stand. I must di-"rect the whole by means of five or six persons. It is "absolutely necessary that I should during my life re-"main unknown to the greater part of the adepts "themselves.---I am often overwhelmed with the idea "that all my meditations, all my services and toils are "perhaps only twisting a rope or planting a gallows

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. to Marius and Cato.

† Original Writings, Vol. I. Letters 3, 4, 47, 60, &c. to Marius and Cato.

" for myſelf; that the indiſcretion or imprudence of " but one man may overturn the moſt beautiful edifice " that ever was reared."*

At other times wiſhing to appear above ſuch fears, but ſtill reproaching the adepts with want of caution, he ſays, " If our affairs already go on ſo ill, the whole " will ſoon be undone; the fault will be thrown upon " me, and, as author of every thing, I ſhall be the firſt " ſacrificed. Yet that is not what frightens me; I know " how to take every thing on my own ſcore; but if " the imprudence of the Brethren is to coſt me my life, " let me at leaſt not have to bluſh before men of re- " flection, nor to reproach myſelf with an inconſiderate " and raſh conduct."†

Terminates his code.

Thus does every motive ſtimulate this famous Conſpirator to transfuſe into his code every precaution that could at the ſame time ſkreen him from condign puniſhment, and ſecure the ſucceſs of his plots. At length, after five years meditation on his ſide, and numerous conſultations with his truſty adepts, particularly with *Philo*, or the Baron *Knigge*, who acts a very exalted part in *Illuminiſm*, Weiſhaupt had regulated the mode of his myſteries, and had digeſted the code of his ſect, that is to ſay, the principles, the laws, and government adopted by the Illuminees to accompliſh the grand object of their Conſpiracy. Before we lead our readers through the immenſe labyrinth of this code, let us give a general idea of the ſyſtem which ſtimulated its author to the formation of thoſe laws.

General plan of his ſyſtem.

The more we meditate on that part of the code which we ſhall lay before our readers when we come to treat of the myſteries of Illuminiſm, the more clearly we obſerve Weiſhaupt adopting the principles of *Equality* and of *Liberty*, (propagated by modern Philoſophiſm) in order to preſent them in a new light, and to lead his diſciples to the ultimate conſequences of the moſt abſolute Impiety and Anarchy.

The modern Sophiſters, ſome following Voltaire, others Rouſſeau, had begun by ſaying, that all men were equal and free, and they had concluded *with reſpect to Religion*, that nobody, though ſpeaking in the name of a God who reveals himſelf, had the right of

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 11 and 25, to Cato.

† Let. 22, to Cato.

preſcribing rules to their faith; the authority of revelation being caſt aſide, they left no other baſis for Religion to reſt upon, but the ſophiſtry of a reaſon the perpetual prey of our paſſions. They had annihilated Chriſtianity in the minds of their adepts. *With reſpect to Government*, they had alſo aſſerted, that all men were equal and free, and they had concluded that every citizen had an equal right to form the laws, or to the title of Sovereign; this conſequence abandoning all authority to the capricious fluctuations of the multitude, no government could be legitimate but that founded on Chaos, or the volcanic exploſions of the democratic and ſovereign populace.

Weiſhaupt, reaſoning on the ſame principles, believed both the Sophiſters and the Democratic Populace to be too timid in drawing their inferences, and the following may be ſaid to be the eſſence of all his myſteries.

"Liberty and Equality are the eſſential rights that "man in his original and primitive perfection received "from nature. *Property* ſtruck the firſt blow at *Equa-* "*lity;* political Society, or Governments, were the firſt "oppreſſors of *Liberty; the ſupporters of Governments* "*and property are the religious and civil laws;* there- "fore, to reinſtate man in his primitive rights of Equa- "lity and Liberty, we muſt begin by deſtroying all Re- "ligion, all civil ſociety, and finiſh by the deſtruction "of all property."

Had true Philoſophy but gained admittance to theſe lodges of Illuminiſm, how clearly would ſhe have demonſtrated the abſurdity of each and all of theſe principles, and the extravagance and wickedneſs of ſuch conſequences, both to the maſter and his adepts! She would have ſhown, that the rights and laws of primitive man alone upon earth, or parent of a ſcanty generation, neither were nor ought to be the rights and laws of man living on an inhabited globe. She would have proved, that Nature, when ſhe ordained that man ſhould increaſe and multiply on this earth, and that he ſhould cultivate it, clearly announced that his poſterity were hereafter to live under the empire of ſocial laws. She would have obſerved, that without property this earth would have remained uncultivated and uninhabited; that without religious and civil laws the ſame earth would have only nurtured ſtraggling hordes of

vagabonds and ſavages. Then would our Bavarian Illuminee have concluded, that his Equality and Liberty, far from being the eſſential rights of man in the ſtate of perfection, would only be the inſtruments of his degradation, and aſſimilate him to the beaſts of the earth, if they were to be incompatible with Property, Religion, and Society. But true Philoſophy was an alien to his ſchool; and Weiſhaupt, with his deteſtable genius formed for error, applauds the ſophiſm, makes it the baſis of his ſyſtem, and the ultimate ſecret of his myſteries.

I am not ſimply to prove that ſuch is the grand object of the Conſpiracy, and of the ultimate revolution which he is preparing with all his adepts. Were that my only taſk, I ſhould cite the bleſſings which the hierophant of Illuminiſm pours out on thoſe hordes that roam without laws or ſociety, and the curſes which he vents againſt thoſe men who, fixing their abodes, name chiefs and conſtituted ſtates. The very menaces of the teacher unfold the whole of the Conſpiracy. "*Yes, princes and nations ſhall diſappear from off the face of the earth; yes, a time ſhall come when man ſhall acknowledge no other law but the great book of nature: This revolution ſhall be the work of the* SECRET SOCIETIES, *and that is one of our grand myſteries.** This ſingle paſſage of the code is ſufficient to demonſtrate both the object of the Conſpiracy and the extent of the projects of the ſect; but though the Conſpiracy ſhould be clearly proved, ſtill that would be doing little for the public good. Inſtead of a terrible and formidable ſect, nations and chiefs of nations might miſtake the Illuminees for a band of ſenſeleſs madmen, plodding without means a chimerical Revolution; therefore little to be feared, and too deſpicable to deſerve notice. Thus would wickedneſs find a cloak in its exceſſes; the ſect would proſecute its helliſh plots more actively, more confidently, and more ſucceſsfully, merely becauſe their object was ſuppoſed impoſſible. Society would be diſſolved; our laws, our religion, and our property, would be wreſted from us, becauſe we believed them proof againſt any attempt. Nations would tranquilly ſlumber on the brink of the precipice, and be plunged into deſtruction while they conſidered the fatal cauſe as the deluſion of delirium,

Its danger.

* See hereafter the Diſcourſe on the Myſteries.

and ſmiled on the plots of Illuminiſm. And its founder foreſaw this: for he ſays to his adepts, "*Let the laughers laugh, let the ſcoffers ſcoff; he that compares the paſt with the preſent, will ſee that nature continues its courſe without the poſſibility of diverting it. Its progreſs is imperceptible to the man who is not formed to obſerve it; but it does not eſcape the attention of the Philoſopher.**

Society then calls upon me to develop more than the exiſtence, or even the extent of the plots of the ſect--- I ſay, it calls on me loudly to proclaim the dangers which threaten us; yes, the evils which threaten all ſociety muſt be clearly ſhown. A manner of proceeding and an artful cunning big with crime, which will ſpeedily plunge nations into thoſe diſaſters which they may believe chimerical, is to be clearly aſcertained. I have to unfold the whole of a ſyſtem, an entire code, in which each inſtitute, each maxim, each regulation, is a new ſtep toward a univerſal revolution which ſhall ſtrike ſociety a mortal blow. I am not then about to inform each citizen that his religion, his country, *his property*, that every ſociety, people, or nation, are menaced; unfortunately that would be a taſk too eaſily performed. But I am bound to ſay, "In this horrible plot, ſuch are the dangers which threaten your country, and ſuch the perils that hang over your perſons." I muſt ſhow extenſive reſources combined with conſummate villany, where you imagined that nothing exiſted but the delirium of modern Philoſophiſm, deſtitute of means.

Weiſhaupt, like yourſelves, had foreſeen numerous obſtacles to his conſpiracy; and it appears that he had even exaggerated them. That for which his moſt famous adepts ſeem to deſpiſe their countrymen, ſhould be mentioned here as redounding to their honour. Weiſhaupt, ſurrounded by the faithful Bavarians, faithful to their God and to their country (rather ſpeculating on the human heart from his books, than cloſely obſerving men in the common intercourſe of life), was not aware how very much Philoſophiſm had forwarded his ſyſtems.† The generation which had attained the age of manhood appeared too much infected with the antiquated ideas on religion and government. But,

* See hereafter the Diſcourſe on the Myſteries.

† See the laſt Obſervations of Philo.

unfortunately, facts soon undeceived him, and this error only served, by deferring his hopes, to turn his mind to farther precautions and meditations, which sooner or later were to render his success infallible. He would say to himself, he would say to his trusty brethren, "*According to my views, I cannot employ men as they* "*are; I must form them;* each class of my order must "be a preparatory school for the next; and all this "must necessarily be the work of time."* But to accelerate the time he cast his eyes on that class of young men, which, just entering the world, easily fall a prey to error, because at that age they are under the influence of their passions. I shall hereafter show what it was that both shortened the time, and abridged their education, in presenting him with whole legions of adepts ready formed to his mysteries. It is first necessary, however, that the reader should be acquainted with the profundity of his system; because, had the French revolution not taken place, that system would alone have sufficed to render it certain and infallible; for could the French Revolution be done away at the present moment, and the ancient regimen be restored, this code would furnish Illuminism with all the means of effectuating one that should be still more disastrous. Let us then study it, let us dissipate the cloud in which it is enveloped. Reader, your own interest requires that you should follow our steps; and observe all the snares that have been laid for you; see with what art its disciples are beguiled, with what precaution it chooses, calls, and disposes its adepts. Its proceedings appear indeed to be slow, but they are nevertheless sure. It seems to exhaust all its art to acquire a single proselyte, but the same allurements attract whole legions. Its springs are secret, but the reader must know their power and with what constancy they move toward and direct the common ruin. He has seen the people agitated, animated, and even misled to ferocity; but he must also be informed how those adepts were created who fanaticised the people and rendered them ferocious.

Weishaupt lays down as an invariable and infallible principle, that the "grand art of rendering any revo-

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. to Cato.

" lution whatſoever certain---is to enlighten the people;
" ---and to enlighten them is, inſenſibly to turn the pub-
" lic opinion to the adoption of thoſe changes which
" are the given object of the intended revolution.

" When that object cannot be promulged without
" expoſing him that has conceived it to public ven-
" geance, he muſt know how to propagate his opinions
IN SECRET SOCIETIES.

" When the object is an univerſal Revolution, all the
" members of theſe ſocieties, aiming at the ſame point,
" and aiding each other, muſt find means *of governing in-*
" *viſibly, and without any appearance of violent meaſures,*
" *not only the higher and more diſtinguiſhed claſs of any*
" *particular ſtate, but men of all ſtations, of all nations,*
" *and of every religion---Inſinuate the ſame ſpirit every*
" *where---In ſilence, but with the greateſt activity poſſible,*
" *direct the ſcattered inhabitants of the earth toward the*
" *ſame point.*" This is what he calls the grand problem on the polity of ſtates, on which he grounds *the force of ſecret ſocieties*, and on which the empire of his Illuminiſm was to reſt.*

" This empire once eſtabliſhed by means of the union
" and multitude of the adepts, let force ſucceed to the
" inviſible power. *Tie the hands of thoſe who reſiſt;*
" *ſubdue and ſtifle wickedneſs in the germ;*" that is to ſay, cruſh thoſe whom you have not been able to convince.† He that teaches ſuch doctrines is not to be looked on as a weak enemy. When Weiſhaupt reſerved them for his myſteries, as well as the revelation of his ultimate object, he knew too well that they were only fitted for men who had long been trained to view them as the leſſons of nature and of philoſophy; and ſhould he meet with any who had anticipated them, it would only abridge their noviciate. But he needed nothing leſs than a whole generation. It was therefore to multiply the number of the adepts, to diſpoſe them by inſenſible degrees to receive his doctrines; by an inviſible hand to direct their ideas, their wiſhes, their actions, and their combined efforts, that the code of laws which he framed for Illuminiſm conſtantly tended.

Its diviſion. According to theſe laws, the ſect is divided into two grand claſſes, and each of theſe again ſubdivided into leſſer degrees proportionate to the progreſs of the adepts.

* See the Diſcourſe on the Myſteries. † Ibid.

The *firſt claſs* is that of PREPARATION. It contains *four* degrees, thoſe of *Novice*, of *Minerval*, of *Minor Illuminee* or *Illuminatus Minor*, and of *Major Illuminee* or *Illuminatus Major*.

Some intermediary degrees belong to the *claſs of* PREPARATION, which may be called of *Intruſion*; ſuch are thoſe which the ſect have borrowed from *Freemaſonry*, as a means of *propagation*. Of theſe maſonic degrees the *code of Illuminees admit the three firſt without any alteration*: it adapts more particularly to the views of the ſect the degree of *Scotch Knight* as an ultimate preparation for its myſteries, and it is ſtiled the degree of *Directing Illuminee* or *Illuminatus Dirigens*.

The *ſecond claſs* is that of the MYSTERIES, and this is ſubdivided into the *leſſer* and *greater myſteries*. The *leſſer* comprehend the prieſthood and adminiſtration of the ſect, or the degrees of *Prieſts* and of *Regents* or *Princes*.

In the *greater myſteries* are comprized the two degrees of *Magi* or Philoſopher and of the *Man King*. The *Elect* of the latter compoſe the *council and the degree of Areopagites*.*

In all theſe claſſes and in every degree, there is a part of the utmoſt conſequence, and which is common to all the Brethren. It is that employment known in the code by the appellation of Brother *Inſinuator* or *Recruiter*†. The whole ſtrength of the ſect depends on this part; it is that which furniſhes members to the different degrees; and Weiſhaupt, well knowing the importance of the taſk, turned all his genius toward it. Let us therefore begin by directing our attention to the diſcovery of it.

* See the Original Writings, Chap. II. Part II. page 8. and the laſt Obſervation of Philo, page 89, &c. &c.

† This is not a term of my invention; it really is to be found in the code. Inſinuator or *Anwerber* (ſignifying *recruiter*) are the two words generally made uſe of to expreſs this character.

CHAP. III.

First Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---Of the Brother Insinuator, or the Recruiter.

Object of the Insinuator.

BY the appellation of *Brother Insinuator*, is to be underſtood the *Illuminee* whoſe peculiar office is to make proſelytes for the ſect. Some brethren were more particularly inſtructed for that end; they might, indeed, be called the Apoſtles or Miſſionaries of the Order, being thoſe whom the ſuperiors ſent to the different towns and provinces, and even into diſtant countries, to propagate its doctrines and to eſtabliſh new Lodges. Theſe had received, in addition to the common rules, farther inſtructions peculiar to the higher degrees. "Theſe (as Weiſhaupt writes) may ſometimes be the moſt *imbecile*, and at other times the moſt ingenious of the Brotherhood." From the former he can depend on a blind obedience to the rules he lays down, which are never to be deviated from; and with reſpect to the latter, provided they be zealous and punctual, ſhould they even tranſgreſs any of the laws, it would not be in ſuch a manner as to commit either their own ſafety or that of the Order; and they would ſoon make amends for their indiſcretion by ſome new artifice. But, whatever may be the ſenſe of the Illuminee, he is obliged once or twice in his life to act the part of Brother Inſinuator, and that with a certain ſucceſs, by the acquiſition of two or three proſelytes, under pain of perpetually remaining in the lower degrees. Some Brethren of high rank may have been diſpenſed from this formality; but as to the generality of them there exiſts a poſitive law on that point.* To ſtimulate the zeal of the Brethren, the Inſinuator is by the laws of the code eſtabliſhed ſuperior over every novice that he has gained to the Order: It is expreſſed as follows: "Every Illuminee may form to himſelf a "petty empire; *and from his littleneſs, emerge to great-*"*neſs and power.*†"

* Original Writings. The Statutes reformed, Art. 18. † Ibid.

Such then is the first duty imposed upon every Illuminee for the propagation of the sect; and this is the part which first claims our attention, in order that we may be able to form an idea of the immensurable powers of Weishaupt for seduction.

Part. I. of his mission. The choice of Candidates.

This part may be said to be subdivided into three. The rules laid down are, first, those which are to guide the Brother *Insinuator* in the choice of persons to be admitted or excluded; then follow those which are to teach him how to entice into the order those persons whom he has judged proper for it; and lastly come those rules and arts by which novices are to be formed, and even involved in Illuminism before they are officially admitted.

In order to judge of the qualifications of the persons whom he may enlist, every Illuminee is to begin by procuring tablets, which he is to keep in the form of a Journal; and this is *his Diary*. Assiduously prying into every thing that surrounds him, he must vigilantly observe all persons with whom he becomes acquainted, or whom he meets in company, without exception of relations, friends, enemies, or entire strangers; he must endeavour to discover their strong and their weak side; their passions and prejudices; their intimacies, and, above all, their actions, interests and fortune; in a word, every thing relating to them: and the remarks of every day he must enter in his Diary.

A twofold advantage is to be reaped from these particulars of information; first, by the order in general and its superiors; secondly, by the adept himself. Twice every month he will make a general statement of his observations, and he will transmit it to his superiors. By these means the Order will be informed what men, in every town or village, are friendly or inimical to it. The means of gaining over the one, or destroying the other will naturally occur. With respect to the *Insinuator*, he will learn how to judge of those who are proper persons to be received or rejected, and he will carefully insert his reasons for the admission or rejection of those persons in his monthly statements.*

* Original Writings.—The Statutes reformed, Art. 9, 13, and following.—Instructions for the Insinuators, Sect. XI, No. 1.—for the Insinuated Nos. 1, 3, 5, &c.—Let. the 4th to Ajax.

The Recruiting Brother will carefully guard againſt giving the moſt diſtant hint that he is an Illuminee. This law is peremptory for the Brethren, but more particularly for all the *Inſinuators*, whoſe ſucceſs may often eſſentially depend on it. It is to them that the legiſlator ſo ſtrongly recommends all that exterior of virtue and of perfection, that care of ſhunning all publick ſcandals which might deprive them of their aſcendancy over the minds of thoſe whom they ſeek to entice into the Order.* The law expreſsly ſays, "*Apply yourſelves to the acquiring of interior and exterior perfection;*" but leſt they ſhould conceive that this perfection even hinted at the maſtering of their paſſions, and at renouncing the pleaſures of the world, he adds, "Attend particularly to the art of diſſembling and of diſguiſing your actions, the better to obſerve thoſe of others, and to penetrate into their inmoſt thoughts. *Die kunſt zu erlernen ſich zu verſtellen, andere zu beobachten, und aus zu forſchen.*" It is for that reaſon that theſe three great precepts are to be found in the ſummary of the Code: HOLD THY TONGUE—BE PERFECT—DISGUISE THYSELF—almoſt following each other in the ſame page, and ſerving as an explanation of each other.†

Who are to be excluded.

Having made himſelf perfectly maſter of theſe precepts, and particularly of the laſt, the *Inſinuator* is next to turn his attention to thoſe perſons whom he may admit or ought to reject. He is not to admit into the Order either Pagans or Jews; but he is equally to reject *all religious;* and above all to *ſhun the Ex-Jeſuits as he would the plague. Ordens geiſtliche durfen nie aufgenommen werden, und die Ex-Jeſuiten ſoll man wie die peſt fliehen.*‡

The cauſe of ſuch excluſions is obvious. To ſpeak of religion, and admit, without any precaution, Jews, Turks and Pagans, would be too open a manifeſtation of what their religion was; and not to reject religious, would be expoſing themſelves to be betrayed by their own adepts.

Unleſs they gave evident ſigns of a ſincere amendment, all indiſcreet talkers were to be rejected; and

* See Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 1, and 9.

† Original Writings, Vol. I. p. 40. Nos. 4, 6, and 8.

‡ The Laſt Works of Spartacus and Philo.—Inſtruction for the Stationary Prefects and Superiors, Page 153, Let. the 2d.—And Original Writings, Inſtructio pro Recipientibus, Nos. 1, and 5.

alſo thoſe men whoſe pride, or head-ſtrong, intereſted, and inconſtant minds denoted that it would be impoſſible to infuſe into them that zeal ſo neceſſary for the Order; all thoſe again, whoſe drunken exceſſes might injure that reputation of virtue which the Order was to acquire; all thoſe, in ſhort, whoſe meanneſs and groſſneſs of manners would render them too untractable to give hope for their ever becoming pliant and uſeful.*

"*Leave thoſe brutes, thoſe clowniſh and thick-headed fellows!*" he exclaims in his Chapter on Excluſions; but, though he excluded theſe thick-headed fellows, Weiſhaupt was aware that there exiſted a good ſort of beings which ſome might call ſtupid, but who are not to be told ſo, as advantage may be taken of their ſtupidity. Such were, for example, a Baron *D'Ert*, and many others, who holding a certain rank in the world, though deſtitute of common ſenſe, have at leaſt their riches to recommend them. "*Theſe are a good ſort of beings,*" ſays our illuminizing legiſlator; "they are neceſſary be-
" ings. They augment our number and fill our coffers,
" *augent numerum et ærarium.* Courage then! and
" make theſe gentry ſwallow the bait; but beware of
" communicating to them our ſecrets; *For this ſpecies*
" *of adept muſt always be perſuaded that the degree they*
" *are in is the higheſt.*"†

Indeed, there is a ſort of half excluſion for princes. The Code ordains that they ſhall ſeldom be admitted, and even when they are, ſhall ſcarcely ever riſe beyond the degree of *Scotch Knight;* or, in other words, they are never to paſs the threſhold of the myſteries. Hereafter we ſhall ſee the Legiſlator finding an expedient for introducing them beyond that degree, but ſtill without giving them any further inſight into the myſteries;‡ and being particularly careful to hide from them certain Laws of the Order.§

I cannot take upon myſelf to ſay, whether a ſimilar expedient had been found as an exception to the genetal rule which excluded women; but it is certain, that this law was, during a long time at leaſt, only proviſional; and many of the brethren ſought to revoke it.

* Inſtructio pro Recipientibus, page 94, and Weiſhaupt's Letters, paſſim.

† Original Writings. See the firſt Letters to Ajax and Cato.

‡ See Degree of Regent, page 154, Letter N.

§ See Inſtructions for the Provincial, No. 16.

Plan for the admiſſion of Women.

Freemaſonry had its female adepts, and the Illuminees wiſhed to have theirs. The plan is written in *Zwack's* own hand-writing, and he was the moſt intimate friend and confidant of Weiſhaupt, in ſhort, his *incomparable* man. It is couched in the following terms:

"*Plan for an Order of Women.*—This Order ſhall be ſubdivided into two claſſes, each forming a ſeparate ſociety, and having a different ſecret. The firſt ſhall be compoſed of virtuous women; the ſecond, of the wild, the giddy, and the voluptuous, *auſchweifenden*.

"Both claſſes are to be ignorant that they are under the direction of men. The two ſuperiors are to be perſuaded that they are under a mother Lodge of the ſame ſex, which tranſmits its orders; though in reality theſe orders are to be tranſmitted by men.

"The Brethren who are intruſted with this ſuperintendance ſhall forward their inſtructions without making themſelves known. They ſhall conduct the firſt, by promoting the reading of good books, but ſhall form the latter to the arts of *ſecretly gratifying their paſſions, durch begnugung ihrer leidenſchaften im verborgenen.*"

A preliminary diſcourſe prefixed to this plan points out the object and future ſervices of theſe illuminized ſiſters. "The advantages which the real order would reap from this female order would be, firſt, the money which the ſiſterhood would pay at their initiation; and, ſecondly, a heavy tax upon their curioſity, under the ſuppoſition of ſecrets that are to be learned. *And this aſſociation might moreover ſerve to gratify thoſe brethren who had a turn for ſenſual pleaſure.*"*

A liſt and deſcription of eighty-five young ladies of Manheim accompanied this project of Zwack, very properly ſurnamed the Cato of Illuminiſm; from among whom, in all probability, the founders of theſe two claſſes were to be choſen. Circumſtances not having favoured our modern Cato's views, we obſerve ſeveral other adepts propoſing ſimilar plans. An aſſeſſor of the Imperial Chamber at Wetzlaar of the name of *Diſtfurt*, known among the Illuminees by that of *Minos*, and who roſe to the degree of *Regent*, and to the dignity of Provincial, ſeemed to diſpute the honor of this invention, both with Brother Hercules and even

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. V.

with Cato himſelf: We muſt allow, at leaſt, that nobody was more anxious for the execution of the project than he was. He had already ſubmitted his ideas to the Baron Knigge, and he applies anew to Weiſhaupt. He even deſpairs of ever bringing men to the grand object of the order without the ſupport of female adepts. Indeed, ſo ardent is his zeal, that he makes an offer of his own wife and his four daughters-in-law to be the firſt adepts. The eldeſt was exactly the perſon for the philoſophized ſiſterhood; ſhe was four-and-twenty years of age, *and with reſpect to religion her ideas were far above thoſe of her ſex;* they were modelled on her father's. He had attained to the degrees of *Regent* and *Prince* of the Illuminees, and ſhe would have been *Regent* and *Princeſs*. In the higher myſteries, together with Ptolemy's wife, we ſhould have ſeen the one correſponding with her father, the other with her huſband. Theſe illuminized Princeſſes would be the only two perſons of the order who ſhould know that they were all under the direction of men. They would preſide over the trials and receptions of *Minervals*, and would initiate thoſe whom they judged worthy into the grand projects of the ſiſterhood for the reform of governments and the happineſs of mankind.*

But, notwithſtanding all the plans and zeal of the Brethren, it does not appear that the legiſlator ever conſented to the eſtabliſhment of the ſiſterhood. Yet he ſupplied the want of ſuch an inſtitution by ſecret inſtructions which he gave the *Regents* on the means of making the influence of women over men ſubſervient to the order without initiating them in any of the ſecrets. He ſays, that the fair ſex having the greateſt part of the world at their diſpoſition, *no ſtudy was more "worthy of the adept* than the art of flattery in order "to gain them; that they were all more or leſs led "by vanity, curioſity, the pleaſures or the love of no-"velty; that it was on that ſide they were to be at-"tacked, and by that they were to be rendered ſer-"viceable to the order."† He nevertheleſs continued to exclude great talkers and women from all the de-

* Original Writings, Vol. I. let. of Minos, p. 169.

† See the New Works of Spartacus and Philo, and Inſtructions for the degree of Regent, No. 6.

grees, nor was the ſixth article of his inſtructions for the *Inſinuator* reſcinded.

Who are to be choſen.

Notwithſtanding all theſe excluſions, the legiſlator leaves a ſufficient ſcope wherein the Inſinuator may exerciſe his zeal. He recommends generally young men of all ſtations from eighteen to thirty; but more particularly thoſe whoſe educations were not completed, either becauſe he thought they would more eaſily imbibe his principles, or would be more grateful and more zealous for doctrines for which they were indebted ſolely to him.†

But this preference is not an excluſion for men of a certain age, provided they are not paſt ſervice, and are already imbued with the principles of Illuminiſm.‡ This, however, chiefly regards thoſe perſons whoſe rank in life can give *conſequence* and afford *protection* to the order. The Recruiters are particularly inſtructed to inſinuate themſelves into the good opinion of ſuch perſons, and if poſſible to entice them into the order.

There is yet another ſpecies of men, who have ſpeech as it were at command; ſuch as attornies, counſellors, and even phyſicians. "Thoſe are worth having," ſays Weiſhaupt; "but *they are ſometimes real devils, ſo "difficult are they to be led; they however are worth "having when they can be gained over.*"*

The *Inſinuator* is alſo to admit artiſts, mechanics of all profeſſions, painters, engravers, white-ſmiths and black-ſmiths; but above all bookſellers, thoſe who keep poſt-horſes, and ſchool-maſters. Hereafter the reader will ſee the uſe for which theſe men were intended.§

To yet another claſs of men our legiſlator often calls the attention of the *Inſinuator*: "*Seek me out, for* "*example*," ſays Weiſhaupt, "*the dexterous and daſh-* "*ing youths. We muſt have adepts who are inſinua-* "*ting, intriguing, full of reſource, bold and enterpriſing;* "*they muſt alſo be flexible and tractable, obedient, docile,* "*and ſociable.* Seek out alſo thoſe who are diſtin- "guiſhed by their *power, nobility, riches, or learning,* "nobiles, potentes, divites, doctos, quaerite----Spare

† Orig. Writ. Inſtructiones pro Recipientibus, Page 54, No. 4; and Page 55, No. 18.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Part the 2d, Section and degree of Regent.

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. to Ajax.

§ See Inſtructions for the Inſinuator, No. 4.—Weiſhaupt's Letters, paſſim—and the degree of Regent.

" no pains, ſpare nothing in the acquiſition of ſuch " adepts. If heaven refuſe its aidance, conjure hell.

" *Flectere ſi nequeas ſuperos, Acheronta moveto.*"*

With reſpect to religions, he prefers the diſciples of Luther and Calvin to the Roman Catholics, and greatly prefers the former to the latter. This diſtinction ſhould alone ſuffice to open the eyes of many who wiſh to perſuade themſelves that the whole of the revolutionary fury is aimed at the Roman Catholic religion. This motley crew certainly did the Catholics the honour of directing their ſhafts more pointedly at them, as ſtrenuous opponents of their impiety and of their religious and civil anarchy; but it was to preſerve the Proteſtant religion that Weiſhaupt gives them ſuch a preference, in hopes of making them ſubſervient to his plots? That he did give ſuch a preference cannot be doubted, when we ſee him expreſsly writing to an adept whom he had commiſſioned to look out for a perſon proper to be received into the higher myſteries and to found a new colony of Illuminees,---*were this man a Proteſtant I ſhould like him much better.---Ware ei ein Proteſtant, ſo ware es mir um ſo lieber.*† Weiſhaupt's moſt famous adept conſtantly manifeſts the ſame predilection; he even wiſhes to retrench certain parts of the myſteries that he may not alarm the Catholics, and ſeems always to hint at Frederic the IId's ſaying, *We Proteſtants go on briſker.*‡ Moſt certainly this proves beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that the deſtruction of all Proteſtant laws, whether civil or religious, had place in their plans. Nor were the Proteſtants of Germany the dupes of ſuch a policy, as many of the moſt determined antagoniſts of Illuminiſm were of that religion.

Further, he wiſhes to entice men into his order who have fixed reſidences in towns, ſuch as *merchants* and *canons*, who might aſſiduouſly propagate his doctrines, and eſtabliſh them in their neighbourhoods.§

The Recruiter muſt uſe every art (for an obvious reaſon) to engage *ſchoolmaſters*, and to inſinuate his

* Ibid. Let. 3d to Ajax.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. to Tiberius, p. 223.

‡ See Vol. I. page 33.

§ Inſtructions for the Provincial and Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Part II, No. 3, page 26.

doctrines into, and gain adepts in the *military academies*, and other places of education; he is even to attempt the seduction of *the superiors of ecclesiastical seminaries*.‡

"He will spare no trouble to gain the Prince's officers, whether presiding over provinces, or attending "him in his councils. He that has succeeded in this "has done *more*," says the code, "than if *he had engaged* "*the Prince himself*.* In fine, the Provincial, or the "chief Insinuator, is *to recruit* every thing that can be "tainted with Illuminism, or can be serviceable to its "cause."†

The following extraordinary instructions are also given by Weishaupt respecting the choice of adepts: "Above all things (he says to his Insinuators) pay attention to the figure, and select the well-made men and "handsome young fellows. They are generally of engaging manners and nice feelings. When properly formed, they are the best adapted for negociations; for first "appearances prepossess in their favour. It is true, they "have not the depth that men of more gloomy countenances often have. They are *not the persons to be* "*entrusted with a revolt, or the care of stirring up the* "*people*; but it is for that very reason that we must "know how to choose our agents. I am particularly "fond of those men whose very soul is painted in their "eyes, whose foreheads are high, and whose countenances are open. Above all, examine well the eyes, "for they are the very mirrors of the heart and soul. "Observe the look, the gait, the voice. Every external appearance leads us to distinguish those who are "fit for our school.§

"Select *those in particular who have met with misfortunes, not from accidents*, but by some act of injustice; "that is to say, in other words, the DISCONTENTED; *for* "*such are the men to be called into the bosom of Illumin-* "*ism, as into their proper asylum*."¶

Let not the reader already exclaim, How deep are the views of this illuminizing Sophister! How has he foreseen every point! With what discernment does he lay his snares to entrap those who are to be the future

‡ Ibid. Nos. 11 and 13.
* Ibid. No. 15. † Ibid. No. 18.
§ Let. 11th to Marius and Cato.
¶ Instruction for the Local Superiors, letter II.

agents of his plots! The reader has as yet seen merely a schedule of those persons who may be admitted or rejected; but that does not sufficiently secure the order with respect to the elections which the Insinuator may have made. Before he undertakes the initiation of any person whom he may have thought proper, he is to make a statement from his diary of every thing that he may have observed with respect to his morals, opinions, conduct, and even of his connections in life. He is to submit this statement to his superiors, who will compare it with the notes they are already in possession of, or may acquire from other adepts, respecting the candidate, or even with a new statement, in case they judge the last to be insufficient. Even when the choice made by the Insinuator is approved of, all is not settled; the superiors have to determine which of the Insinuators is to be entrusted with the care of enticing the approved person into the order: for all this is foreseen in the code. It is not allowed to all the brethren to exercise promiscuously so important a trust among the prophane, though they may have pointed out the person proper for reception. The young adept is not to measure his strength with the man who has the advantage over him in years and experience, nor is the tradesman to undertake the magistrate. The superior is to name the most proper Insinuator, judging from the circumstances, age, merits, dignities, or talents of the future candidate.* At length, when the mission is given, the Insinuator begins to lay his snares.---Such is the second part of this extraordinary functionary, and all his subsequent steps are regulated by the code.

Part II. How to entice the Candidates.

Candidate, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, means a person who has shown a desire or taken some steps to enter into some order, or to acquire some dignity. In Illuminism it means the person on whom the order has fixed its attention. It often happens that the candidate is ignorant of the very existence of the sect. It is the Insinuator's business to inspire him with the wish of entering it. To accomplish this grand object, two different methods are inculcated. The first is, for the Insinuator who has some candidate in view remarkable for his science, or of a certain age. The second,

* Instructiones pro Recipientibus. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Nos. 2 and 7, page 54.

for him who is entrusted with young men from eighteen to thirty, and who are susceptible of a second education. A third method was proposed for workmen, and those clownish fellows whose education had been but little attended to. We may observe Weishaupt consulting with his confidant Zwack on this part of the code; but whether it was never digested, or that he saw the Insinuators could easily supply the defect, no further mention is made of the third method. Let us then examine the essence of the first two.

To exemplify the first method, let us suppose one of those men who have gone through a complete course of modern Philosophism, who, should they not scoff at Christianity, would at least hesitate at every thing which is called religion; for the code forewarns the Insinuator, that his efforts would be vain should he attempt to seduce Philosophers of another stamp, men of sound judgment, and who would never be partizans of doctrines which could not endure the light of broad day. But when he shall have discovered one of the former who has already pretty well imbibed the principles of the sect, he will assume the character of a Philosopher well versed in the mysteries of antiquity. He will have little difficulty in acting such a part, as he will find ample instructions in the code. To follow those instructions faithfully, he must begin "by descanting on "the supreme felicity of being versed in sciences which "few can approach, of walking in the paths of light "while the vulgar are groping in darkness. He must "remark, that there exist doctrines solely transmitted "by secret traditions, because they are above the "comprehension of common minds. In proof of his "assertions he will cite the Gymnosophists in the Indies, "the Priests of Isis in Egypt, and those of Eleusis and "the Pythagorean school in Greece." He will select certain sentences from Cicero, Seneca, Aristides, and Isocrates; and, lest he should ever be taken unawares, he will learn those by heart which the legislator has carefully inserted in the code. Though it would be very easy to demonstrate from those very authors, that the ancient mysteries laid down no fixed principles on the important points of the *Providence of God*, and of the *origin and order of the universe*, the Insinuator is nevertheless to quote those texts to prove that there

exists a secret doctrine on these objects, and above all a doctrine calculated to *render life more agreeable, and pain more supportable; and to enlarge our ideas on the majesty of God.* "Let him add, that all the sages of antiquity were acquainted with these doctrines; let him insist on the uncertainty that man is in with respect *to the nature of the soul, its immortality,* and *its future destiny.* He will then sound his candidate, to know whether he would not rejoice at having some satisfactory answers on objects of such great importance. At the same time he will hint that he has had the happiness of being initiated into these doctrines, and that, should the candidate wish it, he would do his best to procure him the same felicity; but that it was a science gradually imparted, and that certain men possessed the talent of guiding him from a distance, of leading him to the discovery of this new world, and that without being ever in his presence.*

When the Insinuator has by such language succeeded in exciting the curiosity of his candidate, he must then ascertain his opinions on some particular articles. He will propose the discussion of certain questions in writing, and of certain principles, as the groundwork on which they are in future to proceed. The code does not determine what these questions are to be, because they vary according to the political and religious dispositions which the Insinuator may have observed in the candidate. Should these dissertations no way agree with the principles of the sect, the Insinuator will abandon his prey. Should the sophisticated candidate, or the man of importance, be found properly disposed, he will be admitted to the very threshold of the mysteries. The Insinuator will simply explain the inferior degrees to him, and mention the divers trials which the order has dispensed with in consideration of his merit.†

Notwithstanding the artifice observable in this method, it is still reserved for those who need only to be acquainted with Illuminism to adopt its tenets. But should the Insinuator be entrusted with a young candidate or with one whose principles no way coincide with those of the sect, and who is yet to be formed; it is then that Weishaupt developes that immense theory of art

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II. Sect. I.
† Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II. Sect. I.

and cunning by which he is inſenſibly to enſnare his victims. "Let your firſt care," he ſays to the inſinuators, "be to gain the affection, the confidence, and the "eſteem of thoſe perſons whom you are to entice into "the order---let your whole conduct be ſuch, that they "ſhall ſurmiſe ſomething more in you than you wiſh "to ſhow---hint that you belong to ſome ſecret and "powerful ſociety---excite little by little, and not at "once, a wiſh in your candidate to belong to a ſimilar "ſociety---Certain arguments and certain books which "the inſinuator muſt have, will greatly contribute to "raiſe ſuch a wiſh; ſuch are, for example, thoſe which "treat of the union and ſtrength of aſſociations." The Legiſlator then carefully adds a liſt of thoſe books, and the order charges itſelf with the care of furniſhing a certain number of them to the adepts. The works of *Meiners*, and particularly of *Baſſadows*, are frequently recommended by Weiſhaupt, as the beſt fitted to inſpire their readers with the love and principles of ſecret ſocieties. But nothing can equal the art with which he himſelf has drawn up the reaſons, by the help of which the Inſinuator is to perſuade his young candidate of the pretended neceſſity for theſe myſterious aſſociations.

"One repreſents, for example," ſays the code, "a "child in the cradle; one ſpeaks of its cries, its tears, "its weakneſs---One remarks how this child, abandoned to itſelf, is entirely helpleſs; but that, by the help "of others it acquires ſtrength---One ſhows how the "greatneſs of Princes is derived from the union of their "ſubjects---One exalts the advantages of the ſtate of "ſociety over the ſtate of nature---Then one touches "on the art of knowing and directing mankind---How "eaſily, you will ſay, could one man of parts lead "hundreds, even thouſands, if he but knew his own "advantages. This is evidently proved by the organization of armies, and the amazing power which "princes derive from the union of their ſubjects."

After having deſcanted on the advantages of ſociety in general, touch upon *the defects of civil ſociety, and ſay how little relief is to be obtained even from one's beſt friends,---and how very neceſſary it would be to ſupport each other in theſe days. Add, that men would triumph even over heaven were they but united---That it is their diſunion which ſubjects them to the yoke.*---This is to be

explained by the fable of the wolf and the two dogs, the latter of whom could only be vanquiſhed by the former after he had parted them; and by many other examples of the ſame kind which the Inſinuator will collect.*

As a proof of what great and important things ſecret ſocieties can effectuate, he will adduce the examples of the Freemaſons, of the myſterious ſocieties of antiquity, and even of the Jeſuits. He will aſſert, that all the great events of this world are dependent on hidden cauſes, which theſe ſecret ſocieties powerfully influence; *he will awake in the breaſt of his pupil the deſire of ſecretly reigning, of preparing in his cloſet a new conſtitution for the world, and of governing thoſe who think they govern us.*†

"When you ſhall have got thus far," ſays the code, "begin to ſhow (as it were unguardedly) that you are not entirely ignorant of thoſe ſecrets; throw out ſome half ſentences which may denote it. Should your candidate take the hint, preſs him, and return to the charge, until you ſee him betray ſymptoms of a deſire inſtantaneouſly to unite with ſuch a ſociety.

"The Inſinuator, however, who has thus far ſucceeded in inſpiring his pupil with ſuch a wiſh, has not played off every engine with which the code has furniſhed him. To ſound the very bottom of his mind, he will pretend to conſult him as if he had been entruſted with certain ſecrets, he will make objections on the ſecrecy of theſe ſocieties; but ſhould they make too much impreſſion he will reſolve them himſelf. At other times, to ſtimulate the curioſity of his pupil, he will hold a letter in his hand written in a cypher, or he will leave it half open on his table, giving his candidate ſufficient time to obſerve the cypher, and then ſhut it up with all the air of a man who has important correſpondences to keep ſecret. At other times ſtudying the connections and actions of his pupil, he will tell him of certain circumſtances which the young man will think he has

* Extract of the Inſtructions for the Brethren charged to enroll and recieve the candidates—Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. IX. and XII.—Alſo in the degree of Illuminatus Major, inſtructions on the ſame object, Document A.

† Original Writings, ibid. No. 11 and 12—Illuminatus Major, Document A, and Letters K. L.

learned by means of these secret societies, from whom nothing is hidden, though *they* are concealed from all the rest of the world."*

These artifices may be greatly abridged, according as the friendship or communicative disposition of the candidate shall have laid him more open; but on the other hand, should they not suffice, the Insinuator is not on that account to abandon his purpose; let him try to accomplish by others what he has failed in himself.—Let him examine his own conduct, and see if he has not neglected some one or more of the rules prescribed in the code; let him redouble his attention and his complaisance. Should it be necessary to humble himself in order to command, let not the Insinuator forget the formal precept of his legislator, "Learn also to act the "valet in order to become master." *Auch zu weilen den knecht gemacht, um dereinst herr zu werden.*†

After such a long series of condescensions and discussions the candidate at length must pronounce. If he submit to all these insinuations, he is admitted among the novices of the order; but should he persist in his refusal, let him learn the fate which awaits him from those who have experienced it. "*Unhappy, supremely wretched is* "*the youth whom the Illuminees have sought in vain to* "*entice into their sect.* Should he even escape their "snares, do not let him flatter himself with being proof "against their hatred; and let him take care. *The* "*vengeance of* SECRET SOCIETIES *is not a common ven-* "*geance; it is the hidden fire of wrath. It is irrecon-* "*cilable, and scarcely ever does it cease the pursuit of its* "*victims until it has seen them immolated.*"‡ Such at least is the account which history gives us of those who have been guarded enough to withstand the insinuations of the sect, and particularly of those who, after having gone the first steps with the Insinuator, have refused to proceed any farther with him.

The fate of indocile candidates.

I could cite divers examples; though I once thought that I had met with one of a quite opposite nature, in the person of *Camille de Jourdan*, the same deputy who was to have been involved in the sentence of transportation against Barthelemy and Pichegru after the

* Original Writings, ibid. No. 17 to 22.
† Ibid. Let. 3d, to Ajax.
‡ Important Advice, &c. by Hoffman. Preface to Vol. II.

revolution of the 4th of September, but who luckily escaped from the grasp of the triumvirate. I heard him speaking in the highest terms, of one of these Insinuators who had for a long time endeavoured to entice him into the order. He was much astonished at hearing me speak of these men as consummate in all the artifices of the most villanous hypocrisy. He maintained that his Illuminee was mild, modest, and moderate; full of respect for the Gospel; in a word, one of the most virtuous men he had ever known. In reply, I enumerated all the proceedings of the Insinuator, and the artifices he had played off before he quitted his prey. To all that Mr. Camille answered, "It is true; "such was his behaviour: but it was his zeal for the "sect which blinded him, and made him have recourse "to such expedients in order to work what he called "my conversion; yet, with all that, it was impossible "for any body to speak of virtue and religion in so "impressive a manner as he did without being at least "an honest man."—"Well," said I, "I will venture to "assert, that the last attempt of your Insinuator was as "follows. He proposed to you to give your thoughts "in writing on certain questions; you did so; your "opinions proved directly opposite to his; he never "saw you after, became your implacable enemy, and "has never since ceased calumniating you." "All "that again," answered Mr. Camille, "is very true; "nor was it his fault that I did not lose both friends "and fortune. Before that affair he used to praise me; "afterwards, however, he represented me as a most "dangerous man. You cannot conceive what lies he "invented about me, and I was unfortunate enough to "observe that they had made impression."—Is it possible to be believed? Mr. Camille could not yet be persuaded but that his Insinuator was a virtuous man; so profound are the arts of hypocrisy which are to be imbibed from Weishaupt's laws! I was acquainted with two bishops, who had as completely mistaken the characters of their Insinuators as Mr. Camille de Jourdan.

But I will cite the example of Mr. Stark. I never could conceive what this Mr. Stark was whom I saw perpetually abused by the Illuminees. Nicolai and Mirabeau spared no pains to render him odious to the

Proteſtants in Germany; they ſaid he had received the Catholic orders of prieſthood privately,* though every thing ſeemed to denote that he was a Proteſtant. I took ſome pains to inform myſelf who this Mr. Stark was, and I found him one of the moſt learned Proteſtant miniſters in Germany: that his zeal for his religion had aquired him the degree of Doctor, and had preferred him to be Grand Almoner and Counſellor to the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt; but that in common with ſeveral other learned men, ſuch as, Hoffman and Zimmerman, he had had the misfortune of being ſought after by the Illuminees; that he would not hearken to them; that the Illuminees had expreſſed a wiſh to have an adept near the perſon of the prince, and that he had been bold enough to anſwer his Inſinuator, "*If you* "*ſeek ſupport, I am too little and my prince too great to* "*protect you.*"---And every candidate who will make the ſame reſolute ſtand againſt the agents of the order muſt expect to be repaid with ſimilar calumnies. The law of the order is invariable and preciſe, particularly with reſpect to thoſe whoſe talents may be obnoxious to Illuminiſm. *They muſt be gained over or ruined in the public opinion.* Such is the text, *ſo ſoll man den ſchriſt ſteller zu gewinnen ſuchen oder, verſchreyen.*† But it is now time to follow the candidate who has ſhown himſelf more docile through the various preparatory degrees.

* Mirabeau Monarchie Pruſſienne, Vol. V. art. Religion.
† Inſtructions for the Regent, No. 15.

CHAP. IV.

Second Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---First preparatory Degree, of the Novice and of his Teacher.

Length of the novitiate.

IN the early ſtages of Illuminiſm the duration of the time of trial for the Novice was three years, for thoſe who were not eighteen years of age; two years for thoſe between eighteen and twenty-four; and one year for thoſe who were near thirty.* Circumſtances have ſince occaſionally cauſed the time to be abridged; but, whatever may be the diſpoſitions of the Novice, though the time may be diſpenſed with, he muſt go through the different trials, or have got the ſtart of them before he is admitted into the other degrees. During this interval he has no other ſuperior but the Inſinuator to whom he is indebted for his vocation, and during the whole time of the novitiate, the Inſinuator is expreſsly forbidden to inform his pupil of any other member of the order. This law was made to ſkreen the order from the dangers which might reſult from any indiſcretion of the Novice, and to render the Inſinuator alone reſponſible in ſuch caſes; for ſhould the Novice unfortunately be an indiſcreet talker, the code expreſsly ſays his imprudence would at moſt betray only one of the brethren.† The firſt leſſons of the Inſinuator (in future his teacher) treat entirely on the importance and the inviolability of the ſecreſy which is to be obſerved in Illuminiſm. He will begin by telling his Novice, "Silence *and ſecrecy are the very ſoul of the order*, and "you will carefully obſerve this ſilence as well with "thoſe whom you may have only reaſon to ſuppoſe are "already initiated, as with thoſe whom you may here-"after know really to belong to the order. You will "remember, that it is a conſtant principle among us, "that *ingenuouſneſs is only a virtue with reſpect to our "ſuperiors, but that diſtruſt and reſerve are the funda-"mental principles*. You will never reveal to any per-"ſon at preſent or hereafter, the ſlighteſt circumſtance "relative to your admiſſion into the order, the degree "you have received, nor the time when admitted; in

I.
Study of the Novice. Secrecy.

* The Statutes reformed, No. 7. † The Statutes reformed, No. 16.

"a word, you will never ſpeak of any object relating "to the order even before Brethren, without the "ſtrongeſt neceſſity."*

Under the reſtrictions of this ſevere law, one Illuminee will often be a ſtranger to another; and the Novice will ſee in this no more than a meaſure of ſafety for the order, which might be ruined by the leaſt indiſcretion.†

More certainly to aſſure himſelf of the diſcretion of the Novice, the Inſinuator will give him no further inſight, nor entruſt him with any writing relative to the order, until he has obtained the following declaration: "I the underſigned promiſe upon my honour, and "without any reſervation, never to reveal either by "words, ſigns or actions, or in any poſſible manner, to any "perſon whatever, either relations, allies, or moſt intimate friends, any thing that ſhall be entruſted to me "by my Introducer relative to my entrance into a *ſecret ſociety*; and this whether my reception ſhall "take place or not. I ſubject myſelf the more willingly to this ſecrecy, as my *Introducer aſſures me* "*that nothing is ever tranſacted in this ſociety hurtful to* "*religion, morals, or the ſtate*. With reſpect to all writings which I may be entruſted with, and letters "which I may receive concerning the ſame object, I "engage myſelf to return them, after having made for "my ſole uſe the neceſſary extracts."‡

Theſe writings or books relative to the order are only lent to the Novice at firſt in ſmall numbers, and for a ſhort time; and then he muſt promiſe to keep them out of the reach of the profane; but as he is promoted in rank, he may preſerve them for a longer time, and is entruſted with a larger quantity; though not without having informed the order of the precautions he ſhall have taken, leſt in caſe of his death any of theſe writings ſhould fall into profane hands.‖ He will afterwards learn, that the Brotherhood take many other precautions for ſecrecy, not only reſpecting the ſtatutes, but even with regard to the very exiſtence

* Original Writings, Statutes, No. 20. Statutes reformed, No. 27. True Illuminiſm, General Statutes, No. 31, 32.

† Summary of the Statutes, No. 15, B.

‡ Original Writings, and the true Illum. Art. *Reverſ.*

‖ Inſtitutes of the Inſinuated, No. 8. Orig. Writ. the real Illuminee No. 7.

of the order. He will ſee, for example, in its laws, that ſhould any of the brotherhood fall ſick, the other brethren are aſſiduouſly to viſit him, in the firſt place *to fortify* him, that is to ſay, to hinder him from making any declarations at the hour of his death; and, ſecondly, to carry away whatever writings relative to the order the ſick man may have had in his poſſeſſion, as ſoon as any ſymptoms of danger appear.†

II. Study.

He will at length learn, that to fruſtrate all attempts to trace even their very exiſtence, the *order does not exiſt every where* UNDER THE SAME NAME, but that they are to aſſume the name of *ſome other order*, perhaps even of a literary ſociety, or meet without any name which can attract the attention of the public.

Dictionary of the Order.

The firſt writing delivered to the Novice, to accuſtom him to profound ſecrecy, is what may be called the Dictionary of Illuminiſm. He muſt begin by learning the language of the ſect, that is to ſay, the art of communicating with the ſuperiors and other adepts without the poſſibility of being underſtood by the profane. By means of this language, the Illuminees are to be able to correſpond with each other, without running the riſk of its being diſcovered of what Brother they ſpeak; from what place, in what language, at what period, and to whom, or by whom the letter is written.

Characteriſtic names of its Members.

To avoid the diſcovery of perſons, the Novice will learn, that no Brother bears the ſame name in the order which he does in the world; indeed, had he been initiated in the higher degrees of Maſonry, he would have ſeen the ſame precaution taken, where the Roſicrucians receive what they call *their Characteriſtic* or their adoptive name. The Novice will receive the characteriſtic immediately on his admiſſion, and it will in ſome meaſure imply the parts which he is in future to act in the general conſpiracy. It will be his taſk hereafter to ſtudy and write the hiſtory of his new patron; he will by this method recognize in the qualities and actions of his hero the particular ſervices which the order will expect from him.* This name will be choſen as conformably as poſſible to the diſpoſitions obſerved in him. Has he ſhown any propenſity to repeat

† Statutes of the Minerval, No. 12.

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Inſtructions for the Inſinuated, No. 7; and Vol. II. Let. 13.

the impieties of Philoſophiſm againſt the Goſpel, he will be claſſed with the Celſi and Porphirii, or with the Tindals and Shafteſburys; ſhould his turn be toward the hatred of Kings, or ſhould his talents be judged uſeful for the polity of the order, then his characteriſtic will be of the Brutus, Cato, or Machiavel tribe. He will not be told what he is to do to deſerve his name, but they will contrive that it ſhall occur to him. Neither will he be told why Weiſhaupt aſſumed the name of Spartacus (a name ſo famous in Rome becauſe he waged the war of the ſlaves againſt their maſters); but ſhould he ever be admitted to the higher myſteries, he will eaſily recognize the reaſon.†

Its Geography.

The place from whence they write, as well as the perſons of whom or to whom they write, is in like manner to be kept ſecret; a new Geography is therefore taught the Novice. He will thence learn, that *Bavaria*, the country of their founder, is denominated *Achaia; Swabia, Pannonia; Franconia, Auſtria, and Tyrol* are denoted by *Illyria, Egypt, and Peloponneſus; Munich* is called *Athens; Bamberg, Antioch; Inſpruck, Samos; Vienna* in Auſtria, *Rome; Wurtzburg, Carthage; Frankfort on the Mein* becomes *Thebes;* and *Heidelberg Utica. Ingolſtadt*, the natal ſoil of the order, was not ſufficiently denoted by *Epheſus;* this privileged town was to be decorated with a more myſterious name, and the profound adepts beſtowed on it that of *Eleuſis.*

Should the Novice ever be ſent on a miſſion out of his own country, or to diſtant ſhores, he will then receive farther inſtructions in the Geography of the ſect.*

Its Calendar.

He muſt alſo learn how to date his letters, and be converſant with the Illuminized Hegira or Calendar; for all letters which he will receive in future will be dated according to the Perſian era, called *Jezdegert* and beginning A. D. 630. The year begins with the Illuminees on the firſt of *Pharavardin*, which anſwers to the 21ſt of March. Their firſt month has no leſs than forty-one days; the following months, inſtead of being called May, June, July, Auguſt, September, and October, are *Adarpahaſcht, Chardad, Thirmeh, Merdedmeh, Shahariméh, Meharmeh:* November and Decem-

† Original Writings Vol. I. Sec. 4.
* Original Writings, Sect. 2 and 3.


a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s.
t. u. v. w. x. y. z.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 0.
, ; : . ! ?

ber are *Abenmeh, Adameh:* January and February, *Dimeh,* and *Benmeh:* The month of March only has twenty days, and is called *Aſphandar.**

The Novice muſt next learn how to decypher the letters he may receive; in order to which, he muſt make himſelf maſter of that cypher, which is to ſerve him until initiated into the higher degrees, when he will be entruſted with the hieroglyphics of the Order.† Its Cypher.

He will alſo remember, that he is never to write the name of his order; ſo venerable a word cannot be expoſed to prophane eyes, and a circle ⊙ with a point in the middle of it will ſupply this ſacred word, and a long ſquare or parellelogram □ will denote the word Lodge.

III. Study the ſtatutes.

After theſe preliminary ſtudies, the young brother receives a part of the code, under the title of *Statutes of the Illuminees.* But theſe firſt ſtatutes are nothing more than a ſnare, and the young Novice, with pleaſure no doubt, ſees them begin with the following words:

" For the tranquillity and ſecurity of all the Bre-
" thren, whether Novices or active Members of the
" Society, and to prevent all ill-grounded ſuſpicions,
" or diſagreeable doubts, the venerable order declares,
" that it abſolutely has *in view no project, enterprize,*
" *or undertaking hurtful to the ſtate, to religion, or to*
" *good morals; and that it favours nothing of that na-*
" *ture in any of its members.* Its deſigns, all its toils,
" ſolely tend to inſpire men with a zeal for the perfec-
" tion of their moral characters, to impregnate them
" with humane and ſociable ſentiments, to counteract
" the plans of the wicked, to ſuccour oppreſſed and
" ſuffering virtue, to favour the advancement of men
" of merit, and to render thoſe ſciences univerſal which

* See the real Illuminee firſt degree.

† The common cypher of the Illuminees conſiſt in *numbers* correſponding to letters in the following order:

12.	11.	10.	9.	8.	7.	6.	5.	4.	3.	2.	1.	
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.
13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	
n.	o.	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	u.	w.	x.	y.	z.	

The hieroglyphics are contained in the oppoſite Plate, and are copied from thoſe publiſhed at the end of the degree of Scotch Knight or Directing Illuminee. There is a third cypher, but that has never been publiſhed.

" are as yet hidden from the generality of men. Such " is not the *coloured* pretext, but the real object of the " order."*

Even should the Novice not have entirely laid aside all his suspicions respecting the intentions of the order, still so positive a declaration he must think would guarantee him as to all obligations which might be imposed upon him. His grand aim is to be, to *form his heart*, in such a manner as to gain not only the affection of his friends but even of his enemies. He is positively ordered to endeavour *with all his might to acquire both interior and exterior perfection.* It is true that he is soon after as positively ordered *to study the arts of dissimulating and disguise;* but then the Brother Insinuator is at his elbow, to explain to him how that art coincides with true perfection, and thus suppress any suspicions which might arise from a comparison of these two injunctions. Besides, the Novice has many other duties to fulfil, which will deprive him of opportunity for such reflections.

IV. Study the morality of the Order.

He is next told, that the Brethren must have but one mind, one will, and similar sentiments; that, to effectuate this, the order has made choice of certain works, to which he must apply with the greatest attention. Should the Novice be one of those men whom an attachment to the Gospel rendered more circumspect as to the snares laid for his belief, the very choice of the books would suffice to shew him, that the first object of the Insinuator was to persuade him, that it is not even necessary to be a Christian to acquire the perfection enjoined by the statutes. The *Morality* he is taught is that of *Epictetus*, *Seneca*, *Antoninus*, and *Plutarch*, all foreign to Christianity. He will also receive the works of modern Sophisters, such as *Wieland*, *Meiners*, and *Basedows*, who by no means make perfection to consist in Christianity. Under the soothing and mellifluous language of a moderate and specious Philosophy, he will be led to lubricity and impiety, traced by the sophisticated pen of Helvetius in his celebrated work *de L'Esprit*.† But the Insinuator must previously have

* The True Illuminee, General Statutes—Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect 8.

† See the list of these works in the Original Writings in the Statutes reformed, No. 25.

ſufficiently ſtudied the diſpoſitions of his pupil to know whether ſuch propoſitions would any longer ſtartle him. Beſides, nothing is better calculated to diſſipate all ſuch fears, than the conſtant application that is required to thoſe books which are put into the hands of the Novice, added to the care taken to deprive him of all ſuch as might inſpire him with contrary ideas. The Teacher is carefully to attend to all the rules laid down in the code on this ſubject, and to ſee that his Novices fulfil the intentions of the order in this reſpect. He is frequently to converſe with them; he is to mark out their occupations for them; he is even to make them unexpected viſits to ſurpriſe them, and thus to ſee in what manner they apply to the code and other writings with which the order has entruſted them. He is to require an account of what they have read, and extracts from the different works; he will aſſiſt them by his explanations; in ſhort, nothing is to be neglected which can ſecure their progreſs in the ſpirit and morals of the order.*

V. Study the knowledge of mankind.

An object of far greater importance next attracts the attention of the Novice; it is that which the code calls *the greateſt of all;* it is, *the knowledge of men.* The teacher will repreſent this to his pupil *as the moſt intereſting of all ſciences.*† To make himſelf maſter of this ſcience, the Novice receives the model of a journal in the form of tablets, and his teacher ſhows him how they are to be uſed. Provided with this journal, he is to make his obſervations on every body he finds himſelf in company with; he is to trace their characters, and account to himſelf for every thing he has ſeen or heard. Leſt his memory ſhould fail him, he muſt always be provided with a looſe paper or ſmall tablets, on which he may at all hours note his obſervations, which he is afterwards carefully to digeſt in his journal. To be certain of the Novice's attention to this point, the Brother teacher will examine his tablets and his journal from time to time. To render him more expert in the art of drawing the characters of the living, he will exerciſe the Novices on ancient authors, and on the he-

* See Inſtructiones pro Inſinuantibus et Recipientibus.

† The true Illuminee. Inſtructions on the Art of forming Pupils, No. 12.

roes of antiquity. No ſtudy or cuſtom is ſo frequently recommended as this in all the code of Illuminiſm. It is to be the grand ſtudy of the Novice, and the prime occupation of every degree.*

It is by his aſſiduity in this great art that the Novice will learn how to diſtinguiſh thoſe whom he may hereafter judge proper to be admitted into or rejected from the order; and it is with that veiw that the Preceptor perpetually preſſes him *to propoſe thoſe whom he may think fit for the order.*† By this means a double object is attained; firſt, the propagation of the order; and, ſecondly, a knowledge of its friends or enemies; the dangers it may be threatened with; and the means to be adopted, or the perſons to be gained or courted, to avert the impending ſtorm; in fine, of extending its conqueſts. Whether the Illuminee be a Novice, or in any other degree, he is bound by the laws of the order to make his report in the preſcribed forms at leaſt once a month.‡

The Bonds of the Novice.

While the Novice is perpetually making reſearches of this nature, he is not aware that he is as carefully watched by his Inſinuator, who on his ſide notes and writes down every thing that he obſerves either as to the failings or the progreſs, the ſtrong or weak ſide of his pupil, and theſe he as regularly tranſmits to the ſuperiors.§

The pupil little ſuſpects that the grand object of his Inſinuator is *to bind him* in ſuch a manner to Illuminiſm, *even long before he is acquainted with any of its ſecrets*, that it ſhall be impoſſible for him to break thoſe bonds which fear and terror ſhall have impoſed upon him, ſhould he ever wiſh to ſhrink from the horrid plots and ſyſtems which he might thereafter diſcover.

His blind obedience.

This profound policy of binding the Novices to Illuminiſm conſiſts, firſt, in giving them a magnificent idea of the grandeur of the projects of the Sect, and, ſecondly, in a vow *of blind obedience* to the ſuperiors in

* See Ibid. No. 13.—Original Writings, the Statutes reformed, No. 9, 10, 13, 14.—Inſtructio pro Inſinuantibus, No. 5. pro Recipientibus, No. 16, &c. &c.

† Inſtructiones pro Recipientibus, No. 13.

‡ Inſtructions for the Inſinuated, No. 5. C. and Original Writings, &c.

§ Inſtructions for the Inſinuator, No. 3 and 4.—The real Illuminee, Inſtructions on the art of forming the Brethren, No. 1, 2.

every thing which they judge conducive to the ends of the Order, which vow the Inſinuator is to find means of extorting from his pupil.

It is here particularly that Weiſhaupt appears to wiſh to aſſimilate the government of his ſect to that of the religious orders, and eſpecially to that of the Jeſuits, by a total ſacrifice of their own will and judgment, which he exacts of the adepts; and to the exerciſing of the Novices in this point, he expreſsly adverts in his inſtructions to the Inſinuators.* But this is preciſely the place to remark on the amazing difference between the illuminized and the religious obedience. Of that immenſe number of religious who follow the inſtitutes of St. Baſil, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, or St. Francis, there is not one who is not thoroughly convinced that there exiſts a voice far more imperious than that of his ſuperior, the voice of his conſcience, of the goſpel, and of his God. There is not one of them who, ſhould his ſuperior command any thing contrary to the duties of a Chriſtian, or of an honeſt man, would not immediately ſee that ſuch a command was a releaſe from his vow of obedience. This is frequently repeated and clearly expreſſed in all the religious inſtitutes, and no where more explicitly or poſitively than in thoſe of the Jeſuits. They are ordered to obey their ſuperior, but in caſes only where ſuch obedience is not ſinful, *ubi non cerneretur peccatum.*† It is only in caſes where ſuch obedience can have no ſinful tendency whatever, *ubi definiri non poſſit aliquod peccati genus intercedere.*‡ And, as if this were not ſufficiently expreſſed, we hear their founder, at the very time when he recommends obedience to his religious, expreſsly ſaying, *but remember that your vow is binding only when the commands of man are not contrary to thoſe of God, ubi Deo contraria non præcipit homo.*§ All thoſe perſons therefore who, like Mirabeau, ſurmiſed certain coincidences, or as he calls them *points of contact*, between the religious inſtitutes, and the code of the Illuminees, ſhould have begun by obſerving, that religious

* Mirabeau Monarchie Pruſſienne, Vol. V. and Eſſay on the Illuminees, Chap. III.—Laſt Obſervations by Philo, page 61.

† Conſtitution of the Jeſuits, Part III. Chap. I. Parag. 2, Vol. I. Edition of Prague. ‡ Ibid. Part. VI. Chap. I.

§ Epiſt. Ignatii De Obedientia.

obedience is in its very eſſence an obligation of doing all the good which may be preſcribed without the leaſt taint of harm. It was eaſy for them on the contrary to demonſtrate, that the obedience ſought for by Weiſhaupt's code was a diſpoſition to obey every order received from the ſuperior in ſpite of conſcience, and unheedful of the moſt iniquitous guilt, provided it tended to the good of the order. "Our ſociety (for ſuch are the expreſſions of the code) exacts from its members "the ſacrifice of their liberty, not only with reſpect to "all things, *but abſolutely with reſpect to* EVERY MEANS "*of attaining its end.* Yet the preſumption on the "goodneſs of the *means preſcribed is always in favour* "*of the orders given by the ſuperiors.* They are clear-"er-ſighted on this object; they are better acquainted "with it; and it is on this very account that they are "nominated ſuperiors---It is their buſineſs to lead you "through the labyrinth of errors and darkneſs; and in "ſuch a caſe obedience is not only a duty, but an ob-"ject for grateful acknowledgment."*

Such is the obedience of the Illuminees; nor is there a ſingle exception to be found in all their code. We ſhall ſee the Novice, before he terminates his trials, obliged to explain himſelf explicitly with reſpect to orders which he may receive from his ſuperiors, and which he may think contrary to his conſcience. In the firſt place his teacher is to entangle him, and make himſelf perfectly maſter of his moſt ſecret thoughts. Under the pretence of knowing himſelf better, while ſtudying the art of knowing others, the Novice is to draw a faithful picture of himſelf, to unfold his intereſts and connections, as well as thoſe of his family.

His ſecrets diſcovered.

Here again the Inſinuator furniſhes him with the tablets in the requiſite form, that he may give this new proof of confidence to the order; but this will neither be the laſt nor the moſt important one for which he will be called upon.

On theſe tablets, the Novice is to write down his name, age, functions, country, and abode; the ſpecies of ſtudy in which he occupies himſelf, *the books of which his library is compoſed*, and the ſecret writings of which

* Statutes reformed, No. 1, 4, and 25.—The true Illuminee, General Statutes, No. 11, 12.

he may be in poſſeſſion; his revenue, his friends, his enemies, and the reaſon of his enmities; in fine, his acquaintances and his protectors.

To this table he is to ſubjoin a ſecond, explaining the ſame objects with reſpect to his father, his mother, and all their other children. He is to be very explicit with reſpect *to the education they received, to their paſſions and prejudices, to their ſtrong and weak ſides.*

We will exemplify this ſecond table by an extract from the Original Writings, by which the reader will perceive that parents are not very much favoured—

"The Novice, Francis Antony St. aged 22, re-
"preſents his father as *violent, and of ſoldierlike man-*
"*ners;* his mother as *a little avaricious;* the weak ſide
"of both to be flattery and intereſt; both living after
"the old faſhion, and with an antiquated frankneſs; in
"their devotion, headſtrong, arrogant; with difficulty
"abandoning an ill-conceived project, and ſtill more
"unforgiving to their enemies; that they nevertheleſs
"were little hated, becauſe little feared; and hardly
"in the way of doing any body any harm."

While the Novice is thus occupied in revealing all his ſecrets, and thoſe of his family, the Inſinuator on his ſide is drawing up a new ſtatement of every thing he has been able to diſcover during the whole time of his pupil's trial, either with reſpect to him or to his relations.

On comparing the two ſtatements, ſhould the ſuperior approve of the admiſſion of the Novice to the laſt proofs, he is then to anſwer the grand queſtions. It is by theſe queſtions that the Novice is to judge of the extent of the ſacrifice he is about to make, and of the awful ſubjection of his whole will, conſcience, and perſon, to Illuminiſm, if he wiſhes to gain admittance.

Queſtions he is to anſwer.

The Queſtions are twenty-four in number, and couched in the following terms:

I. Are you ſtill deſirous of being received into the Order of the Illuminees?

II. Have you ſeriouſly reflected on the importance of the ſtep you take, *in binding yourſelf by engagements that are unknown to you?*

III. What hopes do you entertain, or by what reaſons are you induced to enter among us?

IV. Would you ſtill perſevere in that wiſh, though you ſhould find that we had no other object or advan-

tage whatever in view but the perfection of mankind?

V. What would be your conduct should the Order be of new invention?

VI. *Should you ever discover in the Order any thing wicked, or unjust to be done, what part would you take?* Wenn unanstandige, ungerechte sachen vorkamen, wie er sich verhalten wurde?

VII. *Can you and will you look upon the welfare of the Order as your own?*

VIII. We cannot conceal from you, that Members, entering into our Order without any other motive than to acquire power, greatness, and consideration, are not those whom we prefer. In many cases one must know how to lose in order to gain. Are you aware of all this?

IX. Can you love all the Members of the Order, even such of your enemies as may be members of it?

X. Should it so happen that you should be obliged to do good to your enemies who are of the Order, to recommend them, for example, or extol them; would you be disposed to do so?

XI. *Do you, moreover, grant the* POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH *to our Order or Society?* On what grounds would you refuse, or recognize in it such a right; *Ob er dieser geselschaft, oder order auch das* JUS VITÆ ET NECIS, *aus was grunden, oder nich zugestehe?*

XII. *Are you disposed on all occasions to give the preference to men of our Order, over all other men?*

XIII. How would you wish to revenge yourself of any injustice, either great or small, which you may have received from strangers or from any one of our Brethren?

XIV. What would be your conduct should you ever repent of having joined our Order?

XV. Are you willing to share with us happiness and misfortune?

XVI. Do you renounce the idea of ever making your birth, employment, station, or power, serve to the prejudice or contempt of any one of the Brethren?

XVII. Are you, or have you any idea of becoming a Member of any other society?

XVIII. Is it from levity, or in hopes of soon being acquainted with our constitution, that you so easily make these promises?

XIX. Are you fully determined to obſerve our laws?

XX. *Do you ſubject yourſelf to a* BLIND OBEDIENCE WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION WHATEVER? *And do you know the ſtrength of ſuch an engagement?* Ober unbedingten gehorſam angelobe, und wiſſe was das ſey?

XXI. Is there no conſideration that can deter you from entering into our Order?

XXII. *Will you, in caſe it is required, aſſiſt in the propagation of the Order, ſupport it by your counſels, by your money, and by all other means?*

XXIII. Had you any expectation that you would have to anſwer any of theſe queſtions; and if ſo, which queſtion was it?

XXIV. What ſecurity can you give us that you will keep theſe promiſes; and to what puniſhment will you ſubject yourſelf in caſe you ſhould break any of them?*

In order to judge of the nature of the anſwers written and ſigned by the Novice, and confirmed by his oath, it will be ſufficient to caſt our eyes on the account of the reception of two Brethren, as it is contained in the archives of the ſect. To the VIth queſtion *ſhould you ever diſcover in the Order any thing wicked or unjuſt to be done, what part would you take?* The firſt of theſe two Novices, aged 22, and named *Francis Anthony St.....* *anſwers, ſwears, and ſigns,* "I would certainly execute "thoſe things, if ſo commanded by the Order, becauſe "it may be very poſſible that I am not capable of "judging of what is juſt or unjuſt. Beſides, ſhould they "be unjuſt under one aſpect, *they would ceaſe to be "ſo as ſoon as they became a means of attaining happi-"neſs, the general end.*"

The Novice Francis Xaverius B..... anſwers, ſwears, and ſigns, in like manner, "I would not refuſe "to execute thoſe things (wicked and unjuſt) provided "they contributed to the general good."

To the XIth queſtion, *on life and death*, the firſt Novice anſwers with the ſame formalities, "Yes, I ac-"knowledge this right in the Order of Illumineés; "and why ſhould I refuſe it to the Order, ſhould it ever

* Original Writings. The account of the reception of two Novices, Vol. I. Sect. 17.

" find itſelf neceſſitated to exerciſe it, as perhaps with-
" out ſuch a right it might have to fear *its awful ruin.*
" *The ſtate would loſe little by it, ſince the dead man*
" *would be replaced by ſo many others.* Beſides, I refer
" to my anſwer to queſtion VI. ;" that is to ſay, where he promiſed to execute whatever was juſt or unjuſt, provided it was with the approbation or by order of the Superiors.

The ſecond anſwers, ſwears, and ſigns to the ſame queſtion, " The ſame reaſon which makes me recog-
" nize the right of life and death in the governors of
" nations, leads me to recognize moſt willingly the
" ſame power in my Order, which really contributes to
" the happineſs of mankind as much as governors of
" nations ought to do."

On the XXth queſtion, on *blind obedience without reſtriction*, one anſwers, " Yes, without doubt, *the promiſe*
" *is of the utmoſt importance ; nevertheleſs I look upon*
" *it as the only poſſible means by which the Order can*
" *gain its ends.*" The ſecond is leſs preciſe : " When
" I conſider our Order as of modern invention and as
" little extended, I have a ſort of repugnance in bind-
" ing myſelf by ſo formidable a promiſe ; becauſe in that
" caſe I am juſtified in doubting whether a want of
" knowledge, or even ſome domineering paſſion might
" not ſometimes occaſion things to be commanded to-
" tally oppoſite to the propoſed object of the general
" welfare. But when I ſuppoſe the Order to be more
" univerſally ſpread, I then believe, that in a ſociety
" comprehending men of ſuch different ſtations, from
" the higher to the lower, thoſe men are beſt enabled
" to know the courſe of the world, and how to diſtin-
" guiſh the means of accompliſhing the laudable pro-
" jects of the Order."

This doubt of the Novice as to the antiquity of the Order muſt have diſpleaſed Weiſhaupt, who ſpared no pains to make it appear that Illuminiſm was of ancient date, the better to excite the curioſity and the veneration of the pupils, being content to enjoy the glory of his invention with his profound adepts to whom only he revealed the ſecret of the invention in the higheſt degrees and with the laſt myſteries. But our Novice went on to ſay, that on the whole he rather believed the Order to be of ancient than of modern invention ; and,

like his fellow Novice, he " promiſes to be faithful to all the laws " of his Order, to ſupport it with his coun- " ſels, his fortune, and all other means; and finiſhes " by *ſubjecting himſelf to forfeit his honour, and even " his* LIFE, *ſhould he ever break his promiſe.*"*

When the Inſinuator has found means of binding the Novice to the Order by ſuch oaths, and eſpecially when the young candidate ſhall have recognized without heſitation that ſtrange and awful right which ſubjects the life of every citizen to the ſatellites of Illuminiſm, ſhould any be unfortunate enough to diſpleaſe its ſuperiors; when the Novice is blinded to ſuch a degree as not to perceive that this pretended right, far from implying a ſociety of ſages, only denotes a band of ruffians and a federation of aſſaſſins like the emiſſaries of the Old Man of the Mountain; when, in ſhort, he ſhall have ſubmitted himſelf to this terrible power, the oath of the modern Seyde is ſent to the archives of the Order. His diſpoſitions then prove to be ſuch as the ſuperiors required to confer on him the ſecond degree of the preparatory claſs; and the Inſinuator concludes his miſſion by the Introduction of his pupil.

The promotion of the Novice.

At the appointed time in the dead of the night, the Novice is lead to a gloomy apartment, where two men are waiting for him, and, excepting his Inſinuator, theſe are the firſt two of the ſect with whom the Novice is made acquainted. The ſuperior or his delegate holds a lamp in his hand half covered with a ſhade; his attitude is ſevere and imperious; and a naked ſword lies near him on the table. The other man, who ſerves as Secretary, is prepared to draw up the act of Initiation. No mortal is introduced but the Novice and his Inſinuator, nor can any one elſe be preſent. A queſtion is firſt aſked him, whether he ſtill perſeveres in the intention of entering the Order. On his anſwering in the affirmative, he is ſent by himſelf into a room perfectly dark, there to meditate again on his reſolution. Recalled from thence, he is queſtioned again and again on his firm determination blindly to obey all the laws of the Order. The introducer anſwers for the diſpoſitions of his pupil, and in return requeſts the protection of the Order for him.

* See the two accounts.

"Your requeſt is juſt," replies the ſuperior to the Novice. "In the name of the moſt Serene Order "from which I hold my powers, and in the name of "all its Members, I promiſe you protection, juſtice, "and help. Moreover, I proteſt to you once more, "*that you will find nothing among us hurtful either to* "*Religion, to Morals, or to the State;*"---here the Ini- "tiator takes in his hand the naked ſword which lay upon the table, and, pointing it at the heart of the Novice, continues, "but ſhould you ever be a traitor or "a perjurer, aſſure yourſelf that every Brother will be "called upon to arm againſt you. Do not flatter your- "ſelf with the poſſibility of eſcaping, or of finding a "place of ſecurity.---Wherever thou mayeſt be, the "rage of the Brethren, ſhame and remorſe ſhall fol- "low thee, and prey upon thy very entrails."----He lays down the ſword.---"But if you perſiſt in the deſign of "being admitted into our Order, take this oath:"

The oath is conceived in the following terms:

"In preſence of the all powerful God, and of you "Plenipotentiaries of the moſt high and moſt ex- "cellent Order into which I aſk admittance, I acknow- "ledge my natural weakneſs, and all the inſufficiency "of my ſtrength. I confeſs that, notwithſtanding all "the privileges of rank, honours, titles, or riches which "I may poſſeſs in civil ſociety, I am but a man like "other men; that I may loſe them all by other mor- "tals, as they have been acquired through them; that "I am in abſolute want of their approbation and of "their eſteem; and that I muſt do my utmoſt to de- "ſerve them both. I never will employ either the "power or conſequence that I may poſſeſs to the pre- "judice of the general welfare. I will, on the con- "trary, reſiſt with all my might the enemies of human "nature, and *of civil ſociety*." Let the reader obſerve theſe laſt words; let him remember them when read- ing of the myſteries of Illuminiſm; he will then be able to conceive how, by means of this oath *to main- tain civil ſociety*, Weiſhaupt leads the adepts to the oath of eradicating even the laſt veſtige of ſociety. "I promiſe," continues the adept, "ardently to ſeize "every opportunity of ſerving humanity, of improving "my mind and my will, of employing all my uſeful "accompliſhments for the general good, *in as much*

" *as the welfare and the ſtatutes of the ſociety ſhall re-*
" *quire it of me.*

" *I vow* (ich gelobe) *an eternal ſilence, an inviolable*
" *obedience and fidelity to all my ſuperiors and to the*
" *ſtatutes of the Order.* WITH RESPECT TO WHAT MAY
" BE THE OBJECT OF THE ORDER *I fully and abſolutely*
" *renounce my own penetration and my own judgment.*

" I promiſe to look upon the intereſts of the Order
" as my own; and as long as I ſhall be a Member of
" it, *I promiſe to ſerve it with my life, my honour, and*
" *my eſtates.* Should I ever, through imprudence,
" paſſion, or wickedneſs, act contrary to the laws or to
" the welfare of the Serene Order, *I then ſubject my-*
" *ſelf to whatever puniſhment it may pleaſe to inflict*
" *upon me.*"

" I alſo promiſe to help the Order, to the beſt of
" my power, and according to my conſcience, with
" my counſels and my actions, and without the leaſt
" attention to my perſonal intereſt; alſo, to look upon
" all friends and enemies of the Order as my own,
" and to behave to them as the Order ſhall direct. I
" am equally diſpoſed to labour with all my might and
" all my means at the propagation and advancement
" of the Order.

" *In theſe promiſes I renounce every ſecret reſerva-*
" *tion, and engage to fulfil them all, according to the*
" *true purport of the words, and according to the ſignifi-*
" *cation attached to them by the Order when it preſcri-*
" *bed the Oath---*

" *So help me God.*" N. N.

The oath being ſigned by the Novice, and enregiſtered in the minutes of the Order, the Initiator declares his admiſſion, telling him at the ſame time that he is not to expect to know all the members, but thoſe only who, being of the ſame degree, are under the ſame ſuperior.---From that moment advanced to the degree of *Minerval*, he is inſtructed in the ſigns of his new degree, which are much of the ſame nature as thoſe of Maſonry. He is then enjoined to give an exact *liſt of all his books*, particularly of thoſe which might be precious or uſeful to the Order. He alſo receives the following queſtions which he is to anſwer in writing.

I. What ſhould you wiſh to be the object of our Order?

II. What means, either primary or ſecondary, do you think moſt conducive to the attainment of that object?

III. What other things would you wiſh to find among us?

IV. What men do you either hope to meet, or not to meet, among us?*

The anſwers given to theſe queſtions will enable the ſuperiors to judge how far the young adept has imbibed the principles of the Order. But other helps are preparing for him, that he may be able to demonſtrate by his anſwers both the progreſs he has made and that which he may be expected to make.

Thus admitted to the degree of *Minerval*, he will find himſelf in future a Member of the Academy of the ſect. Let us then obſerve well both the Scholars and their Maſters; for they ſtill belong to the claſs of preparation.

* True Illuminee 1ſt initiation, Page 51 and following. Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. 15.

CHAP. V.

Third Part of the Code of the Illuminees---Second preparatory Degree---The Academy of Illuminiſm, or the Brethren of Minerva.

WEISHAUPT, ruminating on what turn he ſhould give to his Code of Illuminiſm, that its progreſs might be more ſubtile and infallible, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms, on the preparatory degrees which were to ſucceed to the novitiate of his pupils. Object of this degree.

" I am thinking of eſtabliſhing, in the next degree, a " ſort of an academy of Literati. My deſign would " include the ſtudy of the Ancients, and an applica- " tion to the art of obſerving and drawing characters " (even thoſe of the living;) and treatiſes and queſ- " tions, propoſed for public compoſitions, ſhould form " the occupations of our pupils.---*I ſhould wiſh, more " eſpecially, to make them ſpies over each other in par- " ticular, and over all in general.* It is from this claſs " that I would ſelect thoſe who have ſhown the great- " eſt aptneſs for the myſteries. My determination, in " ſhort, is, that in this degree they ſhall labour at the " diſcovery and extirpation of prejudices. Every pu- " pil (for example) ſhall declare, at leaſt once a month, " all thoſe which he may have diſcovered in himſelf; " which may have been his principal one, and how far " he has been able to get the better of it."

Ever influenced by a bitter hatred againſt the Jeſuits, he does not bluſh to ſay---" I mean that this de- " claration ſhall be among us, what confeſſion was " among them." He was, however, unfortunate in his application; for in the Order of the Jeſuits, no ſuperior could ever hear the confeſſions of the inferiors; and thus their very inſtitutes rendered the horrid abuſe impoſſible, under which Weiſhaupt affected to cloak the abominable breach of confidence with reſpect to his pupils, when he ſays, " by theſe means I ſhall diſ- " cern thoſe who ſhow diſpoſitions *for certain ſpecial* " *Doctrines relative to Government or to Religion.*"*

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I.—Let. 4. to Cato.

The ſtatutes of their Minerval degree are drawn up with a little more circumſpection, and ſimply declare, "that the Order in that degree wiſhes to be conſidered "only as a learned ſociety or academy, conſecrating "its toils to form the hearts and minds of its young "pupils both by example and precept."† Theſe are called the Brethren of *Minerva*, and are under the direction of the *Major or Minor Illuminees*. The academy properly ſo called is compoſed of ten, twelve, and ſometimes fifteen Minervals, under the direction and tuition of a *major Illuminee*.

Of the Minerval Academy. Its ſittings.

In the kalendar of the ſect, the days on which the academy meets are called *holy*, and its ſittings are generally held twice a month; always at the new moon. The place where they meet is called, in their language, *a Church*. It muſt always be preceded by an anti-chamber, with a ſtrong door armed with bolts, which is to be ſhut during the time of the meeting; and the whole apartment is to be ſo diſpoſed, that it ſhall be impoſſible for intruders either to ſee or hear any thing that is going forward.*

At the commencement of each ſitting, the Preſident is always to read, and, after his faſhion, comment on ſome choſen paſſages of the BIBLE, or *Seneca*, or *Epictetus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, or *Confucius*.‡ The care he takes to give to all theſe works the ſame weight and authority, will be ſufficient to make the pupils view the *Bible* in a ſimilar light with the works of the Pagan Philoſophers.

This lecture over, each pupil is queſtioned "as to "the books which he has read ſince the laſt meet-"ing; on the obſervations or diſcoveries he may have "made; and on his labours or ſervices toward the pro-"greſs of the Order."

Its Library,

Nor are the ſtudies and the books of which the Brethren are to give an account, left to their own choice. To each of theſe academies there is appropriated a particular library, whenever circumſtances will permit, calculated to inſure the ſpirit of the Order; and this collection the ſect takes care to furniſh. By three different means it is accompliſhed. Firſt, by the

how procured.

† Statutes of the Minerval, No. 16.

* See the Minerval Ritual. ‡ Ibid.

money which the Brethren contribute; secondly, by the list of his own private library, which is exacted from each candidate, who is obliged to furnish therefrom such books as may be required of him; the third means is derived from Weishaupt's grand principle, that EVERY THING WHICH IS USEFUL IS AN ACT OF VIRTUE. Now as it would be very useful for the Order to get possession of those rare books and precious manuscripts which Princes, Nobles, and Religious Orders keep shut up among their archives or in the libraries; all Illuminees acting as librarians or archive-keepers are admonished, exhorted, and seriously pressed not to make any scruple of secretly stealing such books or manuscripts, and putting them into the possession of the sect. This is one of the most explicit lessons that Weishaupt gives to his adepts; at one time telling them not *to make a case of conscience* of giving to the Brethren what they may have belonging *to the library of the Court;* at another, sending a list of what should be stolen from that of the Carmes, he says, "*all these would be of much greater use if they were in our hands.---What do those rascals do with all those books?*"*

Yet, notwithstanding the caution with which the founder as yet withholds certain books from the hands of the *Minerval*, it is clear from the very assortment of the libraries of the Order, that he does not hesitate at giving the pupils a certain number directly tending to the grand object, and particularly of those which may create a contempt for religion. He wishes much to see *an impartial history of the church;* and he even proposes hereafter to publish one himself, or at least to contribute many articles toward such a work. He calls the attention of the young adepts to *Sarpi*, to *Le Bret's arsenal of calumnies*, and in short to all that has been written against Religious Orders.† He had even put on the list those impious works which appeared under the name of *Freret*. He seemed to have forgotten for a moment his ordinary prudence; but, warned of it by *Knigge*, he corrected his error.‡ Many other books, however, were to be comprehended in

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 45. † Ibid.
‡ Letter of Philo to Cato.

the Minerval library, which were to disguise the object of it; and it was one duty of the Presiding Illuminee to select such as would gradually direct his pupils to the grand object of the sect; always remembering, that the most impious and seditious *were reserved for the higher degrees*. Should the President chance to find *the System of Nature, Natural Polity, Helvetius on Man*, or other such books, in the hands of his pupil, *he was to avoid showing his pleasure or displeasure*, and leave them.* In short, it is in the Minerval schools that the teachers are in a particular manner to practise that great art of making the adepts rather as it were *invent* than learn the principles of the Order; because they will then, looking upon them as the offspring of their own genius, more strongly adhere to them.

Its occupations.

There is yet another scheme in these schools for attaching the young adepts to the Order.---Every brother is, at his first reception, to declare to what art or science he means principally to apply, unless his station, genius, or particular circumstances, debar him from the literary career; in which latter case, *pecuniary contributions* are to be an equivalent for those services which his talents cannot contribute.† If the Brethren adopt literary pursuits, then the Order enters into engagements to furnish them with all possible assistance to forward their undertakings in the art or science on which they shall have determined; unless they should have chosen *Theology* or *Jurisprudence*, two sciences which the Order absolutely excepts from any such agreement.‡

These succours for the Minerval have a twofold tendency. On the one side, they serve to prove that the adept does not *neglect* the science he has determined on, as he is to give an annual account of the discoveries he has made, and of the authors from which he has made selections. On the other hand, the brethren following the same branches of study are desired to help him with all the means in their power. Should he meet with difficulties which he cannot solve, he may apply to his superior, who will either solve them himself, or send them to other members of the Order, who, better

* Letter 3, to Cato.
† Orig. Writ. Vol. I.—Summary of the Institute, No. 9.
‡ Statutes of the Minerval, No. 7.

verſed in thoſe ſciences, and bound to enlighten their brethren, will ſend the required ſolutions.§

That this degree of *Minerval* may have all the appearances of a literary ſociety, the ſuperiors annually propoſe ſome queſtion for a public compoſition. The anſwers or diſſertations are judged as in academies, and the diſcourſe which obtains the prize is printed at the expenſe of the Order. The ſame advantages are held out to all adepts who wiſh to publiſh their works, provided they are not foreign to the views of the Founder.*---They are ſure to coincide with his intentions ſhould they be of the nature of thoſe which he calls *paſquils*, or ſuch as would create mirth among the people at the expenſe of the prieſthood, and of *religious truths; ſuch as parodies on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or burleſque imitations of the Prophets;* in a word, all ſuch *ſatires* as diſpoſe the people to the grand object of the Sect. The Minerval can give no better proofs than theſe of his progreſs. The ſect has book-ſellers who put theſe works into circulation, and the profits are tranſmitted to the coffers of the Order. Its prize. Its profits.

It is, however, to be obſerved, that ſhould a Minerval, or any other of the Brethren, make a diſcovery in any art or lucrative ſcience, he is obliged, under pain of being looked upon as a falſe Brother, to impart the ſecret to the Order, who will look upon itſelf as proprietor of ſuch ſecrets ſhould they have been diſcovered by a Brother after his admiſſion among them.†

Left he ſhould be unobſerved *when travelling*, the Minerval is never to undertake any journey without previouſly informing his ſuperiors, who will ſend him letters of recommendation for different Brethren on the road. He, in return, muſt carefully report every thing that he ſhall diſcover during his travels, which may be to the advantage or diſadvantage of the Order.‡

But we muſt not forget to mention, that during the academic ſittings, the preſiding Illuminee is at leaſt once a month to take a review of the principal faults which he may have obſerved in any of his pupils. He Its reprimands.

§ Ibid. No. 2.
* Statutes of the Minerval, Nos. 6 and 10.
† Summary of the Inſtitutes, No. 11.—The true Illuminee.
‡ Statutes of the Minerval, No. 11.

is to interrogate them concerning thoſe which they may have obſerved themſelves; "and it would be an unpardonable neglect," ſays the ſtatutes, "ſhould any pupil pretend that during the ſpace of a whole month he had remarked nothing reprehenſible. This would be a proof of the *utmoſt negligence in the training of his mind to obſervation; and the Superior muſt not ſuffer it to paſs without reprehenſion.* He muſt alſo make his obſervations in ſuch a manner as to excite their ſerious attention, and effectually to impreſs them with proper notions, ſo that each on returning home ſhall be ready to put in practice his advice for the advantage of the Order.* Beſide, the Superior is as much as poſſible to avoid letting a day paſs without ſeeing his pupils, either he viſiting them, or they him.†

The judgment of the Minerval.

But what can be the object of ſuch vigilance, ſuch unremitting attention to the Minerval Academy? A ſingle word from the adept who, under the inſpection of Weiſhaupt, organized its laws, will explain the enigma. It is, to adopt *Knigge's* expreſſions, by the works required of the young Academicians that the Order will be able to judge whether they are of *that ſort of ſtuff* (that is to ſay of that turn of mind, ſuſceptible of all the principles of Impiety and Anarchy) which is neceſſary for the higher degrees. After all theſe labours, ſhould the *Minerval adept* ſtill retain any of what they call *religioniſt inclinations*, he will then receive the three firſt Maſonic degrees, and in them he may moulder during the reſt of his life *in the inſignificant ſtudy of all their hieroglyphics.* He will indeed ſtill continue under the inſpection of the Superiors of the Order; but he may reſt aſſured, that he will always remain a Minerval, with a brevet of imbecility, on the regiſters of the ſect.‡ On the contrary, ſhould he have ſhown a ſufficient want of attachment to religion or to his Prince; ſhould he enthuſiaſtically imbibe the principles of Illuminiſm,—he will certainly be promoted to higher degrees. During his Academical courſe the ſect has had unerring means of judging him, viz. by the queſtions he has ſolved (and which were put by the Order, not ſo much with a view of exerciſing his ta-

* Inſtructions for the Minerval, No. 4.
† Ibid. No. 3.
‡ Laſt word from Philo, Page 90.

lents as of prying into his opinions), and by the ſtatements delivered in by the *Scrutators*, of the impreſſion made by the different principles which they had diſſeminated either in the ſhape of converſation, or by way of refutation, to try the young Minerval.

The queſtions which he has had to inveſtigate during his courſe ſometimes regarded the ſecret of the Sect; at others, the ſecurity of the adepts, and of the ſuperiors. To envelop the chiefs in impenetrable darkneſs, and that their aſylum may be proof againſt all attempts, death itſelf is to be diveſted of its horrors. The Minerval muſt not finiſh his Academical courſe till he has ſhown how far ſuch fears have loſt their influence over him; he ſhall declare whether he is ready to ſubmit to every torture, rather than give the leaſt information concerning the Order; or even evade the temptation by poiſon or ſuicide. A diſſertation upon Cato, for example, will be given him as a taſk; and his management of it will ſhow whether he is ready to fall by his own hand for the preſervation of the Brethren. The *patet exitus*, or the *exit is free*, that is to ſay, that every man is free to leave this life at pleaſure, is one of thoſe grand principles which muſt be advanced; it muſt be commented on and diſcuſſed by the young adept; and ſhould any of thoſe puerile ideas appear, which lead to believe in a God the avenger of ſuicide, he is not the man to be entruſted with the ſecret, and he ſhall be rejected.*

Many other queſtions are propoſed in order to convince the ſect of the principles of the young Academician. It muſt ſound his opinions on the means it employs, and on thoſe in which he may hereafter be inſtrumental. He will be ordered to diſcuſs Weiſhaupt's famous doctrine, that *the end ſanctifies the means;* that is to ſay, that there are no means, not even theft, poiſon, homicide, or calumny, but are juſt and laudable when uſed for the attainment of objects which the Order may chooſe to ſtyle juſt or holy.†

After all this, the Minerval ſhall furniſh ſome diſſertation from which his opinions on Kings and Prieſts may be aſcertained;‡ but the preſiding adept muſt carefully avoid compromiſing himſelf; he muſt not

* See hereafter the Chapter on Juridical Depoſitions.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

openly applaud the epigrams, ſarcaſms, or even blaſphemies of his pupil; that muſt be left to the brethren viſitors, who will inſinuate and encourage them without ever hinting that they are in perfect uniſon with the myſteries of the Order. He muſt not fail, however, to obſerve which of his pupils are the moſt zealous for ſuch doctrines, and who complacently repeat theſe ſarcaſms or blaſphemies; thoſe, in ſhort, who enthuſiaſtically blend them in their Academical compoſitions. This accompliſhed, they have run their Academic career, and are next promoted to the degree of *Minor Illuminee*.

CHAP. VI.

Fourth Part of the Code of Illuminees.---Third preparatory Degree---The Minor Illuminee.

THE object of the degree of *Minor Illuminee* is, not only to diſpoſe the Brethren more and more for the ſecrets which have not yet been revealed to them; but it has alſo in view their preparation for preſiding over the Minerval Academies in which they have already ſhown their talents, and their zeal for the Sect. The means which are to produce this double effect are worthy of remark, on account of one of thoſe artifices which Weiſhaupt alone could have invented. Double object of this Degree.

The Minor Illuminees hold ſittings ſimilar to thoſe of the Minerval Academy. The Preſident muſt neceſſarily be one of thoſe adepts who, initiated in the higher myſteries of Illuminiſm, have attained the degree of *Prieſt*. He, alone having any knowledge of theſe higher myſteries, is particularly enjoined to keep his pupils in the perſuaſion that beyond the degree in which he is there is no farther ſecret to impart to them. But he is to ſpare no pains to infuſe thoſe opinions into their minds, of which the laſt myſteries are but the development. The Minor Illuminees are imperceptibly to become as it were the inventors and authors of Weiſhaupt's principles; that, believing them to be the offſpring of their own genius, they may more zealouſly defend and propagate them. "It is "neceſſary," ſays the code, "that *the adept ſhould look* "*upon himſelf as the founder of the new Order*," that hence he may conceive a natural ardour for its ſucceſs. To effectuate this object, an exordium is appropriated to the initiation in this degree. It is one of thoſe diſcourſes, which, replete with *voluntary obſcurities*, preſents the moſt monſtrous errors to the mind, but expreſsly mentions none. The veil which is thrown over them is neither coarſe enough to hide, nor fine enough clearly to ſhew them; all that the new adepts can obſerve at a firſt hearing is, that *the object of the Order* is worthy of admiration and zeal; that an ardent en-

thuſiaſm ſhould inflame the mind of the young adept for the attainment of the grand object of all the labours of Illuminiſm; that the enjoyment of this happineſs depended much more on the *actions than on the words* of the adepts. What then is this object, and what are the obſtacles that are to be overcome? Of what ſpecies are thoſe actions, thoſe labours of the adept, which are to forward its views? It is in theſe points that enigma and obſcurity veils the intent, and it is here that genius is to invent. That the errors of the ſect might be conſidered as originating with the adepts, it goes on to ſay, *the ſame diſcourſe ſhall ſerve in future as a text for all thoſe which the Brethren ſhall prepare for the meetings of the Order.* The Preſident will ſelect the obſcure paſſages which may lead to the development of thoſe opinions which he wiſhes to inſtil into his pupils; ſuch will be the *ſubjects choſen for their themes*, and he will carefully exact *practical concluſions.** But to give the reader a better idea of what theſe themes or commentaries are to be, we ſhall quote a part of the original text.

"There certainly exiſt in the world *public crimes* "*which every wiſe and honeſt man would wiſh to ſup-*"*preſs.* When we conſider that every man in this "delightful world might be happy, but that their hap-"pineſs is prevented by the misfortunes of ſome, *and* "*by the crimes and errors of others;* that the wicked "have power over the good; that *oppoſition or partial* "*inſurrection is uſeleſs;* that hardſhips generally fall up-"on men of worth;---then *naturally reſults the wiſh of* "*ſeeing an aſſociation formed of men* of vigorous and "noble minds, capable of reſiſting the wicked, of ſuc-"couring the good, and of procuring for themſelves "reſt, content and ſafety---of *producing all theſe effects,* "*by means drawn from the greateſt degree of force of* "*which human nature is capable.* Such views actuat-"ing a SECRET SOCIETY would not only be innocent, "but moſt worthy of the wiſe and well inclined "man."†

What an ample field already opens itſelf to the commentating genius of the young adept! The Minor Illuminee will begin by inveſtigating thoſe *general*

* The true Illuminee, Inſtructions for the Superiors of this degree.
† Diſcourſe on this Degree.

crimes to which the Sect wishes to put an end. And what are the *crimes*, who are the *wicked persons* that disturb the peace of mankind by means of *power exercised over the good?* What SECRET SOCIETIES are they which are destined to consummate the wishes of the sages, not by *partial insurrections*, but *by the greatest degree of force of which human nature is capable?* In a word, what is that new order of things, which are by such unheard of exertions to be substituted in place of existing institutions?

The greater progress the adept shall make, and the nearer his commentaries shall coincide with the spirit of the Order, so much the more worthy shall he be judged to fulfil the second object of this degree. He is not yet to preside over a Minerval Academy, he is too inexperienced in the arts of a superior; and the Order only entrusts him with two or three of those pupils; but, as a consolation for the smallness of his flock, he reads in his instructions, *that should he have only formed one or two men for the Order during his whole life he will have done a noble act.*

Small as this mission is, still the adept is not left to his own prudence in the execution of it; he receives instructions by which he is to be guided. I forewarned my reader, that in this part of my Memoirs on Jacobinism, my object was, not solely to prove the Conspiracy of the Illuminees, but to render conspicuous the dangers which threatened society, while I was unveiling the means adopted by the Sect. Among these means, the laws laid down by Weishaupt for the Minor Illuminees are to be eminently distinguished; as the authority given, and the manner in which it is to be exercised (at first over two or three adepts only,) naturally prepare them for more extensive commands. These laws and these instructions seem to be traced with the venom of the prudent serpent, unfortunately so much more active and ingenious in the arts of vice and seduction than good men are in the cause of virtue. This part of Weishaupt's Code is called---*Instructions for forming useful labourers in Illuminism*, and from it I shall make a large extract. Let the reader meditate on the tendency and probable consequences of such precepts, such laws, and artifices, all designed

to form adepts for the moſt general, moſt aſtoniſhing, and moſt dreadful Conſpiracy that ever exiſted.

For the ſecond object.

" Aſſiduouſly obſerve (ſay theſe inſtructions) every Brother entruſted to your care; watch him particularly on all occaſions where he may be tempted not to be what he ought to be; that is preciſely the moment when he muſt ſhow himſelf; it is then that the progreſs he has made is to be diſcovered. Obſerve him again at thoſe times when he leaſt ſuſpects it, when neither the deſire of being praiſed, the fear of being blamed, nor the ſhame of, or reflexion on the puniſhment, can actuate his conduct. Be exact on ſuch occaſions in making your notes and obſervations. You will gain much both with reſpect to yourſelf and to your pupil.

" Be careful leſt your own inclinations ſhould bias your judgment. Do not think a man excellent becauſe he has a brilliant quality, nor judge him to be wicked becauſe he has ſome ſtriking defect; for that is the grand failing of thoſe who are captivated at firſt ſight.

" Above all, guard againſt believing your man to be a tranſcendant genius becauſe his diſcourſe is brilliant. We are to judge by facts alone, whether a man is deeply intereſted.

" Have little confidence in rich or powerful men; their converſion is very ſlow.

" Your chief object muſt be to form the heart. He that is not deaf to the cries of the unfortunate; he that is conſtant though in adverſity, and unſhaken in his plans; he that feels his ſoul glow for great enterprizes; and he, particularly, who has formed his mind to obſervation, is the man of whom we are in queſt. Reject thoſe feeble and narrow minds who know not how to quit their uſual ſphere.

" Read with your pupils thoſe books which are eaſy to be underſtood, which abound in the pictureſque, and are calculated to elevate the mind. Speak to them often; but let your diſcourſes proceed from the heart, and not from the head. Your auditors eaſily kindle when they ſee you full of fire. *Make them thirſt after the moment when the grand object is to be accompliſhed.*

" *Above all, ſtimulate them to the love of the object. Let them view it as grand, important, and congenial to their intereſts and favourite paſſions. Paint in ſtrong colours the miſeries of the world; tell them what men*

are, and what they might be; what line of conduct they ſhould adopt; how little they know their own intereſts; how anxiouſly our ſociety labours for them; and deſire them to judge what they may expect from it, by what we have already done in the firſt degrees."

"Shun familiarity on all occaſions where your weak ſide may be ſeen; always ſpeak of Illuminiſm in a dignified ſtyle."

"Inſpire eſteem and reſpect for our Superiors; and dwell ſtrongly on the neceſſity of obedience in a well-organized ſociety."

"Kindle the ardour of your pupil by laying great ſtreſs on the utility of our labours; avoid dry and metaphyſical diſcuſſions. Let what you require of your pupils be within their means. Study the peculiar habits of each; *for men may be turned to any thing by him who knows how to take advantage of their ruling paſſions.*

"To infuſe into them a ſpirit of obſervation, begin by ſlight eſſays in converſation. Aſk ſome eaſy queſtions on the means of diſcovering the character of a man notwithſtanding all his diſſimulation. Affect to think the anſwer a better one than you could have given yourſelf; that gives confidence, and you will find ſome other opportunity of delivering your own ſentiments. Inform them of what obſervations you may have made concerning their voice, gait, or phiſiognomy. Tell them alſo, that they have the beſt diſpoſitions, and that they only want practice. Praiſe ſome in order to ſtimulate others."

"Having thus become acquainted with the immenſe difficulty attending on the art of bringing men to the point whither you wiſhed to lead them, neglect no occaſion of diſſeminating the good principles wherever you can, and of inſpiring your pupils with courage and reſolution; but never forget, *that he who wiſhes to convert too many at once will convert nobody.* In the towns where you reſide, divide the taſk with the other Illuminees of the ſame degree as yourſelf. Chuſe one or two, at moſt three, Minervals among thoſe over whom you have the greateſt influence or authority; but ſpare neither labour nor pains. *You will have accompliſhed a great undertaking if, during your whole*

life, you form but two or three men. Let those whom you have selected be the constant object of all your observations. When one method does not succeed, seek out another; and so on, till you have found a proper one. Study to find out what your pupil is best fitted for; *in what intermediary principles he may be deficient, and therefore inaccessible to the fundamental ones.* The grand art consists in profiting of the right moment; at one time it is warm, at another cool reasoning which will persuade.---Let your pupil always think that it is to himself, and not to you, that he is indebted for the progress he makes. *If he falls in a passion, never contradict; hearken to him though he be in the wrong. Never controvert the consequences, but always the principle. Wait for a favourable moment when you may explain your sentiments without appearing to contradict his. The best method is to agree with another person, whom you will pretend to attack on those subjects, while the candidate whom you really wish to convince is only a stander-by and takes no part in the dispute: then support your arguments with all the vigour of which you are capable.*

"Whatever failings you wish to correct in him, speak of them as if they were not his; tell the story as if somebody else had been guilty of them; then take his advice on the subject; and by these means he becomes his own judge.

"All this, it is true, requires time: hurry nothing; it is solidity and *facility of action* that we want in our adepts. Often to read, meditate, hearken to, see the same thing, and then to act, is what gives that facility which soon becomes natural."

"Do you wish to draw forth his opinion? Propose a dissertation on certain questions relative to your object, as it were merely to exercise his genius. He thus learns how to meditate on the principles while you make a discovery of those which it is your object to eradicate from his mind."

"Instruct, advise; but beware of cold declamations: drop a few words to the purpose when you shall perceive his mind to be in a proper state to receive them."

"Never ask too much at once; let your conduct be provident, paternal, and solicitous.---Never despair; *for one may do what one pleases with men.*

"Make yourself master of the motives of the principles your pupil has acquired from his education. If they be not consonant with our views, weaken them by insensible gradations, and substitute and strengthen others. But great prudence is necessary to operate this."

"Observe what religion, sects, and politics, make men do.---One may enthusiastically wed them to follies; it is therefore in the *manner* of leading them that the whole art of giving the upper hand to virtue and truth consists. *Only employ the same means for a good purpose which impostors employ for evil*, and you will succeed. If the wicked are powerful, it is because the good are too timid and too indolent. *There may be circumstances also, under which it will become necessary to show displeasure, and even anger, in defence of the rights of man.*"

"Tell your pupils, that they are only to attend to the purity of the views which actuate the Order; and that antiquity, power, or riches, should be perfectly indifferent to them."

"Tell them, that should they find elsewhere a society which would lead them with greater speed or with more certainty to the desired end, the Order would eternally regret the not having been acquainted with it before---That in the mean time we obey the laws of our Superiors, labouring in peace, and persecuting no man.---Follow these rules of conduct, and once more remember, that you will have rendered an essential service to the world, though you should form but two men according to our principles.

"*Carefully profit of those moments when your pupil is discontented with the world, and when every thing goes contrary to his wishes; those moments when the most powerful man feels the want of the support of others, to attain a better order of things.* It is then that you must press the swelling heart, stimulate the sensibility, and demonstrate how *necessary secret societies are, for the attainment of a better order of things.*"

"But be not too easy in your belief with respect to the reality or constancy of such feelings. Indignation *may be the effect of fear, or of the fleeting hopes of some passion which one wishes to gratify.* Such feelings are not naturalized; men are not perfect in so short a

time; *prepare for the worſt, and then inſiſt.* A heart which eaſily melts eaſily changes."

"Never promiſe too much, that you may be able to perform more than you promiſe. Rekindle exhauſted courage; repreſs exceſſive ardour; inſpire hope in misfortune, and fear in ſucceſs."

"Such are the rules which will form you for a good preceptor and a leader of men. By an exact attention to them you will add to the number of the elect. If your own happineſs be dear to you, labour (under our direction) at delivering many thouſands of men, who wiſh to be good, from the dire neceſſity of being wicked.---Believe us, for it is the precept of experience, *bereave vice of its power*,---and every thing will go well in this world: for if vice be powerful, it is only becauſe one part of the good is too indolent, while the other is too ardent; or elſe, that men ſuffer themſelves to be divided, or leave the care of Revolutions to futurity; *the fact is, that in the mean time they had rather bend under the yoke*, than efficaciouſly reſiſt vice. If they once became ſenſible that *virtue does not entirely conſiſt in patience, but in action alſo*, they would ſtart from their ſleep---For your part, unite with the Brethren; place your confidence in our Society; nothing is impoſſible to it, if we follow its laws. We labour to ſecure to merit its juſt rewards; to the weak ſupport, to the wicked the fetters they deſerve; and to man his dignity. Such is the new Canaan, the new land of Promiſe, the land of abundance and bleſſing; but which as yet, alas! we diſcover but from a diſtance."*

I was frequently tempted to interrupt the courſe of this extract by my reflections; but what reader is there that will not aſk himſelf, What zeal, what ſtrange ardour is this, that can have led Weiſhaupt to combine and dictate means ſo powerful to captivate the minds of his pupils? Is there a parent, is there a preceptor, whoſe love for his child or his pupil ever ſuggeſted more efficacious rules? Theſe, however, are only a few of the leſſons which the Minor Illuminee is always to have preſent to his mind to direct him in the training of the young adepts. He is not alone entruſted with the taſk. All the Brethren of the ſame degree

* Extract from the Inſtructions C. and D. for the Minor Illuminees.

partake in the care of watching over the lower ones, and each notes on his tablets even the moſt inſignificant circumſtances. Their ſeveral obſervations are compared, and of the whole a general ſtatement is formed according to which each pupil will be judged by his ſuperiors.† Meanwhile it is natural to aſk, what can theſe principles be for which the youth is ſo carefully trained? What can be the *ſublime virtue* that is to be the reſult of ſo much care? We ſhall ſoon diſcover them, the principles of ſhameleſs villany. This *ſublime virtue* is the combination of every art that can plunge mankind into corruption, and immerſe him in all the horrors of univerſal anarchy. Yes, we ſhall ſee the man who ſays to his diſciples, *employ the ſame means for a good purpoſe which impoſtors employ for evil*, proved to be the arch-impoſtor, training his diſciples to every crime, and preparing the moſt terrible diſaſters for ſociety with more ardour and more artifice than ever the upright man has been ſeen to employ zeal and wiſdom in the cauſe of virtue and the ſupport of the laws.

The better to diſpoſe the young adepts, the Minor Illuminee is aſſiſted in his functions and overlooked by the Major Illuminee, that is to ſay, by the adepts of the higheſt degree among thoſe of the preparatory claſs.

† Inſtruction C. Sect. II. A. 2.

CHAP. VII.

Fifth Part of the Illuminees---Fourth preparatory Degree---The Major Illuminee, or the Scotch Novice.

Object of this Degree.

THE degree which follows that of *Minor Illuminee* is ſometimes called *Major Illuminee*; at other times, *Scotch Novice*. Under this two-fold denomination a double object is comprized. As Scotch Novice, the adept is turned in upon Maſonry; and it is only a ſnare for impoſing upon the credulity of thoſe, who have not given the requiſite ſymptoms for being initiated in the higher myſteries of the Sect. It is an introduction to the degree of Scotch Knight, which terminates the career of the dupes. But as a degree of Illuminiſm, it will encompaſs the adept with new bonds, more extraordinary and more firm than the former; it is a more immediate preparation for the grand myſteries; in ſhort, it is from this degree that the maſters for the Minerval Academies are ſelected.

Let us begin by laying open the artifice of that ſtrange bond which the adept will never dare to rend aſunder, though he ſhould wiſh to withdraw from Illuminiſm, or more particularly ſhould he be tempted to reveal what he may have already diſcovered of the artifices, principles, or grand object of the Sect.

Preliminary queſtions.

Before the candidate is admitted to the new degree, he is informed that his reception is reſolved on, provided he gives ſatisfactory anſwers to the following queſtions:

I. Are you acquainted with any ſociety grounded on a better conſtitution, or more holy and ſolid than ours, and which tends with more certainty or expedition to the object of your wiſhes?

II. Was it to ſatisfy your curioſity that you entered our ſociety? or, was it to concur with the choſen among men to univerſal happineſs?

III. Are you ſatisfied with what you have ſeen of our laws? Will you labour according to our plan, or have you any objection to propoſe againſt it?

IV. As there will be no medium for you, declare at

once, whether you wish to leave us, or whether you will remain attached to us for ever?

V. Are you a member of any other society?

VI. Does that society impose any thing detrimental to our interests; for example, the discovery of our secrets; or, does it require you to labour for itself exclusively?

VII. Should such things be ever required of you, tell us upon your honour, whether you would be disposed to acquiesce in them?

Life of the Candidate by himself.

These questions answered, there still remains another proof of confidence which the Order expects from the candidate. This is nothing less than an exact and candid account *of his whole life*, written without any *reservation or dissimulation* whatever. The necessary time is given him; and this is the famous bond, or rather snare, into which when Weishaupt has once brought the candidate he exultingly exclaims, "*Now I hold "him; I defy him to hurt us; if he should wish to be- "tray us, we have also his secrets.*" It would be in vain for the adept to attempt to dissimulate. He will soon find that the most secret circumstances of his life, those which he would most anxiously wish to hide, are all known by the adepts. The arts which he has hitherto practised to pry into the most secret motions of the hearts of his pupils, into their tempers and passions, their connections, their means, their interests, their actions and opinions, their intrigues and faults, have all been more artfully employed by others in watching himself. Those who compose the lodge into which he is going to be received, are the very persons that have been scrutinizing his past life.

All the discoveries made by his Insinuator, all the statements he has been obliged to give of himself as required by the Code, every thing which the *Brother Scrutators*, either known or unknown, have been able to discover concerning him during his degrees of Minerval or of Minor Illuminee, have been accurately transmitted to the Brethren of the new lodge. Long before his admission, they had accomplished themselves in the scrutinizing arts. ——— These wretches then will mimick even the canonization of the saints! The very precautions which Rome takes to discover the

leaſt taint in thoſe whom it propoſes to the veneration of the faithful, this illuminizing ſect will adopt, in order to ſatisfy itſelf that in its adepts no civil nor religious virtue can be traced. Yes, the villains in their dens wiſhed to know each other, and ſmiled to ſee their accomplices as wicked as themſelves.

The Scrutators, or perfect Spies.

I cannot conceive whence Weiſhaupt could have taken this part of his Code; but let the reader form an idea of a ſeries of at leaſt fifteen hundred queſtions on the life, the education, the body, the mind, the heart, the health, the paſſions, the inclinations, the acquaintances, the connections, the opinions, the abode, the habits, and even the favorite colours of the candidate; on his relations, his friends, his enemies, his conduct, his diſcourſe, his gait, his geſture, his language, his prejudices, and his weakneſſes. In a word, queſtions which relate to every thing that can denote the life or character, the political, moral, or religious ſentiments, the interior, or exterior of the man; every thing he has ſaid, done or thought, and even what he would ſay, do, or think, under any given circumſtances. Let the reader form an idea of twenty, thirty, and ſometimes a hundred queſtions on each of theſe heads. Such will be the catechiſm to which the *Major Illuminee* muſt be able to anſwer; ſuch are the rules he is to follow in tracing the lives or characters of the young brethren, or even of thoſe profane of whom the ſect wiſhes to have particular information. Such is the ſcrutinizing Code which has directed the reſearches made as to the life of the candidate antecedent to his admiſſion to the degree of *Major Illuminee*. Theſe ſtatutes are called by the Order the *Noſce te ipſum* (know thyſelf). When one brother pronounces theſe words, the other anſwers *Noſce alios* (know others); and this anſwer denotes much better the object of the Code, which might very properly be ſtyled the *perfect ſpy*. Let it be judged by the following queſtions:

"On the *Phyſiognomy* of the Candidate:—Is he of a florid complexion, or pale? Is he white, black, fair, or brown? Is his eye quick, piercing, dull, languiſhing, amorous, haughty, ardent, or dejected? In ſpeaking, does he look full in the face and boldly, or does he look ſideways? Can he endure being ſtared full in the face? Is his look crafty, or is it open and free; is it

gloomy and penſive, or is it abſent, light, inſignificant, friendly, or ſerious? Is his eye hollow, or level with the head, or does it ſtare? His forehead, is it wrinkled, and how; perpendicularly, or horizontally?" *&c.*

"His *Countenance:*---Is it noble or common, open, eaſy, or conſtrained? How does he carry his head; erect or inclined, before, behind, or on one ſide, firm or ſhaking, ſunk between his ſhoulders, or turning from one ſide to the other?" *&c.*

"His *Gait:*---Is it ſlow, quick or firm? Are his ſteps long, ſhort, dragging, lazy, or ſkipping?" *&c.*

"His *Language:*---Is it regular, diſorderly, or interrupted? In ſpeaking, does he agitate his hands, his head, or his body, with vivacity? Does he cloſe upon the perſon he is ſpeaking to? Does he hold them by the arm, clothes, or button-hole? Is he a great talker, or is he taciturn? If ſo, why? Is it through prudence, ignorance, reſpect, or ſloth?" *&c.*

"His *Education:*---To whom does he owe it? Has he always been under the eyes of his parents? How has he been brought up, and by whom? Has he any eſteem for his maſters? To whom does he think himſelf indebted for his education? Has he travelled, and in what countries?"

Let the reader, by theſe queſtions, judge of thoſe which treat of the mind, the heart, or the paſſions of the candidate. I will juſt note the following:

"When he finds himſelf with different parties, which does he adopt, the ſtrongeſt or the weakeſt, the wittieſt or the moſt ſtupid? Or, does he form a third? Is he conſtant and firm in ſpite of all obſtacles? How is he to be gained, by praiſe, flattery, or low courtſhip; or by women, money, or the entreaties of his friends?" *&c.*---"Whether he loves ſatire, and on what he exerciſes that talent; on religion, ſuperſtition, hypocriſy, intolerance, government, miniſters, monks?" *&c. &c.*

This however is not all that the ſcrutators are to note in their ſtatements. They are to elucidate each anſwer by a fact, and by *ſuch facts chiefly as characterize the man at a moment when he leaſt ſuſpects it.** They are to follow their prey to his bolſter, *where they will*

* See Weiſhaupt's Letters.

learn whether he is a hard ſleeper, whether he dreams, and whether he talks when dreaming; whether he is eaſily or with difficulty awakened; and ſhould he be ſuddenly, forcibly, or unexpectedly awakened from his ſleep, what impreſſion would it make on him?

Should any of theſe queſtions, or any part of the Candidate's life, not have been ſufficiently inveſtigated by the Lodge, divers of the brethren are ordered to direct all their enquiries towards that point. When at length the reſult of all their reſearches is found to coincide with the wiſhes of the Sect, the day for his reception is appointed. Neglecting all the inſignificant particularities of the maſonic rites, we ſhall attend entirely to thoſe circumſtances which peculiarly belong to Illuminiſm.

Reception to the degree of Major Illuminee.

The adept, introduced into a gloomy apartment, reiterates his oath to keep ſecret whatever he may ſee in or learn from the Order. He then depoſits the hiſtory of his life (ſealed up) in the hands of his introducer. It is read to the Lodge, and compared with the hiſtorical table which the brethren had already formed reſpecting the candidate. This done, the Introducer ſays to him, "You have given us a welcome "and valuable proof of your confidence; but indeed "we are not unworthy of it; and we hope that it will "even increaſe in proportion as you become better "acquainted with us. Among men whoſe ſole ob-"ject is to render themſelves and others better, and "to reſcue the whole world from its miſeries, no diſ-"ſimulation ſhould ſubſiſt. Far be any reſerve from "us. We ſtudy the human heart---and do not heſi-"tate or bluſh at revealing to each other our faults "or errors.---Here then is the picture which the Lodge "had drawn of your perſon. You muſt own that "ſome features are not unlike. Read, and then an-"ſwer, whether you ſtill wiſh to belong to a ſociety "which (ſuch as you are repreſented here) opens its "arms to receive you."

Life of the Candidate by the Brethren.

Could indignation operate more powerfully on the mind of the Candidate at the ſight of his having been ſo treacherouſly watched, than the fear of abjuring a ſociety which henceforth poſſeſſes ſuch arms againſt him, he would not heſitate at aſking for his diſmiſſion; but he ſees the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep, and feels

that it might coſt him very dear. Beſides, he is ſo familiarized with the ſcrutinizing ſyſtem, that he can ſcarcely be offended with it, though operating on himſelf. He is left for a certain time to his meditations. The deſire of acquiring a new degree works upon him and at length turns the ſcales; he is introduced to the Lodge of the Brethren; and there the veil which hides the ſecrets of the Sect is partly raiſed; or, rather, he is himſelf ſtill more unveiled, that the Sect may diſcern whether all his views and wiſhes coincide with theirs.

After a ſuitable preamble, the Initiator tells him, "that he has ſtill ſome few queſtions to anſwer, relative to objects on which it is abſolutely neceſſary that "the opinions of candidates ſhould be known."

The reader is deſired to pay particular attention to theſe queſtions; as it will enable him, when he ſhall come to read of the myſteries, more clearly to obſerve the ſucceſſion and gradation with which ſuch principles are infuſed into the mind of the adept, as if he had invented and conceived them all himſelf.

"I. Do you find, that, in the world we live in, virtue is rewarded and vice puniſhed? Do you not on the contrary obſerve, that the wicked man is exteriorly more comfortable, more conſidered, and more powerful, than the honeſt man? In a word, are you content with the world in its preſent ſituation?"

"II. In order to change the preſent order of things, would you not, if you had it in your power, aſſemble the good and cloſely unite them, in order to render them more powerful than the wicked?"

"III. If you had your choice, in what country would you wiſh to have been born rather than in your own?"

"IV. In what age would you wiſh to have lived?"

"V. Always premiſing the liberty of choice, what ſcience and what ſtate of life would you prefer?"

"VI. With reſpect to hiſtory, who is your favourite author or your maſter?"

"VII. Do you not think yourſelf in duty bound to procure all the exterior advantages poſſible for your tried friends, in order to recompenſe them for their probity, and to render life more agreeable to them?

Are you ready to do what the Order exacts of each member in this degree, when it ordains that each one ſhall bind himſelf to give advice every month to the ſuperiors, of the employments, ſupport, benefices, or other ſuch like dignities, of which he can diſpoſe, or procure the poſſeſſion by means of his recommendations; that the ſuperiors may preſent worthy ſubjects of our Order to all ſuch employments?"

The anſwers of the candidate are to be returned in writing, and inſerted in the regiſters of the Lodge. It will naturally be expected, that the greateſt diſſatisfaction with the preſent order of things is to be expreſſed, as well as an ardent wiſh for a revolution which ſhall change the whole face of the Univerſe. He will alſo promiſe to ſupport, by all the means in his power, the election of none but worthy brethren to offices of emolument and truſt, or ſuch as may augment the power or credit of Illuminiſm, whether about the court or among the people. On his declaring ſuch to be his ſentiments, the Initiator addreſſes him in the following diſcourſe:

"Brother, you are a witneſs, that it is after having "tried the beſt of men, that *we ſeek little by little to* "*reward them, and to give them ſupport, that we may* "*inſenſibly ſucceed in new modelling the world.* Since "you are convinced how imperfectly men have fulfil- "led their real deſtiny; *how every thing has degene-* "*rated in their civil inſtitutions;* how little the teach- "ers of wiſdom and of truth have enhanced the value "of virtue, or given a happier diſpoſition to the "world; you muſt be perſuaded, that the error lies in "the means which the ſages have hitherto employ- "ed. Thoſe means, therefore, muſt be changed, in "order to reinſtate in its rights the empire of truth "and wiſdom. And this is the grand object of the "labours of our Order. Oh, my friend! my bro- "ther! my ſon! when here convened, far from the "profane, we conſider to what an extent the world "is abandoned to the yoke of the wicked, how per- "ſecution and misfortune is the lot of the honeſt "man, and how the better part of human nature is "ſacrificed to perſonal intereſt. *Can we at ſuch a* "*ſight be ſilent, or content ourſelves with ſighing? Shall* "*we not attempt to ſhake off the yoke?---Yes, my bro-*

" *ther, rely upon us.* Seek faithful co-operators, but " ſeek them not in tumults and in ſtorms; *they are* " *hidden in darkneſs. Protected by the ſhades of night,* " *ſolitary and ſilent, or reunited in ſmall numbers, they,* " *docile children, purſue the grand work under the di-* " *rection of their ſuperiors.* They call aloud to the " children of the world, who paſs by in the intoxica- " tion of pleaſure———how few hearken to them. " He alone who has the eye of the bird of Minerva, " who has placed his labours under the protection of " the ſtar of night, is ſure of finding them."

But, leſt this diſcourſe ſhould not have given the Candidate a ſufficient inſight as to the object of the new degree, the Secretary opens the Code of the Lodge, entitled *A general view of the ſyſtem of the Order.* Here the young Illuminee learns, that the object of the Order *is to diffuſe the pure truth, and to make virtue triumph.* Nothing, however, is explicitly ſaid on what is to be underſtood by the *pure truth.* He is only told, that in order to diffuſe it, " he muſt begin by liberating men from their prejudices, and by enlightening their underſtandings; then reunite all the common forces for the refinement of all ſciences from the droſs of uſeleſs ſubtilties, and for the eſtabliſhment of principles drawn from Nature.---To attain this," continues the Secretary, " we muſt trace the origin of all ſciences; we muſt reward oppreſſed talents; we muſt raiſe from the duſt the men of genius; *we muſt undertake the education of youth;* and, forming an indiſſoluble league among the moſt powerful geniuſes, we muſt boldly, though with prudence, combat *ſuperſtition, incredulity, and folly;* and at length form our people to true, juſt, and uniform principles on all ſubjects.

" Such is the object of our Minerval Schools, and of the inferior degrees of Maſonry, over which our Order wiſhes to acquire all the influence poſſible, in order to direct it towards our object. We alſo have our ſuperior degrees, where the brethren, after having paſſed through all the preparatory degrees, become acquainted with the ultimate reſult of the labours and of all the proceedings of the Order."

To obtain the completion of that reſult, " it will be neceſſary to diveſt vice of its power, that the honeſt

man may find his recompenſe even in this world; but in this grand project, *we are counteracted by the Princes and the Prieſthood; the political conſtitutions of nations oppoſe our proceedings.* In ſuch a ſtate of things then what remains to be done? To inſtigate revolutions, overthrow every thing, oppoſe force to force, and exchange tyranny for tyranny? Far be from us ſuch means. Every violent reform is to be blamed, becauſe it will not ameliorate things *as long as men remain as they are, a prey to their paſſions; and becauſe wiſdom needeth not the arm of violence.*"

"The whole plan of the Order tends to form men, not by declamation, but by the protection and rewards which are due to virtue. *We muſt inſenſibly bind the hands of the protectors of diſorder, and govern them without appearing to domineer.*"

"In a word, we muſt eſtabliſh an univerſal empire over the whole world, without deſtroying the *civil ties. Under this new empire, all other governments muſt be able to purſue their uſual proceſs, and to exerciſe every power, excepting that of hindering the Order from attaining its ends, and rendering virtue triumphant over vice.*"

"This victory of virtue over vice was formerly the object of Chriſt, when he eſtabliſhed his pure religion. He taught men, that the path to wiſdom conſiſted in letting themſelves be led for their greater good by the beſt and wiſeſt men. At that time preaching might ſuffice; the novelty made truth prevail; but at preſent, more powerful means are neceſſary. Man, a ſlave to his ſenſes, muſt ſee ſenſible attractions in virtue. *The ſource of paſſions is pure; it is neceſſary that every one ſhould be able to gratify his within the bounds of virtue, and that our Order ſhould furniſh him with the means.*"

"It conſequently follows, that all our brethren, educated on the ſame principles, and ſtrictly united to each other, ſhould have but one object in view. *We muſt encompaſs the Powers of the earth with a legion of indefatigable men, all directing their labours, according to the plan of the Order, towards the happineſs of human nature* —— but all that is to be done in ſilence; our brethren are mutually to ſupport each other, to ſuccour the good labouring under oppreſſion, *and to ſeek to acquire thoſe places which give power, for the good of the cauſe.*"

"*Had we a certain number of such men in every country,* each might form two others. Let them only be united, and nothing will be impossible to our Order; *it is thus that in silence it has already performed much for the good of humanity.*"

"You behold, Brother, an immense field opening to your activity; become our faithful and worthy co-operator, by seconding us with all your might; and remember, that no service will pass without its just reward."

After this lesson, two chapters directly treating on the functions of the *major Illuminee* are read to him. With the first he is already acquainted: it is the Code of the *Insinuator* or *Brother Recruiter*. He is also now entrusted with it, as it is part of his duty in future to judge of the pupils of all the Insinuators. The second treats of the duties of the *Scrutator;* this is also delivered into his care, because he must particularly exercise that art while presiding over the Minerval academies: and he must necessarily learn how his new brethren found means of tracing so exact an historical portrait of himself, and of penetrating even more successfully than he could into the interior recesses of his heart: he must also learn to distinguish such pupils as, with dispositions similar to his own, are worthy of being admitted to his new degree. He now has but one more degree to go through, before he is admitted into the class of the mysteries, and this is termed by the Sect *the Scotch Knight.**

* The whole of this chapter is nothing more than an extract from the *degree of Major Illuminee,* and from the instructions contained in the ritual of that code in the *True Illuminee.*

CHAP. VIII.

Sixth Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---Intermediary Claſs---The Scotch Knight of Illuminiſm; or Directing Illuminee.

Nature and object of this Degree.

UNDER the appellation of *Intermediary Claſs* of Illuminiſm might be comprehended all the Degrees which Weiſhaupt had borrowed from Freemaſonry. In that caſe we ſhould comprize under this denomination the three degrees of *Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Maſter.* But it has been already ſaid, that theſe degrees are ſimply a paſſport for the Sect into the Maſonic Lodges; and that its object may be leſs conſpicuous, it leaves them in their original Maſonic ſtate. This, however, is not the caſe with the higher degrees of Scotch Maſonry. The Sect ſhrewdly ſurmiſed that the views of theſe degrees coincided with their own: beſides, it wanted ſome of theſe ſuperior degrees, either for the direction of thoſe Maſonic Lodges which it compoſed of its own members, or who were to gain admittance, dominate, and preſide over other Lodges which were not devoted to Illuminiſm.----The great veneration in which the *Scotch Knights* are generally held by Maſons, more ſtrongly determined the Baron Knigge to make himſelf maſter of this degree, and engraft it on Illuminiſm. The Sect has conſtituted this into both an *intermediary* and a *ſtationary* degree. It is *ſtationary* for thoſe into whom it deſpairs of ever infuſing the principles required for a further admiſſion to the myſteries; but it is only *intermediary* for thoſe who have ſhown diſpoſitions more accordant with the purſuits of the Sect.*

Its preliminaries.

Whatever may be his deſtiny, no Brother is ever admitted into this new degree, until he has previouſly given proofs of the progreſs he has made in the arts of *Scrutator,* whoſe code muſt have been his chief ſtudy ſince his admiſſion to the degree of Major Illuminee. The ſecret Chapter of the Knights has had the precaution to propoſe certain queſtions to him to aſcertain

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Part I. Sect. 11.

how far he is capable of judging *of the ſtate of the mind by exterior appearances*. He will have had to anſwer, for example, to the following ones :—" What is " the character of a man whoſe eyes are perpetually " in motion, and whoſe countenance is changeable? " What features denote voluptuouſneſs, melancholy, " and puſillanimity?"*

As a further proof of the progreſs he has made, he is to tranſmit to his ſuperiors another diſſertation on the life of the hero whoſe name he bears for his characteriſtic. The hiſtory of his own life, which he had delivered in the antecedent degree, had laid open the whole of his exiſtence, and all his actions through life. This new diſſertation will ſhow the Order what he admires or diſapproves of in others, and will particularly demonſtrate whether he has diſcovered thoſe qualities in his patron which the Order wiſhed he ſhould imbibe and imitate when it gave him his characteriſtic.‡ Should any part of his life have eſcaped the vigilance of the Scrutators, he is ſtill at liberty to give a new proof of his confidence in the Order; and this is deſcribed as a meritorious act; but he may reſerve it for the cognizance of the Superior of the Order only.† He is then to declare under his hand-writing, that he looks upon the Superiors of Illuminiſm as the *ſecret* and *unknown* though *legitimate* ſuperiors of *Freemaſonry;* that he adheres and always will adhere to the illuminized ſyſtem of Maſonry, as the beſt and moſt uſeful exiſting; that he utterly renounces every other aſſociation; that he is in ſhort, ſo perſuaded of the excellence of Illuminiſm, that he fully adopts its principles, and firmly believes himſelf bound to labour, under the direction of his ſuperiors, *at the object and according to the intentions of the Order* for the happineſs of mankind.‖

Its ceremonies of reception.

After having received theſe numerous pledges, the Scotch Knights invite the new Brother to a *ſecret Chapter*, for ſuch is the name given to the Lodges of this degree. It is hung with green, richly decorated and brilliantly lighted. The Prefect of the

* See this degree, Sect. 4, No. 2 and 3.
‡ See ſecond Inſtruction for this degree, No. 8.
† Ibid. No. 8.
‖ Ibid. Reverſal Letters.

Knights, booted and ſpurred, is ſeated on a throne erected under a canopy all of the ſame colour. On his apron a green croſs is ſeen, and on his breaſt the ſtar of the Order; he wears the riband of St. Andrew in ſalter from right to left, and holds a mallet in his hand. On his right ſtands the brother ſword-bearer, holding the ſword of the Order; on his left the maſter of the ceremonies with a ſtick in one hand, and the ritual in the other. The Knights aſſembled are all booted and ſpurred, each girt with a ſword, and all wear the croſs ſuſpended at their necks by a green riband. The Officers of the Order are to be diſtinguiſhed by a plumage, and a prieſt of the Order completes the Lodge. The Prefect then delivers himſelf as follows to the Candidate:

"You here behold a part of thoſe unknown legions "which are united by indiſſoluble bonds to combat for "the cauſe of humanity. Are you willing to make "yourſelf worthy of watching with them for the ſanc- "tuary? Your heart muſt be pure, and a heavenly ar- "dour for the dignity of nature muſt fire your breaſt. "The ſtep you are taking is the moſt important one "of your life. Our games are not vainly ceremonial. "In creating you a knight we expect of you that you "will perform exploits grand, noble, and worthy of "the title you receive. Long life to you, if you come "to us to be faithful; if honeſt and good, you anſwer "our expectations. Should you prove a falſe Brother, "be both curſed and unhappy, and may the grand "Architect of the Univerſe hurl you into the bottom- "leſs pit! Now bend thy knee, and on this ſword "take the oath of the Order."

At theſe words the Prefect ſeats himſelf, the Knights are ſtanding with their ſwords drawn, and the Candidate pronounces the following oath:—

"I promiſe obedience to the excellent Superiors "of the Order. In as much as it ſhall depend "upon me, I engage—never to favour the admiſſion "of any unworthy member into theſe holy degrees, "—to labour at rendering the Ancient Maſonry tri- "umphant over the falſe ſyſtems which have crept "into it—to ſuccour, like a true Knight, innocence, "poverty, or oppreſſed honeſty—*Never to be the flat-* "*terer of the great, nor the ſlave of Princes*;—to com-

"bat courageouſly, though prudently, in the cauſe of "*Virtue, Liberty, and Wiſdom*---to reſiſt boldly, both "for the advantage of the Order and of the world, "*Superſtition and Deſpotiſm.* I never will prefer my "own private intereſt to that of the Order. I will "defend my Brethren againſt calumny. *I will dedicate "my life to the diſcovery of the true Religion and real "doctrines of Freemaſonry, and I will impart my diſco-"veries to my Superiors.* I will diſcloſe the ſecrets of "my heart to my Superiors as to my beſt friends. So "long as I ſhall remain in the Order I ſhall look upon "the being a Member of it as a ſupreme felicity. I "alſo engage to look upon all my domeſtic, civil, and "ſocial duties as moſt ſacred. So help me God, both "for the happineſs of my life, and for the peace of "my mind."

In return for this oath the Prefect declares to the Candidate that he is going to create him a Knight of St. Andrew, according to the ancient uſage of the Scotch---"*Riſe*," he ſays, "and in future beware of "ever bending thy knee before him who is only man "like thyſelf."*

To theſe ceremonies the adept Knigge added a certain number of others which were mere deriſions of the rites of the Church. Such, for example, was the triple benediction which the Prieſt pronounced over the new Knight, ſuch the atrocious mockery of the laſt ſupper, which terminated the ceremony. But, impious as is the imitation, Weiſhaupt declares it to be *diſguſting* becauſe it is ſtill *religious, theoſophical,* and *borrowed from ſuperſtition.*‡ But what perfectly coincided with the views of the Bavarian founder were, the inſtructions given to the new Knight. He is enraptured with that diſcourſe, where one may obſerve the Illuminizing Orator ſelecting the moſt impious, artful, and diſorganizing ſyſtems of Maſonry, to make them at once the myſteries of their Maſonic Lodges, and an immediate preparation for thoſe of Illuminiſm.

Let the reader recal to mind what was ſaid in the Second Volume of theſe Memoirs † concerning the Apocalypſe of the Martiniſts, entitled *Of Errors and of Truth.* He will there have read of a time when

* Ibid. Sect. 7.

‡ See the laſt word of Philo, Page 100. † Chap. XI.

man, disengaged from the senses and free from matter, was still more free from the yoke of the laws and from political bondage, to which he was only subjected by his fall. He will there have seen, that the daily efforts of man should tend to the overthrow of Governments, that he may recover his former purity and ancient liberty, and thus retrieve his fall. I might there have demonstrated that absurd *Idealism* reducing our senses to vain fictions, that the prostitution of them might be but a chimerical crime;* there, in short, I

* When treating in the Second Volume of the religious and political tenets of the Martinists, I did not extend my researches to their doctrine of *Idealism*, and I frankly confess that I did not sufficiently understand that part of their Apocalypse. Since the publication of that Volume, however, I have met with a Gentleman perfectly capable of comprehending any intelligible system whatever; I mean the Abbé Bertins, residing at present at Oxford. He reproached me in terms similar to those in which some other people had reproached me respecting the Rosicrucians. *What you have written*, said he, *is ALL true, but you have not told the WHOLE truth.* I had indeed said a great deal of those gentry, and I never will advance any point which I cannot prove. The Abbé Bertins condescended to give me some little insight into the doctrines of this famous St. Martin. It fully confirmed every thing which I had advanced on the tenets of the Martinists, with respect to the nature of the soul, and to the pretended origin of that soul forming *a part of God, of the essence of God, and of the same substance*—But what I had not said was, that according to the same system matter has no real existence, or at least has such a separate existence, and is so entirely null with respect to the soul, that there neither is nor can be any relation whatever between it and the soul; in fine, that *it is*, with respect to us, as if *it were not*. I had surmised these consequences in a conversation which I had had with an estimable young man, the Vicomte de Maimbourg, whom the Martinists had endeavoured to taint with their erroneous doctrines. When they came to treat of the pleasure of the senses, *throw that to the fire*, they say in their treatise of morality; *to the fire: give to the fire all it asks; that is not the spirit*, all that *does not affect the soul; and this fire is matter; it is the senses, the body*. Is it not in the same sense that the Martinist tells us, "It is in vain that the enemy pursues me with his illusions. "Matter shall not have remembrance of me here below. "Does man taste the pleasures of matter? When the senses

might have ſhown according to the Martiniſt, that in all ages, this ſyſtem of corruption and diſorder has been the doctrine and ſecret of true Philoſophy. This intermediary degree was deſtined by Weiſhaupt to ſerve as a point of union between the Maſonic Lodges and Illuminiſm. It was but natural that he ſhould have ſelected the moſt monſtrous and moſt artful ſyſtem of the Craft. Let not the reader therefore be aſtoniſhed when he ſees the Antitheoſophiſt, the Atheiſt, the Materialiſt Weiſhaupt borrowing in this degree the doctrines of the Martiniſts on the two-fold principle or double ſpirit. But let it be alſo remembered, that whenever, in conſequence of this artifice, he is obliged to uſe the words *ſpirit* or *ſoul*, he informs the candidate, that ſuch words are employed in the Code, only to conform to the *vulgar expreſſion*. This precaution taken, the Initiator may without apprehenſion repeat the ſophiſticated leſſons on the twofold principle. And indeed one might be tempted to think, that the doctrines he lays down as the grand object of Free-

" feel pain or pleaſure, is it not eaſy to perceive that it is " not man that feels this pain or pleaſure?" (No. 235, *of the Man of Deſire, by the Author of a work On Errors and on Truth.)* How frightful is this enigmatical language! If all the paſſions and ſenſes are foreign to man, if he may gratify them without affecting his ſoul either for the better or for the worſe, what monſtrous conſequences muſt enſue to morals! And indeed a Daniſh Martiniſt was conſulted by the Viſcount, who, more candid than the recruiting Brethren, anſwered, " Beware, dear Sir, of ever entering into our myſteries ;— " I am unfortunately engaged, and ſhould in vain attempt " to withdraw myſelf from them. I could not ſucceed ; " but, for your part, take care never to deliver yourſelf " over to thoſe men." The Viſcount followed his advice. As to the Abbé Bertins, he was too much for Mr. de St. Martin, who had to argue with a man that perpetually objected—if my ſoul is part of God, and of the ſubſtance of God, my ſoul muſt be God. After three months leſſons, which the reader will readily ſuppoſe the Abbé Bertins only ſubmitted to through curioſity, the *learned* teacher violently exclaimed, " *I ſee I never ſhall be able to convince a Divine :*" and thus Mr. de St. Martin took leave of a ſcholar far more fitted to teach him real knowledge than to receive his ſophiſticated leſſons.

Maſonry had all been copied from the Martiniſt ſyſtem. He begins by deploring a great Revolution which had in former ages deprived man of his primitive dignity. He then repreſents man as having had the faculty of recovering his ancient ſplendour; but that by the abuſe of his faculties he had again immerſed himſelf ſtill deeper in his defiled and degraded ſtation. The very ſenſes are blunted, and ſaid to lead him into error on the nature of things. Every thing that he beholds in its actual ſtate is *falſehood*, *ſhow*, and *illuſion*; and he lays particular ſtreſs on thoſe ſchools of ſages which had, ever ſince the time of the grand Revolution, preſerved the ſecret principles of the antique doctrines, or of true Maſonry. Nor does the monſtrous hierophant bluſh at placing JESUS OF NAZARETH among thoſe ſages, and blaſphemouſly numbering the God of the Chriſtians among the Grand Maſters of Illuminiſm. But ſoon was the doctrine of Chriſt falſified, and Prieſts and Philoſophers raiſed on theſe divine foundations an edifice of *folly*, *prejudice*, *and ſelf-intereſt*. *Soon alſo does the tyranny of Prieſthood and the Deſpotiſm of Princes coaleſce in the oppreſſion of ſuffering humanity*. Free Maſonry oppoſes theſe diſaſtrous attempts, and endeavours to preſerve the true doctrine; but it has over-burdened it with ſymbols, and its lodges gradually ſubſide into ſeminaries of ignorance and error.—The Illuminees alone are in poſſeſſion of the real ſecrets of Maſonry; many of them are even ſtill to be the objects of their reſearches; and the new Knight is to devote all his attention to their diſcovery. He is particularly recommended *to ſtudy the doctrines of the ancient Gnoſtics and Manichæans, which may lead him to many important diſcoveries on this real Maſonry*. He is alſo told, that the great enemies which he will have to encounter during this inveſtigation will be, ambition, and other vices which make humanity *groan under the oppreſſion of Princes and of the Prieſthood*.*

The obſcurity which enwraps theſe leſſons on the new and grand Revolution which is to counteract the ravages of the former, is not the ſlighteſt of Weiſhaupt's artifices. With reſpect to Princes, this is the laſt degree to which they are admitted. They are to be

* See this degree, Art. 8. Inſtruction on the Maſonic Hieroglyphics.

perſuaded, that the antique Revolution was no other than the coalition of the powers of the earth with the Prieſthood, in order to ſupport the empire of religious prejudice and ſuperſtition; and that the new Revolution to be effected is the re-union of Princes with Philoſophy, to overthrow that empire and enſure the triumph of reaſon. Should the ſerene adept be ſtartled at his having ſworn *never to flatter the great nor to be a ſlave to Princes*, he will be reconciled again by the latter part of the oath, where he *engages to look upon his domeſtic, civil, and ſocial duties as moſt ſacred*. But let him form what opinion he may as to his initiation, he has nevertheleſs ſworn, that he will protect the Brotherhood from ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm; *that he will obey the moſt excellent ſuperiors of the Order;* that he will favour its progreſs with all his power, and that he believes it alone to be in poſſeſſion of the ſecrets of real Maſonry.

In the leſs important claſs of adepts, ſhould any ſtill hanker after their *Theoſophical* ideas, that is to ſay, ſhould Weiſhaupt deſpair of ever infuſing into them its Anarchical and Atheiſtical principles, they are condemned to become *ſtationary* in this degree; and he impoſes on them as a taſk the explication of all the Hieroglyphics of Maſonry, which they may ſet to the tune of the grand Revolution. Under pretence of diſcovering a more perfect religion, he perſuaded them that Chriſtianity was at this day nothing more than ſuperſtition and tyranny. He has infuſed into them his hatred for the Prieſthood and the exiſting forms of Government. That will ſuffice to procure him agents of deſtruction; as to re-edification, he has not ſo much as mentioned it to them.

Its duties and laws.

But ſhould there be found among the number of Knights men who of themſelves dive into the meaning of that great Revolution which only deprived man of his primitive dignity by ſubjecting him to the laws of civil ſociety, ſhould they have comprehended the meaning of this other revolution which is to reſtore every thing by re-eſtabliſhing man in his primitive independence, ſuch men will be pointed out by the Scrutators. It is at them that the Code particularly aims when it ſays, *Let the Scotch Knights ſeriouſly reflect*,

that they are presiding over a grand establishment, whose object is the happiness of mankind. In short, these Knights have to act the parts of superiors in the order; they are the Inspectors or the *Directors* of all the preparatory class. They have on that account assemblies peculiar to themselves, called *Secret Chapters.* The first duty of these chapters is, to watch over the interests of the Order within their district. "The Scotch Knights, says their first instruction, are to pay particular attention to the *discovery of any plans which may contribute to fill the coffers of the Order. It were much to be wished that they could devise means of putting the Order into possession of some considerable revenues in their province.---He that shall have rendered so signal a service must never hesitate at believing that these revenues are employed in the most noble purposes.---The whole must labour with all their might to consolidate the edifice little by little within their district, until the finances of the Order shall be found to be competent to its views.**

The second part of the Code entrusts these Knights with the government of the preparatory class. Each Knight is to correspond with a certain number of brethren who have the direction of the Minerval academies. The Code contains instructions which point out to them upon what objects they are permitted to decide; what brethren they are to forward or thwart in their promotion; and what reports they are to make to their superiors. In their correspondence with their inferiors they make use of the common cypher, but when they write to the chiefs they employ a peculiar character which may truly be called hieroglyphic.

They are particularly charged with the inspection of the Major Illuminees. "The Scotch Knights," says the Code, "shall be particularly attentive that "the Major Illuminees do not neglect to mention in "their monthly letters such employments as they may "have to dispose of."†

I have shown, in the foregoing chapter, how useful and indeed how necessary this precaution proved for recompensing the zeal of the brethren. The adept Knigge wished to demonstrate that it might be equally

* See first Instruction for this degree.

† Second Instruction, No. 12.

useful for princes, when combined with the scrutinizing code. "Let us suppose," says he, "that a Prince, "having an Illuminee for his Minister, wishes to find "a proper person to fill any vacant office; by means "of the *Scrutators*, the Minister may immediately "present the faithful portrait of divers personages, "from among whom the Prince will only have to "make his election."* But every reader, I hope, will recollect, that in consequence of the oath that has been taken by the Minister to dispose of all places in favour of the brethren, and that according to the direction of the Knights, he will only present such adepts for those offices as the Order shall have chosen; and thus will Illuminism soon dispose of all benefices, employments, and dignities, and have the entire direction of the whole power of the State.

Its instructions relative to Free-Masonry.

Meanwhile, until the Sect shall exert this influence over Courts, the Scotch Knights are to acquire an absolute sway in the Masonic lodges. Their laws on this head deserve particular attention. We shall select the following:

"In every town of any note situated within their district, the secret chapters shall establish lodges for the three ordinary degrees, and shall cause men of sound morals, of good repute, and of easy circumstances, to be received in these lodges. Such men are much to be sought after, and are to be made Masons, *even though they should not be of any service to Illuminism in its ulterior projects.*"†

"If there already exists a lodge in any given town, the Knights of Illuminism must find means of establishing a more legitimate one; at least, they should spare no pains to gain the ascendancy in those which they find established, *either to reform or to destroy them.*"‡

"They must strongly exhort the members of our lodges not to frequent (without leave of their superiors) any of those pretended constituted lodges, *who hold nothing of the English but their diplomas, and some few symbols and ceremonies which they do not under-*

* Last Observations of Philo, Page 95.
† Third Instruction for the same degree, No. 1.
‡ Third Instruction for the same degree, No. 3.

ſtand. All ſuch brethren are perfectly ignorant of true Maſonry, of its grand object, and its real patrons. Though ſome of the greateſt merit are to be found in ſuch lodges, we nevertheleſs have ſtrong reaſons for not readily allowing them to viſit ours."*

"Our Scotch Knights muſt pay great attention to the regularity of the ſubordinate lodges, *and muſt above all things attend to the preparation of candidates.* It is here that *in a private intercourſe* they will ſhow a man that they have probed him to the quick. *Surpriſe him by ſome enſnaring queſtion* in order to obſerve whether he has any preſence of mind. If he be not ſtaunch to his principles, and ſhould expoſe his weak ſide, make him feel how great his neceſſities are, and how neceſſary it is for him to be guided entirely by us."†

"The Deputy Maſter of the Lodge (who is generally the auditor of the accounts) muſt alſo be a member of our Secret Chapter. *He will perſuade the lodges that they alone diſpoſe of their funds; but he will take care to employ them according to the views of the Order.* Should it at any time be neceſſary to help one of our brethren, the propoſition is made to the lodge; though the brother ſhould not even be a Maſon, *no matter, ſome expedient muſt be found to carry the point.*"

"No part of the capital, however, muſt in any caſe be alienated, *that hereafter we may find the neceſſary funds for the moſt important undertakings.* The tenth part of the ſubſcriptions of theſe lodges muſt be annually carried to the Secret Chapter. The treaſurer to whom theſe funds muſt be tranſmitted, ſhall collect them, and endeavour *by all kinds of expedients to augment them.*"‡

"But before any part of our own funds are appropriated to the help of any of our brethren, every effort ſhall be made to procure the neceſſary ſuccours from the funds belonging to lodges which do not pertain to our ſyſtem.---*In general, the money which theſe lodges ſpend in a uſeleſs manner, ſhould be converted to the advancement of our grand object.*"§

"Whenever a learned Maſon ſhall enter our Order,

* Ibid. No. 5. † Ibid. No. 9.
‡ Third Inſtruction for the ſame degree, No. 12. § Ibid. 13.

he muſt be put under the immediate direction of our Scotch Knights."*

From what code can Weiſhaupt, or his compiler Knigge, have ſelected ſuch laws as theſe for their Scotch Knights? Many readers will be ready to anſwer, that they muſt have learned them from a Mandrin, a Cartouche, or ſome hero of the gibbet. But it is no ſuch thing:---their own ingenuity was ſufficient to invent ſuch doctrines. Weiſhaupt lays down as a principle, that *the end juſtifies the means:* he made the application of it when he taught his adepts to rob the libraries of Princes and Religious Orders; his compiler Knigge applies the ſame principle to the funds of the honeſt Maſons; and we ſhall ſoon ſee what uſe they made of thoſe funds. It will be in vain for the Illuminee (more zealous for the honour of his founder than for that of the compiler Knigge) to object, that Weiſhaupt never approved of the degree of *Scotch Knight*. It is true he never much admired it. But it is not the ſyſtem of theft (evidently deduced from his own principles) that he reprobates; not a ſingle expreſſion in any of his letters can denote that he did ſo; for Knigge might have anſwered, *what do thoſe fools of Maſons do with that money?* juſt as Weiſhaupt had written *what do thoſe raſcals of Monks do with their rare books?* He blamed it not for its principles, but becauſe he thought it a *miſerable compoſition: der elende Scottiſche ritter grade* are the terms in which he expreſſes his contempt. When he corrected this degree, the thefts were not the parts which he expunged; they were too ſerviceable to the Order. Weiſhaupt, however, conſented to let this degree (ſuch as it was) ſerve as a preparation for the myſteries of his *Epoptes;* that is to ſay, for his *prieſts* of Illuminiſm; and when conſidered in that light it may be truly ſaid, that the *Knights brigands* were but pitiful and miſerable indeed. I will, however, give the reader an opportunity of judging for himſelf.

* Third Inſtruction for the ſame degree, No. 16.

CHAP. IX.

Seventh Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---Claſs of the Myſteries.----Of the leſſer Myſteries; the Epopt or Prieſt of Illuminiſm.

HOWEVER accurately the Sect may have aſcertained the progreſs of its adepts in the preparatory degrees, ſtill Weiſhaupt ſeems to fear that ſome may be ſtartled when they come to be acquainted with the ultimate views of Illuminiſm. He wiſhes therefore to lead them to his darkeſt plots by gradual ſhades. Hence the diviſion of leſſer and greater myſteries, and the ſubdiviſion into degrees. The firſt degree into which the adepts are initiated in this claſs is that of *Epopt;* but theſe new dignitaries are only known by that title to the inferior claſs; the higher degrees call them *Prieſts.**

Let not the reader take alarm at the denomination of *leſſer myſteries,* as if they were of no conſequence; for he will gradually, as he aſcends, diſcover their dark deſigns and dealings. But before the adept is allowed to proceed, he muſt collect every thing that his mind, his memory, or all his former leſſons can afford, of anti-religious and anti-ſocial principles, to enable him to give written anſwers to the following queſtions:

Queſtions, or preliminary examination.

"I. Do you think the preſent ſtate of nations correſponds with the object for which man was placed upon earth? For example, do governments, civil aſſociations, or religion, attain the ends for which they were deſigned? Do the ſciences to which men apply furniſh them with real lights; are they conducive (as they ought to be) to real happineſs? Are they not, on the contrary, the offspring of numberleſs wants, and of the unnatural ſtate in which men live? Are they not the crude inventions of crazy brains, or of geniuſes laborioufly ſubtle?"

"II. What civil aſſociations and what ſciences do you think tend or do not tend to the grand object? Did there not formerly exiſt an order of things more ſimple? What ſort of an idea can you form of that ancient ſtate of the world?"

* Philo to Spartacus.—Inſtructions for this degree.

"III. Now that we have paſſed through all thoſe nullities *(or through all thoſe uſeleſs and vain forms of our civil conſtitutions)* do you think that it would be poſſible to return back to the original and noble ſimplicity of our forefathers? Suppoſing we had returned to it, would not our paſt misfortune render that ſtate more durable? Would not all mankind be in a ſimilar ſtate with an individual who, having enjoyed the ſweets of innocence during his childhood, and fallen a prey to error and his paſſions during his youth, at length, inſtructed by the riſks he has run, and by experience, endeavours to return to that innocence and purity which rendered his childhood ſo happy?"

"IV. What means were beſt to be employed for reſtoring mankind to that happy ſtate? Should it be by public meaſures, by violent revolutions, or by any means that ſhould enſure ſucceſs?"

"V. Does not the Chriſtian Religion in all its purity afford ſome indications, does it not hint at ſome ſtate or happineſs ſimilar to this? Does it not even prepare it?"

"VI. Is this holy and ſimple religion really what different ſects profeſs it to be at this preſent day, or is it more perfect?"

"VII. Can this more perfect Chriſtianity be known or taught? Could the world (ſuch as it now is) ſupport a ſtronger degree of light? Do you not think that, before the numberleſs obſtacles could be removed, it would be proper to preach to mankind a religion more perfect, a philoſophy more elevated, and the art of each one's governing himſelf according to his greateſt advantage?"

"VIII. Would not our moral and political views lead men to oppoſe this bleſſing? From our political and moral views then, or from an ill-judged intereſt, or even from deep-rooted prejudices, theſe obſtacles originate. If men, therefore, oppoſe the renovation of human happineſs, is it not becauſe, ſlaves to ancient forms, they reject and reprobate every thing which is not to be found in thoſe forms, though it ſhould be the moſt natural, the grandeſt, and moſt noble of all poſſible things? Does not perſonal intereſt, alas! at preſent predominate over the general intereſt of mankind?"

"IX. Muſt we not then ſilently and gradually remedy thoſe diſorders before we can flatter ourſelves with the re-eſtabliſhment of the golden age? Meanwhile, is it not adviſeable *to diſſeminate the truth in Secret Societies?*"

"X. Can we trace any ſuch ſecret doctrine in the ancient ſchools of the ſages, or in the allegorical leſſons given by Jeſus Chriſt, the Saviour and liberator of mankind, to his moſt intimate diſciples? Have you not obſerved a ſort of gradual education in that art which you ſee has been tranſmitted to our Order, from the higheſt antiquity?"*

Initiation of the Epopt.

Should the anſwers of the Candidate to all theſe queſtions ſhow that the progreſs he has made in his gradual education is not what the Order had reaſon to expect, he will ſolicit in vain the advancement he hoped for. Should his anſwers be equivocal, he will receive orders to prepare new ones, or to be more explicit.† But if he ſhow the proper diſpoſitions, and the Sect foreſee no probability of his being ſtartled at the leſſons of the Hierophant on thoſe grand objects which are to be diſcloſed to him, the Superiors give their aſſent, and a ſynod of the illuminized prieſthood is held. The day of the initiation is fixed. At the hour agreed upon, the introducing adept waits upon his new proſelyte and takes him into a carriage. The windows being cloſed, the candidate blind-folded, and the coachman continually winding and varying his courſe, are precautions more than ſufficient to hinder the proſelyte from ever being able to trace the ſpot to which he is conducted. Led by the hand, and ſtill blind-folded, he ſlowly aſcends to the porch of the temple of the myſteries. His guide then diveſts him of the Maſonic inſignia, puts a drawn ſword into his hand, takes off the bandage from his eyes, and leaves him, ſtrictly forbidding him to proceed a ſtep until he hears the voice which is to call him. He is then left to his reflections.

With reſpect to the pomp of the myſteries, when the Brethren celebrate them in all their ſplendour, the walls of the temple are hung in red, and lighted up with an immenſe number of candles or lamps. A

* Inſtruction for this degree.

† Ibid. further inſtructions on the admiſſion to the degree of Prieſt.

voice is at length heard, ſaying, " Come! enter unhap-
" py fugitive! The fathers wait for you; enter and
" ſhut the door after you." The proſelyte obeys the voice which calls him. At the bottom of the temple he beholds a throne under a rich canopy with a table before it, on which lie a crown, a ſceptre, a ſword, ſome pieces of gold money, and precious jewels, all interlaid with chains. At the foot of this table, on a ſcarlet cuſhion, is thrown a white robe, a girdle, and the ſimple ornaments of the ſacerdotal coſtume. The proſelyte, ſtanding at the bottom of the temple and in front of the throne, is addreſſed by the Hierophant as follows: " Behold and fix thine eyes on the ſplendour
" of the throne. If all this childiſh mummery, theſe
" crowns, theſe ſceptres, and all theſe monuments of
" human degradation, have any charms in your eyes,
" ſpeak; and it may be in our power to gratify your
" wiſhes. Unhappy man! if ſuch are your objects, if
" you wiſh to riſe to power that you may aſſiſt in the
" oppreſſion of your Brethren, go, and at your peril
" make the trial. Are you in queſt of power, of
" force, of falſe honours, and of ſuch ſuperfluities,
" we will labour for you; we will procure ſuch tran-
" ſient advantages for you, we will place you as near
" the throne as you can deſire, and will leave you to
" the conſequences of your folly; but obſerve, our
" ſanctuary ſhall be for ever ſhut againſt you."

" On the contrary, do you wiſh to be initiated into
" wiſdom, would you teach the art of rendering men
" better, more free and more happy, then be welcome,
" be thrice welcome. Here you behold the attributes
" of Royalty, and there, on the cuſhion, you ſee the
" modeſt veſtment of innocence; make thy choice, and
" let it be the choice which thy heart ſhall dictate."

If contrary to all expectations, the Candidate ſhould make choice of the regalia, he hears a thundering voice exclaim, " Monſter, retire! ceaſe to pollute this
" holy place! Begone, fly, before it be too late." At theſe words he is led out of the temple by the Brother who introduced him.---But ſhould he chuſe the white robe, how different will be the language! " Health
" and ſalutation to thy great and noble ſoul! Such
" was the choice we expected from you. But ſtop, it

" is not permitted to you to inveſt yourſelf with that " robe, until you have learned to what you are in " future deſtined by us."*

The Candidate is then ordered to be ſeated. The Code of the Myſteries is opened, and the Brethren in ſilence attend to the Oracles of the Hierophant.

Now, reader, you who have been through ſo long a courſe of trials, queſtions, rituals, and inſidious degrees; who have been led through all the preparatory labyrinth of illuminized education, if ſtill you be in the dark as to the object of ſuch precautions and artifices, follow me into this den which the Sect dares call the *holy place ;* ſeat thyſelf by the adept, and liſten to their Oracles.---This is the maſter-piece of the founder. Hear with patience, though your indignation ſhould be excited by his monſtrous fertility in Sophiſm, in impiety, in blaſphemy againſt your goſpel and your God, treachery againſt your Magiſtrates, your country, and its laws, againſt your titles and your rights, againſt thoſe of your anceſtors and your progeny---Let Kings and Subjects, the rich and poor, the merchant and the labourer, let every claſs of citizens attend ; let them hearken, and learn at length what helliſh plots are contriving againſt them in the dark receſſes of theſe diabolical dens. In vain ſhall the lethargic ſoul accuſe us of credulity or groundleſs terrors. Thoſe leſſons which the Sect view as the maſter-piece of their code lie before me, ſuch as they flowed from the pen of the Legiſlator, ſuch as they were publiſhed by order of the Sovereign who ſeized the archives of the Sect, that all nations might learn the dreadful dangers with which they were menaced.† I have them again embelliſhed by the compiler of the Sect, corrected and reviewed by the Council of the Areopagites, atteſted by the compiler as true and conformable to the copy ſigned and ſealed with the ſignet of the Sect.‡

Read then, and rock thyſelf to ſleep in the cradle of voluntary ignorance if thou canſt, content with having aſſured thyſelf that every conſpiracy againſt the exiſtence of civil ſociety or of all government whatever,

* Ibid. further Inſtructions on the admiſſion to the degree of Prieſt.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Part 2.

‡ Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus, from Page 10 to 70, and certificates of Philo at the beginning of this degree.

every conſpiracy againſt the exiſtence of property, can be but a chimera.

It is to the Candidate, and in preſence of the Brethren already initiated to theſe myſteries, that the Illuminizing Preſident addreſſes the following diſcourſe:

Diſcourſe of the Hierophant for the Degree of Prieſt or Epopt of the Illuminees.‡

"At length (he ſays) the time of your reward ſucceeds to the trials of an aſſiduous preparation. At preſent you know yourſelf, and have learned to know others; you are what you ought to be, ſuch as we wiſhed to ſee you. It will now be your duty to conduct others.---What you already know, and what you are about to learn, will expoſe to your view the extreme weakneſs of human nature. In this advantage alone lies the true ſource of power which one man exerciſes over another. The dark clouds diſſipate; the ſun of light riſes; the gates of the ſanctuary unfold; a portion of our myſteries is going to be revealed to you. Let the gates of the temple be ſhut againſt the profane; I will only ſpeak to the Illuſtrious, to the Holy, to the Elect. I ſpeak to thoſe who have ears to hear, who have tongues which they can command, and who have minds ſufficiently enlightened to underſtand.

"Surrounded by the Illuſtrious, you are about to enter into that claſs which bears an eſſential part in the government of our ſublime Order. But do you know what it is to govern, can you conceive what this right can be in a ſecret ſociety? To exerciſe ſuch an empire, not over the vulgar or the grandees of the people, but

‡ I have compared the two editions of this diſcourſe. The firſt gives it juſt as Weiſhaupt compoſed and pronounced it at his firſt initiations. The ſecond has been corrected by his adept the Baron Knigge, known by the characteriſtic of Philo. All the difference that I could obſerve was a ſlight refinement of the ſtyle in ſome parts, while prolix paſſages had been added in others. I remarked, that the Compiler Knigge had literally copied all the impious, ſeditious, and frantic leſſons of the original—I have given the preference to the original. In place of adding, I ſhall rather retrench, and only mention the moſt ſtriking paſſages, making ſuch reflections as circumſtances may require. Weiſhaupt, according to the idiom of the German language, always addreſſed the Candidate in the third perſon plural: in this particular, we have followed Knigge's correction, as more ſuitable with our language.

over the moſt accompliſhed men, over men in all ſtations, of all nations, of all religions; to reign over them without any exterior conſtraint, to keep them united by durable bonds, to inſpire them all with one ſpirit; to govern with all poſſible preciſion, activity, and ſilence, men ſpread over the whole ſurface of the globe, even to its utmoſt confines. This is a problem which no political wiſdom has ever been able to ſolve. To reunite the diſtinctions of Equality, Deſpotiſm, and Liberty; to prevent the treaſons and perſecutions which would be the inevitable conſequences; of nothing, to create great things; to ſtand firm againſt the ſwelling torrent of evils and abuſe; to make happineſs univerſally ſhine on human nature; would be a maſter-piece of morality and polity reunited. The civil conſtitutions of ſtates offer but little aid to ſuch an undertaking. Fear and violence are their grand engines; with us, each one is voluntarily to lend his aſſiſtance. Were men what they ought to be, we might on their firſt admiſſion into our ſociety explain the greatneſs of our plans to them; but the lure of a ſecret is perhaps the only mean of retaining thoſe who might turn their backs upon us as ſoon as their curioſity had been gratified: The ignorance or imperfect education of many makes it requiſite that they ſhould be firſt formed by our moral leſſons. The complaints, the murmurs of others againſt the trials to which we are obliged to condemn them, ſufficiently ſhow you what pains we muſt beſtow, with what patience and what conſtancy we muſt be endowed; how intenſely the love of the grand object muſt glow in our hearts, to make us keep true to our poſts in the midſt of ſuch unthankful labour; and not abandon for ever the hope of regenerating mankind."

"It is to partake with us of theſe labours that you have been called. To obſerve others day and night; to form them, to ſuccour them, to watch over them; to ſtimulate the courage of the puſillanimous, the activity and the zeal of the lukewarm; to inſtruct the ignorant; to raiſe up thoſe who have fallen, to fortify thoſe who ſtagger; to repreſs the ardour of raſhneſs, to prevent diſunion; to veil the faults and weakneſſes of others; to guard againſt the acute inquiſitiveneſs of wit; to prevent imprudence and treaſon; in ſhort, to

maintain the ſubordination to and eſteem of our Superiors, and friendſhip and union among the Brethren, are the duties, among others ſtill greater, that we impoſe upon you."

"Have you any idea of ſecret ſocieties; of the rank they hold, or of the parts they perform in the events of this world? Do you view them as inſignificant or tranſient meteors? O, Brother! God and Nature, when diſpoſing of all things according to the proper times and places, had their admirable ends in view; *and they make uſe of theſe ſecret ſocieties as the only and as the indiſpenſable means of conducting us thither.*"

"Hearken, and may you be filled with admiration! This is the point whither all the moral tends; it is on this that depends the knowledge of the right of ſecret ſocieties, of all our doctrine, of all our ideas of good and bad, of juſt and unjuſt. You are here ſituated between the world paſt and the world to come. Caſt your eyes boldly on what has paſſed, and in an inſtant ten thouſand bolts ſhall fall, and thouſands of gates ſhall burſt open to futurity---You ſhall behold the inexhauſtible riches of God and of Nature, the degradation and the dignity of man. You ſhall ſee the world and human nature in its youth, if not in its childhood, even there where you thought to find it in its decrepitude and verging towards its ruin and ignominy."

Should this long exordium, which I have nevertheleſs abridged, have fatigued the reader, let him reſt and reflect for an inſtant. The enthuſiaſtic ſtrain which predominates in this firſt part pervades the whole. Weiſhaupt thought it neceſſary to his object to afford his proſelytes no time for reflection. He begins by inflaming them; he promiſes great things; though this impious and artful mountebank knows that he is going to fob them off with the greateſt follies, the groſſeſt impieties and errors. I have called him an impious and artful mountebank; but that is falling far ſhort of what the proofs atteſt. Weiſhaupt knows that he deceives, and wiſhes to delude his proſelytes in the moſt atrocious manner. When he has miſled, he ſcoffs at them, and with his confidants derides their imbecility. He has, however, his reaſons for beguiling them, and knows for what uſes he intends them when he has infuſed into them his erroneous

and vicious principles. The greater the conſideration they may enjoy in the world, the more heartily he laughs at their deluſion. He thus writes to his intimate friends: "You cannot conceive how much my "degree of Prieſt is admired by our people. But "what is the moſt extraordinary is, that ſeveral great "proteſtant and reformed divines, who are of our Or-"der, really believe that that part of the diſcourſe "which alludes to religion contains the true ſpirit and "real ſenſe of Chriſtianity; *poor mortals! what could "I not make you believe?*---Candidly I own to you, "that I never thought of becoming the founder of a "religion."* In this manner does the impoſtor delude his followers, and then ſcoffs at them in private. Theſe great divines were probably of that claſs among the proteſtants which we ſhould, among us, call apoſtates, a Syeyes or an Autun, for example; for it is impoſſible that any man endowed with common ſenſe or candour could avoid ſeeing that the whole tendency of this long diſcourſe is the total overthrow of all religion and of all government.

A ſecond obſervation well worthy the notice of our readers is, the extreme *importance* which the Sect gives to *ſecret ſocieties*, and what mighty expectations it grounds on their myſterious exiſtence. Let nations and chiefs of nations examine themſelves, reflect whether they have ever calculated the means and importance of theſe ſecret ſocieties ſo well as thoſe who founded them; and ſay, whether fear and diffidence on the one ſide ſhould not keep pace with the expectations and confidence of the other. But let us return to the Lodge wherein Weiſhaupt initiates his adepts.

Continuing his enthuſiaſtic ſtrain, the Hierophant informs the proſelyte, that Nature, having a great plan to develop, begins by the leſſer and moſt imperfect parts; that ſhe then regularly proceeds to the middle terms, to bring things to a ſtate of perfection; which ſtate may ſerve as a point whence ſhe may again depart, to raiſe them to a higher order of perfection.

"Nature (ſays he) makes us begin at infancy, from infancy ſhe raiſes us to manhood. She at firſt left us in the ſavage ſtate, but ſoon brought us to civilization,

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 18, from Weiſhaupt to Zwack.

perhaps that we might be more ſenſible, more enraptured and tenacious of what we are, from viewing the contraſt of what we were. But to what changes, and thoſe of an order infinitely more important, does our future deſtiny lead us!"

Were the candidate maſter of his own reaſon, he muſt conclude from theſe principles, that human nature had acquired perfection when paſſing from the ſavage ſtate to that of civil ſociety; that if he is ſtill to acquire perfection it can never be by returning to his primitive ſtate. But ſophiſters have their tortuoſities, and the adepts are involved in a folly and blindneſs, with which the Almighty God permits them to be ſtricken, ſince they prefer error to truth, and impiety to Chriſtianity.

"As has the individual man (continues the Hierophant) ſo human nature in the aggregate has its childhood, its youth, its manhood, and its old age. At each of theſe periods mankind learn and are ſubject to freſh wants---hence ariſe their political and moral revolutions——It is at the age of manhood that human nature appears in all its dignity. It is then that, taught by long experience, man conceives at length how great a misfortune it is for him to invade the rights of others, to avail himſelf of ſome few advantages, purely exterior, to raiſe himſelf, to the prejudice of others. It is then that he ſees and feels the happineſs and dignity of man."

"The firſt age of mankind is that of ſavage and uncouth nature. A family is the whole ſociety; hunger and thirſt eaſily quenched, a ſhelter from the inclemency of the ſeaſons, a woman, and after fatigue, reſt, are then the only wants. *At that period, men enjoyed the two moſt ineſtimable bleſſings* EQUALITY AND LIBERTY; *they enjoyed them to their utmoſt extent; they would have forever enjoyed them, had they choſen to follow the track which Nature had traced for them*----or had it not entered the plans of God and Nature firſt to ſhow man *for what happineſs he was deſtined;* happineſs the more precious, as he had begun by taſting of it; happineſs ſo early loſt, but inſtantaneouſly regretted and fruitleſsly ſought after, until he ſhould have learned how *to make a proper uſe of his ſtrength*, and how to conduct himſelf in his intercourſe with the reſt of

mankind. In his primitive ſtate he was deſtitute of the conveniencies of life, but he was not on that account unhappy; not knowing them he did not feel the want of them. Health was his ordinary ſtate, and phyſical pain was his only ſource of uneaſineſs----*Oh happy mortals! who were not ſufficiently enlightened to diſturb the repoſe of your mind*, or to feel thoſe great agents of our miſeries *the love of power and of diſtinctions*, the propenſity to ſenſuality, the thirſt after the repreſentative ſigns of all wealth, thoſe *truly original ſins* with all their progeny, envy, avarice, intemperance, ſickneſs, and all the tortures of imagination!"

Thus we ſee this primitive and ſavage ſtate, this firſt eſſay of Nature, already transformed (in the mouth of the Hierophant) into the happieſt ſtate that man ever knew: *Equality and Liberty* are the ſovereign principles of happineſs in that ſtate. Should the reader be as much blinded as the proſelyte, and not ſee whither all this is tending, let him proceed, and hear how man was deprived of this happineſs by the inſtitution of civil ſocieties.

"'An unfortunate germ ſoon vivifies in the breaſt of man, and his primitive peace and felicity diſappear."

" As families multiplied, the means of ſubſiſtence began to fail; the *nomade* (or roaming) *life ceaſed, and PROPERTY ſtarted into exiſtence;* men choſe habitations; agriculture made them intermix. Language became univerſal; living together, one man began to meaſure his ſtrength with another, and the weaker were diſtinguiſhed from the ſtronger. This undoubtedly created the idea of mutual defence, of one individual governing divers families reunited, and of thus defending their perſons and their fields againſt the invaſion of an enemy; *but hence* LIBERTY *was ruined in its foundation and* EQUALITY *diſappeared.*

" Oppreſſed with wants unknown until that period, man perceived that his own powers were no longer ſufficient. To ſupply this defect, the weakeſt imprudently ſubmitted to the ſtrongeſt or to the wiſeſt; not however to be ill-treated, but that he might be protected, conducted, and enlightened.----All ſubmiſſion, therefore, even of the moſt unpoliſhed mortal, has an exiſtence only in as much *as he wants* the perſon to whom he ſubjects himſelf, and on the expreſs condition

that that perſon can ſuccour him. *His power ceaſes when my weakneſs no longer exiſts, or when another acquires ſuperiority. Kings are fathers; the paternal power is at an end when the child has acquired his ſtrength. The father would offend his children if he pretended to prolong his rights beyond that term. Every man having attained to years of diſcretion may govern himſelf; when a whole nation therefore is arrived at that period, there can exiſt no further plea for keeping it in wardſhip.*"

In putting ſuch language into the mouth of the Hierophant, the founder of Illuminiſm had too well ſtudied the ſtrength and illuſion of words; he had been too cautious in the choice and preparation of his adepts ever to fear that any of them would anſwer, "You who thus give oracles, what do you underſtand by nations having attained their majority? Without doubt ſuch as, having emerged from ignorance and barbariſm, have acquired the lights neceſſary for their happineſs; and to what can they be indebted for theſe lights and this happineſs, if not to their civil aſſociation? It will be then, if ever, that they will find it both reaſonable and neceſſary to remain under the *guardianſhip* of their laws and of their government, leſt they ſhould fall back into the barbariſm and ignorance of the roaming clans, or be precipitated into the horrors of anarchy, from revolution to revolution, under the ſucceſſive tyranny of the brigand, of the executioner of the ſophiſticated deſpot, or under that of a ſophiſter Syeyes and his colegiſlative Marſeillois, of a Robeſpierre and his guillotines, of the Triumvirs and their proſcriptions. The populace alone in the *minority* of ignorance, the ſophiſters alone in the *majority* of wickedneſs and corruption, ſhall applaud thy myſteries."

Certain of not meeting with ſuch reflections from the adepts, the Hierophant continues to inculcate his principles by attributing every thing to ſtrength, and deſtroying all principles of morality or of reaſon, though he will affect the tone of both; and ends by forming his judgment on man in ſociety, as he would judge tigers and wild beaſts in the foreſts.—Theſe are his new doctrines.

"Never did ſtrength ſubmit to weakneſs.---Nature has deſtined the weak to ſerve, becauſe they have wants; the ſtrong man to govern, becauſe he can be uſeful. Let the one loſe his force, and the other acquire it, they will then change ſituations, and he that obeyed will command. He that ſtands in need of another, alſo depends upon him, and he has renounced to him his rights. Hence few wants is the firſt ſtep towards liberty. *It is for this reaſon that the ſavages are the moſt enlightened of men, and perhaps they alone are free.** When wants are durable, ſervitude is alſo laſting. Safety is a durable want. Had men refrained from all injuſtice, they would have remained free; it was injuſtice which made them bend beneath the yoke. To acquire ſafety, they depoſited the whole force in the hands of one man; and thus created a new evil, that of fear. The work of their own hands frightened them; and to live in ſafety they robbed themſelves of that very ſafety. This is the caſe of our governments---*Where then ſhall we find a protecting force? In union;* but how rare alas! is that union, except in our new and ſecret aſſociations, better guided by wiſdom, and leagued in ſtraiter bonds! and hence it is that nature itſelf inclines us towards theſe aſſociations."

Subtle as is the artifice in this deſcription of human nature, and in that affectation of beholding on the one ſide nothing but tyrants and deſpots, and on the other only oppreſſed and trembling ſlaves in the ſtate of ſociety; whatever ſhare nature may have had in the inſtitution of ſocial order, or in reclaiming mankind from foreſts and wilderneſſes to live under laws and a common chief; the Hierophant nevertheleſs exultingly exclaims, "Such is the faithful and philoſophic picture of deſpotiſm and of liberty, of our wiſhes and of our fears. Deſpotiſm was engrafted on liberty, and from deſpotiſm ſhall liberty once more ſpring. The reunion of men in ſociety is at once the cradle and the grave of deſpotiſm; it is alſo the grave and cradle of liberty. *We were once poſſeſſed of liberty, and we loſt it, but to find it again and never to loſe it more; to learn by the very privation of it the art of better enjoying it in future.*" Reader, obſerve theſe words; if they do not

* Darum ſind wilde, und im höchſten grad aufgeklärte, veilleicht, die einzige freye menſchen.

evidently point out the object of the Sect, if you do not perceive the wish of bringing mankind back to those times of the *nomade herds* of *savages*, and of men destitute of *property*, laws, or government, read and convince yourself by what follows: "*Nature drew men from the savage state and re-united them in civil societies; from these societies we proceed to further wishes, and to a wiser choice (aus den staaten tretten wir in neue kluger gewahlte.) New associations present themselves to these wishes, and by their means we return to the state whence we came, not again to run the former course, but better to enjoy our new destiny*———let us explain this mystery."

"*Men then had passed from their peaceable state to the yoke of servitude; Eden, that terrestrial paradise, was lost to them. Subjects of sin and slavery, they were reduced to servitude, and obliged to gain their bread by the sweat of their brow.*---In the number of these men some promised to protect, and thus became their chiefs---at first they reigned over herds or clans---these were soon either conquered, or united together in order to form a numerous people; hence arose nations and their chiefs---Kings of nations. At the formation of states and nations, the world ceased to be a great family, to be a single empire; the great bond of nature was rent asunder."

The impudence of such assertions must astonish the reader; he will ask himself, can there possibly exist beings thus belying evidence itself, and pretending to show the universe forming but one and the same family, and the grand bond of nature in those roaming and scattered herds, where the child can scarcely walk when he is separated from his father? How is it possible to represent mankind as divorcing from the great family, at the very period when they unite under the same chiefs and the same laws, for their mutual protection and safety? But, reader, suspend thy indignation. Let us call up in evidence against the Sect those brigands and sophisticated murderers which it decorated with the high-sounding title of *Patriots*, and which it stimulated to bloodshed and methodized murder by the fanaticising sounds of *people*, *nation*, *country*. At the very time that they rend the air with such accents,

with names so dear as they pretend, hear the maledictions which their mysteries heap upon every *people*, every *nation*, every *country*.

At that period when men re-united and formed nations, "they ceased to acknowledge a common name---*Nationalism*, or *the love for a particular nation*, took place of the general love. With the division of the globe and of its states, benevolence was restrained within certain limits, beyond which it could no longer trespass.----Then it became a merit to extend the bounds of states at the expence of the neighbouring ones. Then it became lawful to abuse, offend, and despise foreigners, to attain that end---*and this virtue was styled patriotism;* and he was styled *a patriot*, who, just towards his countrymen, and unjust to others, was blind to the merits of strangers, and believed the very vices of his own country to be perfections.---In such a case, why not restrain that love within a narrower compass, to citizens living in the same town, or to the members of one family; or why even should not each person have concentrated his affections in himself? *We really beheld Patriotism generating Localism, the confined spirit of families, and at length Egotism. Hence the origin of states and governments, and of civil society, has really proved to be the seeds of discord, and Patriotism has found its punishment in itself. Diminish, reject that love of the country, and mankind will once more learn to know and love each other as men.* Partiality being cast aside, that union of hearts will once more appear and expand itself---on the contrary, extend the bonds of *Patriotism*, and you will teach man that it is impossible to blame the closer contraction of love, to a single family, to a single person, in a word, to the *strictest Egotism.*"

But let us abridge these blasphemies. The Hierophant, under pretence of his universal love, may vent his spleen against the distinctions of *Greeks* or *Romans*, of French or English, of Italian or Spanish, of *Pagan or Jew*, of *Christians* or *Mahometans*, which denote nations and their religions: he may repeat, if he pleases, that amidst these different denominations that *of man is overlooked;* what will be the result of such declamation?---With our illuminizing doctor, in common with every class of the disorganizing sophisters,

is not this pretended univerſal love to be a cloak for the moſt odious hypocriſy? He only pretends to univerſal philanthropy, that he may diſpenſe with loving his neighbour. He deteſts the love of one's country, only becauſe he deteſts the laws of nations; he cannot even brook the love of one's family (he has given us a fine ſpecimen in the perſon of his ſiſter,) and he will ſubſtitute that univerſal love becauſe he is no more attached to them than he is to the Chineſe, the Tartar, or the Hottentot, which he neither has ſeen nor ever will ſee, and that all human nature may be equally indifferent to him. He extends the bond that it may loſe its elaſticity and diſcontinue its action.---He calls himſelf citizen of the univerſe, that he may ceaſe to be a citizen in his own country, a friend in ſociety, or a fond father and dutiful child in his own family. His love, he tells us, extends from pole to pole, that he may love nothing that is near him. Such is the philanthropy of our Coſmopolites!

The proſelyte ſtands aſtoniſhed in ſtupid admiration at theſe expreſſions of univerſal love. The Hierophant proceeds to the *Codes of Nations*. Still in extaſy at theſe doctrines, he learns that they are in direct oppoſition *to the laws of nature;* nor will he even perceive that his new code is in direct oppoſition to the very firſt laws of nature, as it eradicates the love of one's own family and that of one's country. Nor will he aſk, why the fulfilling of his duty towards his fellow-countrymen ſhould hinder him from treating the barbarian or the ſavage with proper affection? Then follow new ſophiſms, to perſuade the adept that the original fault of man was, the dereliction of the Equality and Liberty of the ſavage ſtate by the inſtitution of civil laws.

Here, more than ever, are calumny and hatred blended with enthuſiaſm by the Hierophant, who, reviewing the different ages of the world ſince the exiſtence of civil inſtitutions, pictures nations as groaning under oppreſſion, deſpotiſm, and ſlavery, or glutted with the blood of wars and revolutions, which always terminate in tyranny. At one time it is the repreſentation of Kings ſurrounding themſelves with herds or legions called ſoldiers, in order to gratify their ambition by conqueſts on ſtrangers, or to reign by terror

over their enslaved subjects; at other times, it is the people themselves brandishing their arms, not to attack tyranny in its source, but merely to change their tyrants. If they think of giving themselves representatives, it is these very representatives, *who, forgetting that they only hold their missions and powers from the people, form Aristocracies and Oligarchies*, which all end by flowing into the general reservoir of Monarchy and Despotism. He never loses sight of his sophism of human nature degraded and vilified under the yoke of tyranny. These declamations, enthusiastically pronounced, at length make the proselyte exclaim, in unison with his master, "*Are such then the consequences of "the institution of states and of civil society? O folly! "oh people! that you did not foresee the fate that await-"ed you; that you should yourselves have seconded your "despots in degrading human nature to servitude, and "even to the condition of the brute!*"

Could a true philosopher have been present, his heart must have burst with generous indignation; he would have abruptly challenged the Hierophant to declare whence he had learned to metamorphose the annals of society into those of brigands and monsters? Is the history of man then reduced to the records of plagues, famines, storms, tempests, or of convulsed elements? Have no serene days shone on man? Shall the sun be represented as a malevolent object, because it is sometimes obscured by fogs or clouds? Are we to fly from our habitations because many have been destroyed by fire? Shall we curse life and health because we are subject to pains and infirmities? Why else this sable painting of the disasters which have in the course of ages befallen civil society? Why are we to be silent on the misfortunes from which it has preserved us, or on the advantages which it has heaped on man, in reclaiming him from the forests?

But the voice of reason cannot penetrate into the den of conspiracy. The oracles of Weishaupt shall there be confidently repeated by the Hierophant. He draws nigher and nigher to the grand object, to the means of making those misfortunes disappear, which originate, as he pretends, in the institution of laws and governments. "Oh nature!" he continues, "how great and incontestible are thy rights! It is from the

womb of disaster and mutual destruction that the means of safety spring! Oppression disappears because it meets with abettors, and reason regains its rights because people wish to stifle it. He, at least, who wishes to mislead others, should seek to govern them by the advantages of instruction and science. Kings themselves at length perceive, that there is little glory in reigning over ignorant herds---Legislators begin to acquire wisdom, and they favour *property* and industry: ---perverse motives propagate the sciences, and Kings protect them as agents of oppression. Other men profit of them to investigate the origin of their rights. They at length seize on that unknown mean of forwarding a revolution in the human mind, and of thus triumphing for ever over oppression. But the triumph would be of short duration, and man would fall back into his degraded state, had not Providence in those distant ages husbanded the means which it has transmitted down to us, of secretly meditating and at length operating the salvation of human kind.

" *These means are, the secret schools of Philosophy. These schools have been in all ages the archives of nature and* OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN. These schools *shall one day retrieve the fall of human nature,* AND PRINCES AND NATIONS SHALL DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, *and that without any violence.* Human nature shall form one great family, and the earth shall become the habitation of the man of reason.---Morality shall alone produce this great Revolution. *The day shall come when each father shall, like Abraham and the Patriarchs, become the Priest and absolute sovereign of his family.* REASON SHALL BE THE ONLY BOOK OF LAWS, *the sole code of man.* THIS IS ONE OF OUR GRAND MYSTERIES. *Attend to the demonstration of it, and learn how it has been transmitted down to us.*"

I have already said, that had my object been only to prove the reality of a Conspiracy formed by Illuminism against the existence of every society, every civil code, and every nation; these lessons of the Hierophant would render every other proof superfluous. But that the reader may know the full extent of the dangers which threaten us, it is necessary that he should be shown how those plots of frenzy become really transformed into plots of profound wickedness; that he

ſhould be acquainted with the means employed enthuſiaſtically to inflame the minds of whole legions of adepts. Let us then attend to the Hierophant. If patience be neceſſary to follow him, greater ſtill has been neceſſary to enable me to tranſcribe ſuch doctrines.

" What ſtrange blindneſs can have induced men to imagine that human nature was always to be governed as it has hitherto been.

" Where ſhall we find a man acquainted with all the reſources of nature? Who dare preſcribe limits, and ſay *thus far ſhalt thou proceed, and no farther*, to that nature, whoſe law is unity in the variegated infinite? Whence ſhall iſſue the command, that it ſhall always run the ſame courſe, and for ever renew it again---Where is the being who has condemned men, the beſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt enlightened of men, to perpetual ſlavery? *Why ſhould human nature be bereft of its moſt perfect attribute, that of governing itſelf? Why are thoſe perſons to be always led who are capable of conducting themſelves? Is it then impoſſible for mankind or at leaſt the greater part, to come to their majority?* If one be enabled to do it why ſhould not another; ſhow to one perſon what you have taught another; teach him the grand art of maſtering his paſſions and regulating his deſires; teach him, that from his earlieſt youth he ſtands in need of others; that he muſt abſtain from giving offence if he wiſhes not to be offended; that he muſt be beneficent if he wiſhes to receive favours. Let him be patient, indulgent, wiſe, and benevolent. Let theſe virtues be made eaſy to him by principles, experience, and examples; and you will ſoon ſee whether he needs another to conduct him? If it be true, that the greater part of mankind are too weak or too ignorant to conceive theſe ſimple truths, and to be convinced by them; Oh then our happineſs will be at an end, and let us ceaſe to labour at rendering mankind better, or at ſeeking to enlighten them."

" Oh prejudice! oh contradiction of the human mind! ſhall the empire of reaſon, the capacity of governing ourſelves be but a chimerical dream for the greater number of men, while on the other hand prejudice leads us to believe that ſuch is the inherent right

of the children of Kings, of reigning families, and of every man whom wiſdom or particular circumſtances render independent!"

What horrid artifice is contained in theſe ſentences! The poor proſelyte really imagines that he ſees the moſt ſtriking contradictions in the very foundations of our civil ſocieties. He really thinks that we believe them to reſt on the hereditary privilege of Kings and of their children, to be born with all the neceſſary wiſdom to conduct themſelves, while nature has refuſed ſuch gifts to other mortals; though Weiſhaupt, who ſcoffs in private at the credulity and folly of his adepts, knows as well as we do, that ſuch has never been the idea even of the moſt ignorant populace. He knows that we believe Kings to be born children like other men, with the ſame weakneſſes, the ſame paſſions, and like incapacity; he knows as well as we do, that the gift of conducting ourſelves and others is to be acquired by education, and by the helps and lights with which a man may be encompaſſed; and we know as well as he does, that the child of the moſt obſcure parentage would often make a better king than many Sovereigns; as he might alſo be an excellent magiſtrate, or a great general, had he received a proportionate education. But does there hence follow any contradiction in civil ſociety, becauſe, uncertain as to the perſons who would be the moſt proper for governing, but certain of the intrigues and broils which would accompany the election of Kings, it has obviated thoſe inconveniences by hereditary crowns and empires? And after all, what is the meaning of that ſophiſticated pretence founded on the power of being able to conduct one's ſelf? Queſtion the moſt prudent and the wiſeſt of men, and he will readily ſay, though I do not ſtand in need of laws, magiſtrates, or Kings, to reſtrain me from being unjuſt towards others, or from oppreſſing and plundering, I yet want their aſſiſtance to ſecure me from being oppreſſed or plundered. The leſs I am inclined to injure others, the more I need the protection of the law from all injury. You are pleaſed to call my ſubmiſſion to the laws, ſlavery; I, on the contrary, look to it as my ſafety, and as the guarantee of that liberty which enables me to do

good and to live happy and at peace in ſociety. I have never heard of laws which forbad me to live like an honeſt man. It is the wicked man only who recognizes liberty but in the impunity of his crimes; I ſcorn ſuch liberty, and bleſs the hand that deprives me of it. You call him a tyrant and a deſpot, I call him my King and my benefactor. The better I know how to conduct myſelf with reſpect to others, the more thankful I am to him who hinders others from behaving ill to me.

The reader muſt pardon me for theſe reflections; I know they are ſuperfluous to thoſe who think; but may not this work fall into the hands of perſons as credulous as the unhappy proſelyte. In expoſing the envenomed weapons of the Sect, let it not be ſaid that I withhold the antidote. Should any be ſtill blind enough not to perceive the tendency of all theſe ſophiſms of Illuminiſm, let them hearken to the Sect ardently declaring their hopes; the Hierophant continues:

"Are we then fallen from our dignity ſo low as not even to feel our chains, or to hug them, and not cheriſh the flattering hope of being able to break them, or to recover our liberty, not by rebellion and violence (for the time is not yet come,) but by the force of reaſon. Becauſe a thing cannot be accompliſhed to-morrow, ſhould we deſpair of ever being able to effect it? *Abandon ſuch ſhort-ſighted men to their own reaſonings and their own concluſions; they may conclude again and again; but nature will continue to act. Inexorable to all their intereſted remonſtrances, ſhe proceeds, and nothing can impede her majeſtic courſe. Some events may take place contrary to our wiſhes; but they will all rectify of themſelves; inequalities will be levelled, and a laſting calm ſhall ſucceed the tempeſt.* The only concluſion to be drawn from all theſe objections is, that we are too much accuſtomed to the preſent ſtate of things, or perhaps ſelf-intereſt has too great ſway over us, *to let us own that it is not impoſſible to attain univerſal independence--Let then the laughers laugh and the ſcoffers ſcoff.* He that obſerves and compares what nature has done with what ſhe does at preſent, will ſoon ſee, that in ſpite of all our intrigues ſhe tends invariably towards her object. Her proceedings are imperceptible to him who reflects

but little; they are visible only to the sage whose mind's eye penetrates even to the womb of time.---From the summit of the mount he discovers in the horizon that distant country, the very existence of which is not surmised by the servile multitude of the plain."

The principle means which Weishaupt offers to his adepts for the conquest of this land of promise, this soil of independence, are, to diminish the wants of the people, and to enlighten their minds. Hearken to his lessons, you who, heretofore protected by your laws, peaceably exercised an honourable and lucrative profession, and you who, once rivals of the flourishing commerce of Great Britain on the immensity of the ocean, are now but the sorrowful and dejected coasters of the Texel, imprudent disciples of a disorganizing Sect.---Learn, that it is in the secret hatred sworn against you by the Sect in its mysteries, that you are to seek the destruction of Lyons, the pillage of Bourdeaux, the ruin of Nantes and Marseilles, the fate, in short, of so many other towns flourishing in commerce, even the fate of Amsterdam itself; and then let your aching eye glance on your trees of Equality and Liberty. At the very time when you thought that you were seconding the views of the sect against the Nobles, Priests, and Monarchs, only to reinstate the people in their rights of Liberty and Equality, the Sect was aiming its blows at you as the grand artificers of Despotism. At that very period your profession was already proscribed by the mysteries, as that which of all others most surely tended to retain the people in slavery; the Illuminizing Jacobin was teaching his adepts, that "he who wishes to subject nations to his "yoke, need but to create wants which he alone can "satisfy.----Erect the *mercantile tribe* (die kaufman-"schaft) into an hierarchical body; that is to say, confer "on it some rank or some authority in the government, "and you will have created perhaps the most formida-"ble, the most *despotic* of all powers. You will see it "giving laws to the universe, and on it alone will rest "the independence of one part of the world and the "slavery of the other. For that man dictates the law "who has it in his power to create or foresee, to stifle,

" weaken, or satisfy want. And who are better ena-" bled to do this than merchants?" Thus we see that those very men who were such ardent supporters of Jacobinism in our commercial towns, with a view to partake of the government, are precisely those whose profession the profound Jacobin chiefly detests in every form of government. May the elucidation of this mystery inspire the industrious inhabitants of hospitable Britain with new zeal for their laws! The discovery of such a snare is of too great importance to their safety, to allow me to conceal it from them.

In the next place the Hierophant proceeds from the art of diminishing wants in order to operate the independence of nations, to the duty of diffusing what he calls light. " He on the contrary (those are his words) who wishes to render mankind free, teaches them how to refrain from the acquisition of things which they cannot afford: he enlightens them, he infuses into them boldness and inflexible manners. He that teaches them sobriety, temperance, and economy, is more dangerous to the throne than the man who openly preaches regicide.---If you cannot diffuse at the same instant this degree of light among all men, at least begin by enlightening yourself, and by rendering yourself better. *Serve, assist, and mutually support each other; augment our numbers; render yourselves at least independent, and leave to time and posterity the care of doing the rest.* When your numbers shall be augmented to a certain degree, when you shall have acquired strength by your union, *hesitate no longer, but begin to render yourself powerful and formidable to the wicked* (that is to say to all who will resist their plans;) the very circumstance of your being sufficiently numerous to talk of force, and that you really do talk of it, that circumstance alone makes the profane *and wicked* tremble---That they may not be overpowered by numbers, many will become good (like you) of themselves, and will join your party.---*You will soon acquire sufficient force to bind the hands of your opponents, to subjugate them, and to stifle wickedness in the embryo.*" That is to say, as it may be understood in future, you will soon be able to stifle every principle of law, of government, of civil or political society, whose very institution in the eyes of an Illuminee is the germ of all the

vices and misfortunes of human nature. "The mode of diffuſing univerſal light is, not to proclaim it at once to the whole world, *but to begin with yourſelf; then turn towards your next neighbour; you two can enlighten a third and fourth; let theſe in the ſame manner extend and multiply the number of the children of light, until numbers and force ſhall throw power into our hands.*"*

I obſerve in the ritual of this degree, that ſhould the Hierophant be fatigued by the length of this diſcourſe, he may take breath, and let one of the adepts continue the inſtruction of the proſelyte.† Our readers alſo may avail themſelves of this permiſſion, and they have copious matter for reflection in what they have hitherto read. They may perhaps be inclined to aſk, to what degree the people muſt diminiſh their wants not to ſtand in need of laws? They will perceive that bread itſelf muſt be denied them; for as long as fields are cultivated, laws will be neceſſary to protect the crops and to reſtrain men from reaping that which they have not ſown; and if on the firſt view the Sophiſm appears wicked, the reader will ſoon perceive that it is but folly in the garb of Sophiſtry.

The better to form their judgments on the leſſons of the Hierophant, they will have to compare that Revolution, *which is to be the effect of inſtruction alone, and which is inſenſibly to take place without the leaſt ſhock or rebellion*, with that period when the adepts ſhall have acquired *numbers, force*, and power, enabling them *to bind the hands of their opponents*, and *to ſubjugate* all who may ſtill ſhow any affection for their laws, or for that civil order in ſociety which the Sect wiſhes to ſuppreſs.

* See Diſcourſe on the leſſer Myſteries of Illuminiſm.

† This Diſcourſe actually requires at leaſt two hours to read it. That part from which I have made extracts extends in Vol. II. *of the Original Writings*, from Page 44 to 93, and in the *laſt works of Philo and Spartacus*, (which are in much ſmaller print) from Page 10 to 48. I mean to abridge the remaining part ſtill more; but ſhall be ſcrupulouſly exact in the tranſlation of all remarkable paſſages.

CHAP. X.

Continuation of the Diſcourſe on the leſſer Myſteries.

IN that part of the diſcourſe which remains to be laid before the reader, the Hierophant, inſiſting on the neceſſity of enlightening the people to operate the grand revolution, ſeems to fear that the candidate has not clearly conceived the real plan of this revolution, which is in future to be the ſole object of all his inſtructions. "Let your inſtructions and lights be univerſally diffuſed; ſo ſhall you render mutual ſecurity univerſal; *and ſecurity and inſtruction will enable us to live without prince or government.* If that were not the caſe, why ſhould we go in queſt of either?"*

Here then the candidate is clearly informed of the grand object towards which he is to direct all his future inſtructions. To teach the people to live without *princes or governments*, without laws or even civil ſociety, is to be the general tendency of all his leſſons. But of what nature muſt theſe leſſons be to attain the deſired object?---*They are to treat of morality and of morality alone.* "For (continues the Hierophant) if light be the work of morality, light and ſecurity will gain ſtrength as morality expands itſelf. *Nor is true morality any other than the art of teaching men to ſhake off their wardſhip, to attain the age of manhood, and thus to need neither princes nor governments.*"†

When we ſhall ſee the ſect enthuſiaſtically pronouncing the word *morality*, let us recollect the definition which it has juſt given us of it. Without it, we could not have underſtood the real ſenſe of the terms *honeſt men, virtue, good* or *wicked men.* We ſee that, according to this definition, *the honeſt man* is he who labours at the overthrow of civil ſociety, its laws, and its chiefs: for theſe are the only crimes or virtues mentioned in the whole code. Pre-ſuppoſing that the can-

* Und allgemeine aufklärung und ſicherheit machen fürſten und ſtaaten entbehrlich. Oder wo zu braucht man ſie ſodann.

† Die moral iſt alſo die kunſt welche menſchen lehrt volljährig zu werden, der vormundſchaft los zu werden, in ihr männliches alter zu tretten, and die fürſten zu entbehren.

didate may object that it would be impossible to bring mankind to adopt such doctrines, the Hierophant anticipates the objection, and exclaims, "He is little acquainted with the powers of reason and the attractions of virtue; he is a very novice in the regions of light, who shall harbour such mean ideas as to his own essence, or the nature of mankind. If either he or I can attain this point, why should not another attain it also? What! when men can be led to despise the horrors of death, when they may be inflamed with the enthusiasm of religious and political follies, shall they be deaf to that very doctrine which can alone lead them to happiness? *No, no; man is not so wicked as an arbitrary morality would make him appear.* He is wicked, because Religion, the State, and bad example, perverts him. It would be of advantage to those who wish to make him better, were there fewer persons whose interest it is to render him wicked in order that they may support their power by his wickedness."

"Let us form a more liberal opinion of human nature. We will labour indefatigably, nor shall difficulties affright us. May our principles become the foundation of all morals! *Let reason at length be the religion of men, and the problem is solved.*"*

This pressing exhortation will enable the reader to solve the problem of *the altars, the worship, and the festivals of Reason*, in the French Revolution; nor will they be any longer at a loss to know from what loathsome den their shameless Goddess rose.

The candidate also obtains the solution of all that may have appeared to him problematic in the course of his former trials. "Since such is the force of morality and of morality alone, (says the Hierophant,) since it alone can operate the grand revolution which is to restore liberty to mankind, and abolish the empire of imposture, superstition, and despotism; you must now perceive why on their first entrance into our Order we oblige our pupils to apply closely to the study of morality, to the knowledge of themselves and of others. You must see plainly, that if we permit each novice to introduce his friend, *it is in order to form a legion that may more justly be called holy and invincible*

* Undenlich macht die vernunft zur religion der menschen, so ist die aufgabe aufgelost.

than that of the Thebans; since the battles of the friend fighting by the side of his friend are those which are to reinstate human nature in its rights, its liberty, and its primitive independence."

"The morality which is to perform this miracle is not a morality of vain subtilties. It is not that morality which, degrading man, renders him careless of the goods of this world, forbids him the enjoyment of the innocent pleasures of life, and inspires him with the hatred of his neighbour. It must not be a morality favouring the interests only of its teachers, which prescribes persecution and intoleration, which militates against reason, which forbids the prudent use of the passions; whose virtues are no other than inaction, idleness, and the heaping of riches on the slothful.---*Above all, it must not be that morality which, adding to the miseries of the miserable, throws them into a state of pusillanimity and despair, by the threats of hell and the fear of devils.*

"It must, on the contrary, be that morality so much disregarded and defaced at the present day by selfishness, and replete with heterogeneous principles. It must be a divine doctrine,-such as Jesus taught to his disciples, and of which he gave the real interpretation in his secret conferences."

This sudden transition naturally leads Weishaupt to the developement of a mystery of iniquity for which we have long since seen him preparing his *Major Illuminees*, and particularly the *Scotch Knights* of illumination. The better to understand this mystery, let us recal to mind how the *Insinuators* or the teachers began by solemnly assuring their different Candidates, Novices, or Minerval Academicians, that in all the lodges of Illuminism there never arises a question in the least degree prejudicial to religion or the state. All these promises have been gradually lost sight of, and the proselyte has had time to accustom his ears to declamations against the priesthood and royalty. It has already been insinuated, that the Christianity of our times is very different from that taught by Jesus Christ; the time was not arrived for numbering Christ himself among the impostors; his name, his virtues, might still be venerated by certain adepts. Some there were, perhaps, who would be shocked at bare-faced

Atheism; and it is on their account that Weishaupt has thus treated of Christ. In the preceding degree he had contented himself with hinting, that the doctrines of this divine teacher had been perverted; nor had he declared what species of political revolution was (as he pretended) pointed out in the Gospel. But here the execrable sophister apostrophizes the God of the Christians in language similar to that in which we have since seen the too famous Fauchet declaiming in the revolutionary pulpit. It is here that Weishaupt declares Jesus Christ to be the Father of the Jacobins, or rather (to speak the revolutionary language) the great Doctor of the *Sans-culottes*. But, to enable us the better to judge of the cunning and premeditated villany of this detestable artifice, let us first attend to the correspondence of the adept, who, under Weishaupt, is charged with the compiling of the Code. Knigge, like the monstrous prototype of Illuminism, subdivides the adepts into those who scoff at and detest revelation, and those who stand in need of a revealed religion to fix their ideas. It is to explain this that Knigge writes the following letter to Zwack:

"To unite these two classes of men, to make them "concur and co-operate towards our object, it was "necessary to represent Christianity in such a light as "to recall the superstitious to reason, and to teach our "more enlightened sages not to reject it on account "of its abuse. This should have been the secret of "Masonry, and have led us to our object. Meanwhile "despotism strengthens daily, though liberty univer-"sally keeps pace with it. It was necessary then to "unite the extremes. We therefore assert here, that "Christ did not establish a new religion, but that his "intention was simply to reinstate natural religion in "its rights; that by giving a general bond of union "to the world, by diffusing the light and wisdom of "his morality, and by dissipating prejudices, *his inten-"tion was, to teach us the means of governing our-"selves, and to re-establish, without the violent means of "revolutions, the reign of Liberty and Equality among "men.* This was easily done by quoting certain texts "from Scripture, and by giving explanations of them, "*true or false is of little consequence*, provided each

" one finds a ſenſe in theſe doctrines of Chriſt conſo-
" nant with his reaſon. We add, that this religion, ſo
" ſimple in itſelf, was afterwards defaced; but that,
" by means of inviolable ſecrecy, it has been tranſmit-
" ted in purity to us through Free-Maſonry."

" Spartacus (Weiſhaupt) had collected many mate-
" rials for this, and I added my diſcoveries in the
" inſtructions for theſe two degrees. Our people,
" therefore, being convinced that we alone are poſſeſ-
" ſed of the real ſecrets of Chriſtianity, *we have but*
" *to add a few words againſt the Clergy and Princes.*
" In the laſt myſteries we have to unfold to our adepts
" *this pious fraud*, and then by writings demonſtrate
" *the origin of all* religious impoſitions, and their mu-
" tual connexion with each other."*

If the reader be not too much diſguſted with *this pious fraud*, but can ſtill attend to the declamations of the Hierophant, let us once more enter that den of demons wherein preſides the triple genius of impiety, hypocriſy, and anarchy.

The Hierophant is about to ſay, " that their grand and ever-celebrated maſter, Jeſus of Nazareth, appeared in an age when corruption was univerſal; in the midſt of a people who from time immemorial had been ſubjected to and ſeverely felt the yoke of ſlavery;† and who eagerly expected their deliverer announced by the Prophets. Jeſus appeared and taught the doctrine of reaſon; to give greater efficacy to theſe doctrines, he formed them into a religion, and adopted the received traditions of the Jews. He prudently grafted his new ſchool on their religion and their cuſtoms, which he made the vehicle of the eſſence and ſecrets of his new doctrines. He did not

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Letter from Philo to Cato, Page 104, and following.

† Here is another example of the manner in which hiſtory is falſified.—The Jews were enſlaved from time immemorial! Does this nation then make its whole hiſtory conſiſt in the years of its captivity? Had it forgot its liberty and its triumphs under Joſhua, David, Solomon, and its other Kings? Was it juſt emerged from its captivity when it fell under the dominion of the Romans, a dominion under which it remained at the time of Chriſt's birth? The adept has heard talk of the captivity of the Jews, of thoſe periods when Almighty God, as a puniſhment for their crimes, delivered them over to their enemies; and he inconſiderately concludes, that their whole hiſtory is but one continued ſcene of bondage.

ſelect ſages for his new diſciples, but ignorant men choſen from the loweſt claſs of the people, to ſhow that his doctrine was made for all, and ſuitable to every one's underſtanding; to ſhow too, that the knowledge of the grand truths of reaſon was not a privilege peculiar to the great. He does not teach the Jews alone, but all mankind, the means of acquiring their liberty, by the obſervation of his precepts. He ſupported his doctrines by an innocent life, and ſealed them with his blood."

"His precepts for the ſalvation of the world are, ſimply, the love of God and the love of our neighbour; he aſks no more. . . . Nobody ever reduced and conſolidated the bonds of human ſociety within their real limits as he did——No one was ever more intelligible to his hearers, or more prudently covered the ſublime ſignification of his doctrine. *No one, indeed, ever laid a ſurer foundation for liberty than our grand maſter, Jeſus of Nazareth.* It is true, that on all occaſions *(in ganzen)* he carefully concealed the ſublime meaning and natural conſequences of his doctrines; *for he had a ſecret doctrine as is evident* from more than one paſſage of the Goſpel."

It was during the time that he was writing this hypocritical hiſtory of the Meſſiah, that Weiſhaupt was turning the credulous proſelyte into ridicule; as to the other adepts, he well knew that they anticipated ſuch explanations, or at leaſt would be delighted with them. Hence that impudence with which he falſifies the Scriptures. To prove the exiſtence of this ſecret ſchool, the doctrines of which are reſerved for the initiated alone, he cites theſe words of Chriſt: "To you is "given to know the myſtery of the kingdom of God; "but to them that are without, all things are done in "parables."* But he carefully avoids mentioning the order which Chriſt gives to his diſciples, "That which "I tell you in the dark, ſpeak ye in the light; and "that which you hear in the ear, preach ye upon the "houſe-tops."† Weiſhaupt then proceeds to theſe words: "And their princes have power over them---

* St. Mark, Ch. iv. V. 11.
† St. Matthew, Ch. x. V. 27.

" but it is not so among you; but whosoever will be " greater shall be your minister."* This precept, as well as all those on Christian humility, he transforms into principles of disorganizing equality inimical to all constituted authorities.---With equal ease he avoids all those lessons so often repeated both by Christ and his Apostles, on the obligation of rendering to Cesar what is Cesar's, of paying tribute, and of recognizing the authority of God himself in that of the law and of the magistrates. If Christ has preached the love of our neighbour, or fraternal love, his words are immediately perverted by *Weishaupt* into a love of *his* Equality. If Christ exhorts his disciples to contemn riches, the impostor pretends it is *to prepare the world for that community of riches* which destroys all property. In fine, the conclusions drawn from these impious and deriding explanations, and from many others of a similar nature, are contained in the following words:

" If therefore *the object* of the secret of Jesus, which has been preserved by the institution of the mysteries, and clearly demonstrated both by the conduct and the discourses of this divine master, *was to reinstate mankind in their original Liberty and Equality*, and to prepare the means; how many things immediately appear clear and natural, which hitherto seemed to be contradictory and unintelligible! *This explains in what sense Christ was the saviour and the liberator of the world. Now the doctrine of original sin, of the fall of man, and of his regeneration, can be understood. The state of pure nature, of fallen or corrupt nature, and the state of grace, will no longer be a problem. Mankind, in quitting their state of original liberty, fell from the state of nature and lost their dignity. In their civil society, under their governments, they no longer live in the state of pure nature, but in that of fallen and corrupt nature. If the moderating of their passions and the diminution of their wants, reinstate them in their primitive dignity, that will really constitute their redemption and their state of grace. It is to this point that morality, and the most perfect of all morality, that of Jesus, leads mankind. When at length this doctrine shall be generalized through-*

* St. Mark, Ch. x. V. 42, 43.

*out the world, the reign of the good and of the elect ſhall be eſtabliſhed."**

This language is ſurely not enigmatical. The proſelyte, once maſter of the myſteries it contains, needs only to be informed, how the great revolution, which they foretell, became the object of ſecret ſocieties, and what advantages accrue to theſe ſocieties from the ſecrecy in which they exiſt.

The Hierophant then, for the inſtruction of the proſelyte, goes back to the origin of Maſonry; he declares it to be the original ſchool and depoſitory of the true doctrine. He takes a view of its hieroglyphics and ſhapes them to his ſyſtem. The *rough ſtone* of Maſonry becomes the ſymbol of the *primitive ſtate* of man, *ſavage* but *free.---The ſtone ſplit or broken* is the ſtate of *fallen nature, of mankind in civil ſociety, no longer united in one family, but divided according to their ſtates, governments, or religions. The poliſhed ſtone repreſents mankind reinſtated in its primitive dignity, in its independence.* Yet Maſonry has not only loſt theſe explanations; but the illuminizing orator goes ſo far as to ſay, "*The Freemaſons, like Prieſts* "*and chiefs of nations, have baniſhed reaſon from the* "*earth. They have inundated the world with tyrants,* "*impoſtors, ſpectres, corpſes, and men like to wild* "*beaſts.*"

Should any reader be ſurpriſed at ſeeing the Hierophant give this account of Maſonry, let him reflect on the hatred which Weiſhaupt had ſworn againſt every ſchool where the name of any deity was preſerved. The *Jehovah* or the *Grand Architect* of Maſonry, the *two-fold god* of the Roſycruſian magicians, ſtill render the occult lodges a ſchool of ſome ſort of Theoſophy. But how reſerved ſoever the Hierophant may be with regard to Atheiſm, the proſelyte muſt, nevertheleſs, foreſee, that ſhould he be admitted to one degree higher, neither the *Grand Architect* nor the *two-fold God* will meet a better fate than the God of the Chriſ-

* Orig. Writ. Part II. P. 106, 7.—The laſt Works of Spartacus, P. 58.—The author has tranſcribed the whole of what is printed in Italics in German, leſt his tranſlation of this extraordinary paſſage ſhould be ſuſpected of being exaggerated. As he perfectly underſtands the German language, and is a man of undoubted veracity, I have omitted it, but in ſo doing think it my duty to mention it. T.

tians. And therefore it is that Weiſhaupt declaims againſt thoſe *ſpirits, apparitions,* and all the *ſuperſtitions* of Freemaſonry; hence the theoſophic Maſons are involved in the general malediction pronounced againſt the prieſthood and the throne.

It can be eaſily conceived that Weiſhaupt muſt repreſent true Maſonry, or the pretended real Chriſtianity, as ſolely extant in Illuminiſm. But the Hierophant enjoins the proſelyte *not to think that this is the only advantage which the Order and the whole univerſe draw from this myſterious aſſociation.*

Here let magiſtrates, the chiefs of nations, every man who ſtill retains any regard for the ſupport of laws and empires, and of civil ſociety, let them, I ſay, read, and meditate on theſe other advantages. The leſſon is of the utmoſt importance——Whoever you are; all honeſt citizens, whether *Maſons, Roſycruſians, Mopſes, Hewers of Wood, Knights;* all you who thirſt after the myſteries of the lodges, ceaſe to accuſe me of conjuring up chimerical dangers. I am not the man who ſpeaks: it is he who of all others has been the *beſt acquainted* with your aſſociation, and has known what advantages could be drawn from them by able and patient conſpirators.---Read; and tell us which is the moſt impreſſive on your mind, the pleaſures you may find in your lodges, or the dangers of your country. Read; and if the name of citizen be ſtill dear to you, reflect whether yours ſhould remain inſcribed on the regiſters of a ſecret ſociety. You were ignorant of the dangers; the moſt monſtrous of conſpirators will lay them open to you, and he will call them advantages. He literally ſays, "Though theſe myſterious Aſſociations ſhould not attain our object, they prepare the way for us; they give a new intereſt to the cauſe; they preſent it under points of view hitherto unobſerved; they ſtimulate the inventive powers and the expectations of mankind; *they render men more indifferent as to the intereſts of governments;* they bring men of divers nations and religions within the ſame bond of union; *they deprive the church and ſtate of their ableſt and moſt laborious members;* they bring men together who would never otherwiſe have known or met each other. *By this method alone they undermine the foundation of ſtates, though they had really no ſuch*

project in view. They *throw them together and make them clash one against the other.* They teach mankind the power and force of union; they point out to them the imperfection of their *political constitutions*, and that without exposing them to the suspicions of their enemies, such as magistrates and public governments. They *mask our progress, and procure us the facility of incorporating in our plans and of admitting into our Order, after the proper trials, the most able men, whose patience, long abused, thirsts after the grand ultimatum.* By this means they weaken the enemy; and though they should never triumph over him, *they will at least diminish the numbers and the zeal of his partizans;* they divide his troops *to cover the attack.* In proportion as these new associations or secret societies, formed in different states, shall acquire strength and prudence at the expence of the former ones (that is to say, of civil society,) *the latter must weaken, and insensibly fall.*"

"Besides, our Society originates, and must naturally and essentially deduce its origin from those very governments whose vices have rendered our union necessary. We have no object but that better order of things for which we incessantly labour; *all the efforts, therefore, of Princes to stop our progress will be fruitless; the spark may long remain hidden in the ashes, but the day must come in which shall burst forth the general flame.* For nature nauseates always to run the same course. The heavier the yoke of oppression weighs on man, the more sedulously will he labour to throw it off; and the liberty he seeks shall expand itself. *The seed is sown whence shall spring a new world; the roots extend themselves; they have acquired too much strength, they have been too industriously propagated, for the day of harvest to fail us.*---Perhaps it may be necessary to wait thousands and thousands of years; but sooner or later nature shall consummate its grand work, and she shall restore *that dignity* to man *for which he was destined from the beginning.*"

Reader, you have heard them. These conspirators have said more than I should have dared to hint at on the nature and danger of these associations. It would be useless for me to rest longer on this point. I shall end by showing by what artifices the Hiero-

phant endeavours to tranquilize the conſciences of thoſe adepts who may have been ſtartled at theſe predictions. Notwithſtanding all that he has ſaid of thoſe times when Illuminiſm ſhall find means of *binding hands* and *ſubjugating;* notwithſtanding all that averſion againſt governments which he ſeeks to infuſe into the adepts, he concludes in a hypocritical ſtrain peculiar to wickedneſs. "We are here at once the obſervers and the inſtruments of nature.---We do not wiſh to precipitate her ſteps. To enlighten men, to correct their morals, to inſpire them with benevolence, ſuch are our means. Secure of ſucceſs, we abſtain from violent commotions. To have foreſeen the happineſs of poſterity, and to have prepared it by irreproachable means, ſuffices for our felicity. The tranquility of our conſciences is not troubled by the reproach of aiming at the ruin or overthrow of ſtates and thrones. Such an accuſation could with no more propriety be preferred againſt us, than it might againſt the ſtateſmen who had foreſeen and foretold the impending and inevitable ruin of the ſtate.---As aſſiduous obſervers of Nature, we admire her majeſtic courſe; and, burning with the noble pride of our origin, we felicitate ourſelves on being the children of men and of God."

"But carefully obſerve and remember, that we do not impoſe our opinions; we do not oblige you to adopt our doctrines. Let the truth you can acknowledge be your only guide. Free man, exerciſe here thy primitive right; ſeek, doubt, examine, do you know of, or can you find elſewhere, any thing that is better?---Make us acquainted with your views, as we have expoſed ours to you. We do not bluſh at the limits of our underſtandings; we know that we are but men: we know that ſuch are the diſpoſitions of nature, ſuch the lot of man, that he is not to expect to attain perfection at his outſet; he can attain it but by degrees. It is by gaining experience from our errors, by profiting of the lights acquired by our forefathers, that we ſhall become at once the children of wiſdom, and the parents of a ſtill wiſer progeny. If, therefore, you think that you have found truth in the whole of our doctrine, adopt the whole. Should you perceive any error to have ſtolen in with it, remember

that truth is not the leſs eſtimable on that account. If you have met with nothing that pleaſes you here, reject the whole without fear; and remember, that in many things, at leaſt, we only need further reſearch or a new inveſtigation. Do you obſerve any thing blamable or laudable, ſee and make choice of what you approve. Should you be more enlightened yourſelf, then your eye may have diſcovered truths which are ſtill denied to us. The more art we employ in the inſtruction of our pupils to lead them to the paths of wiſdom, the leſs you will be inclined to refuſe us a portion of your applauſe."

Thus ends the diſcourſe of the Hierophant.---The proſelyte who has heard it without ſhuddering, may flatter himſelf with being worthy of this prieſthood. But before he is ſacrilegiouſly anointed, he is led back to the porch, where he is inveſted with a white tunic. He wears a broad ſilken ſcarlet belt; the ſleeve is tied at the extremity and middle with bandages of the ſame colour, which make it bulge out.* I am particular in the deſcription of this dreſs, becauſe it was in a ſimilar one that, during the French Revolution, a comedian appeared perſonally attacking Almighty God, ſaying, "No! thou doſt not exiſt. If thou haſt power over the thunder-bolts, graſp them; aim them at "the man who dares ſet thee at defiance in the face "of thy altars. But no, I blaſpheme thee, and I ſtill "live. No, thou doſt not exiſt." In the ſame coſtume, and to prepare him for the ſame blaſphemies, the Epopt is recalled into the temple of myſteries. He is met by one of the brethren, who does not permit him to advance till he has told him, "that he is "ſent to enquire whether he (the proſelyte) has per-"fectly underſtood the diſcourſe which has been read "to him---whether he has any doubts concerning the "doctrines which are contained in it---whether his "heart is penetrated with the ſanctity of the princi-"ples of the Order---whether he is ſenſible of the call, "feels the ſtrength of mind, the fervent will, and all "the diſintereſtedneſs requiſite to labour at the grand "undertaking---whether he is ready to make a ſacrifice

* Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus, at the end of the Diſcourſe.

" of his will, and to ſuffer himſelf to be led by the moſt " excellent ſuperiors of the Order."

I will ſpare the reader the diſguſting impiety of the ceremonial which immediately follows.---The rites of the preceding degree were in deriſion of the Laſt Supper; theſe are an atrocious mimicry of the ſacerdotal ordination. A curtain is drawn, and an altar appears with a crucifix upon it. On the altar alſo is a bible; and the ritual of the Order lies on a reading deſk; on the ſide a cenſer, and a phial full of oil. The Dean acts the part of a Biſhop, and he is ſurrounded with acolytes. He prays over the proſelyte, bleſſes him, cuts hair from the top of his head, clothes him in the veſtments of the prieſthood, and pronounces prayers after the faſhion of the ſect. On preſenting the cap he ſays, " *Cover thyſelf with this cap, it is* " *more valuable than the crown of Kings.*" The very expreſſions of the Jacobin with his red cap. The communion conſiſts in honey and milk, which the Dean gives to the proſelyte, ſaying, " This is what Nature " gives to man. Reflect how happy he would ſtill " have been, if the deſire of ſuperfluities had not, by " depriving him of a taſte for ſuch ſimple food, multi- " plied his wants, and poiſoned the balm of life."

All the preceding part of this degree ſufficiently explains the real meaning of theſe words. The ceremonies are terminated with delivering to the Epopt that part of the code which relates to his new degree. I ſhall relate all that is neceſſary for the reader to be informed of, when, after having treated of the degree of Regent, and of the Grand Myſteries, I ſhall come to inveſtigate the government of the Order.

CHAP. XI.

Eighth Part of the Code of Illuminces---The Regent, or the Prince Illuminee.

Qualities required.

"WHEN one of our Epopts has sufficiently distinguished himself to bear a part in the political government of our Order; that is to say, when he unites prudence with *the liberty of thinking and of acting;* when he knows how to temper boldness with precaution, resolution with complaisance; subtlety with good-nature; loyalty with simplicity; singularity with method; transcendency of wit with gravity and dignity of manners; when he has learned opportunely to speak or to be silent, how to obey or to command; when he shall have gained the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens, though feared by them at the same time; when his heart shall be entirely devoted to the interests of our Order, and the common welfare of the universe shall be uppermost in his mind;---then, and then only, let the Superior of the province propose him to the national Inspector as worthy of being admitted to the degree of *Regent.*"

Such are the qualities required by the Sect for the admission of its adepts to the degree which in the Code is sometimes termed *Regent*, at others the *Prince Illuminee*. Such are the very words to be found in the preamble of the rules of this degree.

"Three things of the utmost consequence (says the code) are to be observed. In the first place, the greatest reserve is necessary with respect to this degree. Secondly, those who are admitted into it must be as much as possible *free men and independent of all Princes:* they must indeed have clearly manifested their *hatred for the general constitution* or the actual state of mankind; have shown how ardently they wish for a change in the government of the world; and how much the hints thrown out in the degree of Priest has inflamed their wishes for a better order of things."

Precautions and preliminary queſtions.

If all theſe requiſites are to be found in the Candidate, then let the national Inſpector once more examine, in his records, every thing relative to the conduct and character of the new adept, let him inſpect the divers queſtions which have been put to him, and diſcover where he has ſhown his ſtrong or his weak ſide. According to the reſult of this examination, let the Inſpector propoſe ſome new queſtions on thoſe articles on which the Candidate may have ſhown the greateſt reſerve. For example, ſome of the following:*

"I. Would you think a ſociety objectionable, which "ſhould (till nature ſhall have ripened its grand revo- "lutions) place itſelf in a ſituation, which would de- "prive Monarchs of the power of doing harm, though "they ſhould wiſh it? A ſociety whoſe inviſible "means ſhould prevent all governments from abuſing "their power? Would it be impoſſible through the "influence of ſuch a ſociety, to form a new ſtate in "each ſtate, *ſtatus in ſtatu*;" that is to ſay, would it be impoſſible to ſubject the rulers of every ſtate to this Illuminizing Society, and to convert them into mere tools of the Order even in the government of their own dominions?

"II. Were it to be objected, that ſuch a ſociety "might abuſe its power, would not the following con- "ſiderations do away ſuch an objection?---Do not our "preſent rulers daily abuſe their power? And are not "the people ſilent, notwithſtanding ſuch an abuſe? Is "this power as ſecure from abuſe in the hands of "Princes, as it would be in thoſe of our adepts whom "we train up with ſo much care? If then any go- "vernment could be harmleſs, would it not be our's, "which would be entirely founded on morality, fore- "ſight, wiſdom, liberty, and virtue?"

"III. Though this univerſal government, founded "on morality, ſhould prove chimerical, would it not "be *worth while to make an eſſay of it?*

"IV. Would not the moſt ſceptical man find a "ſufficient guarantee againſt any abuſe of power on "the part of our Order, in the liberty of abandoning "it at pleaſure; in the happineſs of having Superiors "of tried merit, who, unknown to each other, could

* Inſtructions for conferring the degree of Regent, Nos. 1, 2, 3. Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus.

" not poſſibly ſupport each other in their treaſonable " combinations againſt the general welfare; Superiors, " in ſhort, who would be deterred from doing harm " by the fear of the exiſting chiefs of empires?"

" V. Should there exiſt any other ſecret means of " guarding againſt the abuſe of that authority en- " truſted by the Order to our Superiors, what might " they be?

" VI. Suppoſing deſpotiſm were to enſue, would it " be dangerous in the hands of men who, from the " very firſt ſtep we made in the Order, teach us no- " thing but ſcience, liberty, and virtue? Would not " that deſpotiſm loſe its ſting in the conſideration that " thoſe chiefs who may have conceived dangerous " plans will have begun by diſpoſing a machine in di- " rect oppoſition to their views."*

To underſtand the tendency of theſe queſtions, let us reflect on the meaning given by the Sect to *liberty* and *general welfare*. Above all, let us not forget the leſſon already given to the adepts on morality; the art of teaching men to ſhake off the yoke of their minority, to ſet aſide Princes and Rulers, and to learn to govern themſelves. This leſſon once well underſtood, the moſt contracted underſtanding muſt perceive, in ſpite of the inſidious tenour of theſe queſtions, that their ſole tendency is to aſk, whether " a Sect would be very dangerous who, under pretence of hindering the chiefs of nations, Kings, Miniſters, and Magiſtrates, from hurting the people, ſhould begin by maſtering the opinions of all thoſe who ſurrounded Kings, Miniſters, or Magiſtrates; or ſhould ſeek by inviſible means to captivate all the councils, and the agents of public authority, in order to reinſtate mankind in the rights of their pretended majority; and to teach the ſubject to throw off the authority of his Prince, and learn to govern himſelf; or, in other words, to deſtroy every King, Miniſter, Law, Magiſtrate, and public authority whatever?" The Candidate, too well trained to the ſpirit of Illuminiſm not to ſee the real tendency of theſe queſtions, but alſo too much perverted by it to be ſtartled at them, knows what anſwers he is to give to obtain the new degree. Should he ſtill har-

* Inſtructions for conferring the degree of Regent, No. 1, 2, 3. Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus.

bour any doubts, the ceremonies of his inſtallation would diveſt him of them. Theſe are not theoſophical or inſignificant ceremonies; every ſtep demonſtrates the diſorganizing genius, and the hatred for all authority, which irritates the ſpleen of their impious author; and it is therefore that Weiſhaupt, when writing to Zwack, repreſents them *as infinitely more important* than thoſe of the preceding degree.*

The Inauguration.

When the admiſſion of the new adept is reſolved on, he is informed, "that as in future he is to be entruſted with papers belonging to the Order, of far greater importance than any that he has yet had in his poſſeſſion, it is neceſſary that the Order ſhould have further ſecurities. He is therefore to make his will, and inſert a particular clauſe with reſpect to any private papers which he may leave in caſe of ſudden death. He is to get a formal and juridical receipt of that part of his will from his family, or from the public Magiſtrate, and he is to take their promiſes in writing that they will fulfil his intentions."‡

This precaution taken, and the day for the initiation fixed, the adept is admitted into an anti-chamber hung with black. Its furniture conſiſts in a ſkeleton elevated on two ſteps, at the feet of which are laid a crown and a ſword---There he is aſked for the written diſpoſitions he has made concerning the papers with which he may be entruſted, and the juridical promiſe he has received that his intentions ſhall be fulfilled. His hands are then loaded with chains, as if he were a ſlave; and he is thus left to his meditations.† The Provincial who performs the functions of Initiator is alone in the firſt ſaloon, ſeated on a throne. The Introducer, having left the Candidate to his reflections, enters this room, and in a voice loud enough to be heard by the new adept, the following Dialogue takes place between them.

"*Provincial.* Who brought this ſlave to us?"

"*Introducer.* He came of his own accord; he knocked at the door."

"*Prov.* What does he want?"

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 24, from Weiſhaupt to Cato.

‡ Inſtructions for conferring this degree, No. 5.

† Ritual of this degree, No. 1.

" *Introd.* He is in ſearch of Liberty, and aſks to be " freed from his chains."

" *Prov.* Why does he not apply to thoſe who have " chained him?"

" *Introd.* They refuſe to break his bonds; they ac- " quire too great an advantage from his ſlavery."

" *Prov.* Who then is it that has reduced him to " this ſtate of ſlavery?"

" *Introd.* Society, governments, the ſciences, and " falſe religion." *Die geſelſchaft, der ſtaat, die gelehr-* " *ſamkeit, die falſche religion.*"

" *Prov.* And he wiſhes to caſt off this yoke to be- " come a ſeditious man and a rebel?"

" *Introd.* No; he wiſhes to unite with us, to join " in our fights againſt the conſtitution of governments, " the corruptions of morals, and the profanation of re- " ligion. He wiſhes through our means to become " powerful, that he may attain the grand ultimatum."

" *Prov.* And who will anſwer to us, that after hav- " ing obtained that power he will not alſo abuſe it, " that he will not be a tyrant and the author of new " misfortunes?"

" *Introd.* His heart and his reaſon are our guaran- " tees---the Order has enlightened him. He has learn- " ed to conquer his paſſions and to know himſelf. Our " Superiors have tried him."

" *Prov.* That is ſaying a great deal---Is he alſo " ſuperior to prejudice. Does he prefer the general " intereſt of the univerſe to that of more limited " aſſociations?"

" *Introd.* Such have been his promiſes."

" *Prov.* How many others have made ſimilar pro- " miſes who did not keep them? Is he maſter of him- " ſelf? Can he reſiſt temptation? Are perſonal conſide- " rations of no avail with reſpect to him? Aſk him, " whether the ſkeleton he has before him is that of a " king, a nobleman, or a beggar?"

" *Introd.* He cannot tell; nature has deſtroyed all " that marked the depraved ſtate of inequality; all " that he ſees is, that this ſkeleton was man like us; " and the character of man is all that he attends to."

" *Prov.* If ſuch be his ſentiments, let him be free " at his own riſk and peril. But he knows us not,

" Go and ask him why he implores our protection?"*

This dialogue ended (and the reader will not be at a loss to perceive the drift of it,) the Introducer returns to the Candidate, and says, " Brother, the knowledge " you have acquired can no longer leave you in doubt " as to the grandeur, the importance, the disinterested- " ness and lawfulness of our great object. It must " therefore be indifferent to you whether you are ac- " quainted with our Superiors or not; nevertheless, I " have some information to impart to you on that " subject."

This information is nothing more than a summary of a pretended history of Masonry, going back to the deluge; and of what the Sect calls the fall of man, the loss of his dignity, and of the true doctrine. The story then continues to Noah and the few who escaped the deluge in the ark; these, he says, were a few Sages or Freemasons, who have maintained the true principles in their secret schools. It is for that reason, says the Instructor, that Masonry has preserved the denominations of *Noachists* and *Patriarchs*---Then comes a recapitulation of what had been said in the degree of *Epopt* on the pretended views of Christ, on the decline of Masonry, and on the honour reserved to Illuminism to preserve and revive these true and ancient mysteries---" When questioned (says the Instructor) as to whom we are indebted to for the actual constitution of our Order, and the present form of the inferior degrees, the following is the answer we give:

" Our founders, without doubt, had extensive knowledge, since they have transmitted so much to us.--- Actuated by a laudable zeal for the general welfare, they formed a code of laws for our Order; but, partly through prudence, and partly to guard against their own passions, they left the direction of the edifice they had raised to other hands, and retired. Their names will for ever remain in oblivion---The chiefs who govern the Order at present are not our founders; but posterity will doubly bless those unknown benefactors who have despised the vain glory of immortalizing their names. Every document which could have thrown light on our origin has been committed to the flames."

* Ritual of this degree, No. 1.

"You will now be under the direction of other men; men who, gradually educated by the Order, have at length been placed at the helm. You will ſoon make one of their number---Tell me only, whether you ſtill harbour any doubt as to the object of the Order."

The Candidate, who has long ſince been paſt all poſſibility of doubt, advances with his Introducer towards another ſaloon; but, on opening the door, ſeveral of the adepts run and oppoſe their entrance.——A new dialogue takes place in the ſtyle of the firſt——Who goes there?---Who are you?---It is a ſlave who has fled from his maſters——No ſlave ſhall enter here---He has fled that he might ceaſe to be a ſlave; he craves an aſylum and protection——But ſhould his maſter follow?---He is ſafe, the doors are ſhut——But ſhould he be a traitor?---He is not one, he has been educated under the eyes of the Illuminees. They have imprinted the divine ſeal on his forehead.---The door opens, and thoſe who oppoſed the Candidate's entrance eſcort him to the third ſaloon. Here new obſtacles occur, and another dialogue takes place between an adept in the inſide and the Introducer. In the mean time the Provincial has left his former ſtation, and has ſeated himſelf upon a throne in this third room. [It is worthy of remark that theſe enemies of thrones are themſelves always ſeated on a throne.] The Provincial gives orders that the Candidate may be admitted, and deſires to ſee whether he really bears the print of the ſeal of liberty. The Brethren accompany the new adept to the foot of the throne.

"*Prov.* Wretch! You are a ſlave: and yet dare "enter an aſſembly of free men! Do you know the "fate that awaits you? You have paſſed through two "doors to enter this; but you ſhall not go hence un-"puniſhed, if you profane this ſanctuary."

"*Introd.* That will not happen; I will be his gua-"rantee. You have taught him to thirſt after liberty; "and now keep your promiſe."

"*Prov.* Well, Brother, we have ſubjected you to "various trials. The elevation of your ſentiments has "made us conceive you to be both proper and worthy "of being admitted into our Order. You have thrown "yourſelf with confidence and without reſerve into

" our arms: and it is time to impart to you that li-
" berty which we have painted to you in such bewitch-
" ing colours. *We have been your guide during all the*
" *time that you stood in need of one. You are now*
" *strong enough to conduct yourself; be then in future*
" *your own guide, be it at your own peril and risk. Be*
" *free; that is to say, be a man, and a man who knows*
" *how to govern himself; a man who knows his duty,*
" *and his imprescriptible rights; a man who serves the*
" *universe alone; whose actions are solely directed to the*
" *general benefit of the world and of human nature.*
" *Every thing else is injustice---Be free and independent;*
" *in future be so of yourself---Here, take back the engage-*
" *ments you have hitherto contracted with us. To you*
" *we return them all.*"

As he pronounces these words, the Provincial returns him all the writings which concern him, such as his oaths, his promises, the minutes of his admission to the preceding degrees, the history of his life which he had transmitted to the superiors, and all the notes taken by the Scrutators concerning him.

This perhaps is one of the most delicate traits of policy of the sect. The chiefs have had full leisure to pry into the most secret recesses of his heart, and the Scrutators have no further discoveries to make. The candidate may take back his oaths and his secrets, but recollections (perhaps copies) still remain, and the Initiator may well continue: " In future you will owe us no-
" thing but that which your heart shall dictate. We
" do not tyrannize over men, we only enlighten them.
" Have you found contentment, rest, satisfaction, hap-
" piness, among us? You will not then abandon us.
" Can we have mistaken you, or can you have mista-
" ken us? It would be a misfortune for you; but you
" are free. Remember only that men free and *inde-*
" *pendent* do not offend each other; on the contrary,
" they assist and mutually protect each other. Remem-
" ber, that to offend another man, is to give him the
" right of defending himself. Do you wish to make
" a noble use of the power we give to you? rely on
" our word: you shall find zeal and protection among
" us. Could a disinterested zeal for your brethren
" glow in your heart, then labour at the grand object,
" labour for unfortunate human nature, and thy last

" hour ſhall be bleſt. We aſk nothing elſe from " you, we aſk nothing for ourſelves. Queſtion your " own heart, and let it ſay whether our conduct to " you has not been noble and diſintereſted. After ſo " many favours, could you be ungrateful, your heart " ſhould avenge us, and chaſtiſe you. But no; many " trials have proved you to be a man of conſtancy and " reſolution. Be ſuch your character, and in future " govern with us oppreſſed man, and labour at ren- " dering him virtuous and free."

" Oh, Brother! what a ſight, what hopes! when " one day happineſs, affection, and peace ſhall be the " inhabitants of the earth! when miſery, error, and " oppreſſion, ſhall diſappear with ſuperfluous wants! " when, each one at his ſtation labouring only for the " general good, every father of a family ſhall be ſo- " vereign in his tranquil cot! when *he that wiſhes to* " *invade theſe ſacred rights ſhall not find an aſylum on* " *the face of the earth!* when idleneſs ſhall be no longer " ſuffered! *when the clod of uſeleſs ſciences ſhall be caſt* " *aſide*, and none ſhall be taught but thoſe which con- " tribute to make man better, and to reinſtate him in " his primitive freedom, his future deſtiny! when we " may flatter ourſelves with having forwarded that " happy period, and complacently view the fruits of " our labours! when in fine, each man viewing his " brother in his fellow-creature, ſhall extend a ſuc- " couring hand---with us and ours you ſhall find hap- " pineſs and peace, ſhould you continue faithful and " attached to us. You will alſo remark, that the ſign of " this degree conſiſts in extending your arms to a bro- " ther with your hands open, to ſhow that they are not " ſullied by injuſtice or oppreſſion, and the *gripe* is to " ſeize the brother by the two elbows, as it were to " hinder him from falling. The *word* is *redemption*."

The foregoing paſſages ſo clearly demonſtrate the meaning of this word *redemption*, that the reader muſt be ſurpriſed at learning that there ſtill remain further myſteries to be revealed.---The candidate is not yet admitted into the higheſt claſs. He is only the Prince Illuminee, and has to gain admiſſion to the two degrees of *Philoſopher*, and of the *Man King*. He is inveſted in his new principality by receiving a buckler,

boots, a cloak, and a hat. The words pronounced at the inveſtiture, are worthy of the reader's attention.

On preſenting the buckler, the Initiator ſays, "Arm "thyſelf with fidelity, truth, and conſtancy; *be a true "Chriſtian*, and the ſhafts of calumny and misfortune "ſhall not pierce thee." *Be a Chriſtian! (und ſey ein Chriſt)!!* What a ſtrange Chriſtian; what a wicked wretch then muſt be the Initiator who dares carry his diſſimulation to ſuch lengths, and profane that ſacred name in myſteries ſo evidently combined for the eradication of every trace of Chriſtianity! But the adept ſmiles, or his ſtupidity muſt be beyond expreſſion if he does not ſee through ſo miſerable a cant.

On preſenting the boots: "Be active in the ſervice "of the good, and fear no road which may lead to "the propagation or diſcovery of happineſs." This will recall to our minds the principle, *whatever may be the means*, fear not to employ them when they lead to what the ſect calls happineſs.

On giving the cloak: "*Be a prince over thy people;* "that is to ſay, be ſincere and wiſe, the benefactor of "thy brethren, and teach them ſcience." The reader will not be at a loſs to underſtand what ſcience.

The formula of *the hat* is, "Beware of ever ex- "changing this hat of liberty *(dieſen frey heitſhut)* for "a crown."

Thus decorated, the Prince Illuminee receives the fraternal embrace.---He then hears read the inſtructions for his new degree; but as they entirely relate (like thoſe of the preceding degree) to the government of the brethren, they will be treated of in the laſt part of the code. It is now time to proceed to the Grand Myſteries.

CHAP. XII.

Ninth Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---Claſs of the Grand Myſteries; the Mage or the Philoſopher, and the Man King.

The text not to be obtained.

BY the great importance which the ſect places in the laſt myſteries of Illuminiſm, and the many precautions it has taken to conceal them from the public view, I am compelled to begin this chapter with candidly declaring, that every attempt to diſcover the original text of this part of the Code has been fruitleſs. Such an avowal, however, ſhould not diſconcert the reader. Though the real text may be wanting, we have abundant matter to ſupply its place. We have Weiſhaupt's familiar correſpondence; we are in poſſeſſion of the letters of many of the adepts who enthuſiaſtically admired them; and the avowals are ſtill extant of other adepts, who indignantly beheld ſuch abominations. Our judgment will be guided by laws laid down by Weiſhaupt himſelf; and the famous apology of this monſtrous legiſlator will teach us how to appreciate them. Such materials are more than ſufficient to ſupply the deficiency of the literal text. It is true, that the crafty cant and affected enthuſiaſm of the Hierophant will be wanting; but the ſubſtance of his declamation, the extent and monſtroſity of his ultimate plots will loſe nothing of their evidence. Let us begin then by attending to their author, and from him receive our firſt impreſſions.

Weiſhaupt's opinion on theſe myſteries.

Weiſhaupt, when writing to *Zwack* his *incomparable* man, and ſpeaking of the degree of *Epopte*, wherein impiety and rebellion ſeem to have ſtrained every nerve to diſſeminate their venemous principles againſt church and ſtate, he ſays, "One might be tempted "to think that this degree was the laſt and the moſt ſub-"lime: I have, nevertheleſs, THREE MORE *of infinitely* "*greater importance, which I reſerve for our Grand* "*Myſteries*. But theſe I keep at home, and only ſhow "them to the Areopagites, or to a few other brethren "the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their merit and their ſer-"vices.---Were you here, I would admit you to my

" degree, for you are worthy of it---But I never suffer " it to go out of my hands. *It is of too serious an* " *import ;* it is the key of the ancient and modern, the " religious and political history of the universe."

" That I may keep our provinces in due subordina- " tion, I will take care to have only three copies of " this degree in all Germany; that is to say, one in " each Inspection." He soon after writes again to the same adept: " I have composed four more degrees " above that of *Regent ;* and with respect to these " four, even the lowest of them, our degree of Priest " will be but child's play"---*Wo gegen den schlechesten der priester grad kinder spiel seyn soll.**

Before we draw any conclusion toward forming our judgment, let me recall to the mind of the reader those letters wherein Weishaupt declares, that every degree shall be an apprenticeship for the next, *a sort of Novitiate for the higher degrees.* That these degrees were always to be *in crescendo ;* in fine, that in the last class of the mysteries a perfect statement of the maxims and polity of Illuminism was to be given. *Und am ende folgt die totale einsicht in die politic und maximen des ordens.*† After such letters, the text of these mysteries is scarcely necessary. I know that these degrees were reduced to two for the last class of the mysteries; I know, from the agreement made by the founder and his intimate adepts, that the first was the *Mage,* or *Philosopher ;* the other, the *Man King.*‡ I will start from these data, and shall not hesitate to say, that this monster of impiety and of wickedness imposes on himself when he speaks of *degrees infinitely more important* for the higher mysteries, or when he pretends that those of *Epopt* and *Regent* are but *puerile* in comparison with those which he reserves for his intimate adepts. His execrable pride may flatter him with surpassing even the devils themselves, in his wicked inventions for sending forth the pestiferous blast; but their combined efforts could not suggest more hideous plots than those in which Weishaupt glories when calling them his *lesser mysteries.*---What! the

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 15, 16, 24, to Cato-Zwack.

† Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 4, to Cato.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 1, to Philo, and Second Part of Agreement of the Areopagites.

vow of annihilating every idea of religion, even to the very name of a God; the plan for overthrowing every government, even to the obliteration of every veſtige of laws, authority, or civil ſociety; the wiſh of deſtroying our arts and ſciences, our towns, and even villages, that they may realize their ſyſtems of Liberty and Equality; the deſire of exterminating the greater part of human nature, to work the triumph of their vagabond clans, over the remaining part of mankind. Theſe vows and wiſhes, theſe plots and plans, have already appeared in the leſſer myſteries, and his adepts muſt have been as ſtupid as he wiſhes them to be impious and wicked, if they have not ſeen through the web that veils from their ſight the baleful abyſs. And, after all, it is not the *object* or the *ſubſtance* of their plots which is thus ſlightly veiled; the *terms* alone are concealed. There only remains to ſay, that all religion ſhall be deſtroyed for the adoption of Atheiſm; every conſtitution, whether monarchical or republican, ſhall be overthrown in favour of abſolute independence; property ſhall be annihilated; ſcience and arts ſhall be ſuppreſſed; towns, houſes, and fixed habitations, reduced to aſhes, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the roaming and ſavage life, which the hypocrite, in his cant, calls *the patriarchal life*. Such are the terms; and the ſcroll of this hideous pantomime needed only to be unrolled, to tell the names of thoſe who were to appear on the gloomy ſtage of the laſt myſteries. The adept had long ſince inhaled the deleterious air with which Weiſhaupt had ſpared no pains to ſurround him; and could he nauſeate this, or turn away from theſe diſaſtrous machinations, the gates of the myſterious pit were ſhut againſt him. At ſuch a ſight nature ſhudders---The reader will cry out, None but monſters could have conceived or abetted ſuch plots. Be it ſo; I will not contradict him; I only wiſh to name theſe monſters.---Behold Weiſhaupt and his profound adepts! The reader will find the proofs of this exclamation in their own writings.

Weiſhaupt, who divided his myſteries into two claſſes, alſo diſtributed his laſt ſecrets under two heads. Firſt, Religion; which was the object of the *Mages*: The other comprehended what he called his Polity; and he reſerved it for the *Man King*. Let us ſepa-

rately inveſtigate each of theſe degrees, commencing with that principle which he himſelf lays down, and from which he never deviates, that each degree ſhall be a preparatory concatenation of principles and doctrines, the ultimate tendency of which was to form the object of the laſt myſteries. Such a principle is more than ſufficient to demonſtrate that the ſecret to be imparted to his *Mages* can be no other than the moſt abſolute Atheiſm, and the total ſubverſion of every Religion. The adept, however, has already imbibed ſuch horrid principles; and the ſecret conſiſts in telling him, in plain terms, that it was towards that point the Sect had long ſince been leading him, and that in future all his thoughts, words, and actions, muſt tend to ſecond the views of the Sect in their monſtrous undertaking; that in the preceding degrees the name of *Religion* had only been preſerved the better to deſtroy the thing; but that in future the very name would only be the expreſſion of chimeras, of ſuperſtition, of fanaticiſm, ſupported by deſpotiſm and ambition, as a tool for enſlaving mankind.

Secret of the *Mages*; Atheiſm.

This explication is no vain fancy of mine. See Weiſhaupt confidentially writing to his intimate and incomparable Cato-Zwack:

Proved by Weiſhaupt's letters.

"I firmly believe, that the ſecret doctrine of Chriſt "had no other object in view than the re-eſtabliſhment "of Jewiſh Liberty, which is the explanation I give of it. "I even believe, that Freemaſonry is nothing but a "Chriſtianity of this ſort; at leaſt, my explanation of "their Hieroglyphics perfectly coincides with ſuch an "explanation. In this ſenſe, nobody could bluſh at "being a Chriſtian; *for I preſerve the name, and ſub-*"*ſtitute reaſon,---denn ich laſſe den namen, und ſubſti-*"*tuiere ihm die vernunſt.*"---He continues: "It is no "trivial matter to have diſcovered a new Religion "and a new Polity in theſe tenebrous Hieroglyphics;" and he goes on to ſay, "One might be induced to "think that this was my higheſt degree; I have, never-"theleſs, three of infinitely more importance, for our "grand myſteries."* Here then is Weiſhaupt's deciſion on the degree of *Epopt* or *Illuminized Prieſt*.---It is Chriſtianity preſerving the *name of Religion*, with

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 15, to Cato.

the Goſpel converted into a code by means of which Chriſt taught the Jacobinical *Equality and Liberty*.† Here Weiſhaupt is tranſcendant in his wickedneſs and his impiety; it is under the ſacred name of Religion that he teaches his diſorganizing principles of *Equality and Liberty*. After having led his Epopts to the pinnacle of Impiety, to what farther lengths can he poſſibly lead his *Mage?*---He may eraſe the *names* of *Religion* and *God?* And this he will do in his higher myſteries; for who can expect to find them when he ſays, "You know that the *Unity of God* was one of the ſe-"crets revealed in the myſteries of Eleuſis; *as for that,* "*there is no fear of any ſuch thing being found in* "*mine.*"*

After this, can the name of God be expected ever to be found in the myſteries of the *Illuminized Mage* for any other purpoſe than to be blaſphemed? We ſee this ſame Weiſhaupt reſerving all the Atheiſtical productions for this degree; he writes again to his incomparable man: "With our beginners let us act prudently "with reſpect to books on Religion and Polity. *In* "*my plan I reſerve them for the grand myſteries.* At "firſt we muſt put only books of hiſtory or of meta-"phyſics into their hands. Let Morality be our pur-"ſuit. *Robinet, Mirabeau* (that is to ſay the ſyſtem of "nature written by Diderot, though attributed to Mi-"rabeau,) *the Social Syſtem, Natural Polity, the Philo-*"*ſophy of Nature,* and ſuch works, are reſerved for "my higher degrees.---At preſent they muſt not even "be mentioned to our adepts, and particularly *Hel-*"*vetius on Man.*"‡ The reader here ſees a liſt of the moſt Anti-religious and the moſt Atheiſtical works,‖ and that they are reſerved for theſe laſt myſteries. As a preparation for them *(horribile dictu!)* the very idea of a God muſt be eradicated from the mind of the adept. Can we doubt of this, when we ſee Weiſhaupt thus write: "Do put Brother *Nu-*"*menius* in correſpondence with me, I muſt try to "cure him of his Theoſophical ideas, and properly

† See the Diſcourſe on the Degree of Epopt.
* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 4, to Cato.
‡ Ibid. Let. 3, to Cato.
‖ See the Helvienne Letters on theſe Works.

" prepare him for our views.---*Ich will ihn ſuchen von* " *der Theoſophie zu curieren, und zu unſeren abſichten* " *zu beſtimmen.*"† The Theoſopher, or the man ſtill believing in a God, is not fit for theſe myſteries; Religion then muſt of courſe be irreconcileable with them. Were the conſequences leſs evident, and ſhould we reject theſe ſecret correſpondences, or condemn the laſt oracles of the Hierophant to remain *within the hundred bolts* which keeps them hidden from the adepts; I ſay, even then, to aſcertain what the tenets of the Sect are as to any worſhip or religion, we ſhould not be neceſſitated to enter that den of myſteries. Though Weiſhaupt had not mentioned Religion in his intimate correſpondence, the Atheiſtical Conſpiracy of his myſteries would be evident, and why ſeek private documents when he has given us irrefragable proofs of guilt in that which he publiſhes as his apology?

By his apology.

Two years after his flight, Weiſhaupt moſt daringly aſſerts, that the Syſtems of his Illuminiſm (as publiſhed by the civil powers) are but a mere ſketch, a plan as yet too ill-digeſted for the public to form any judgment either on him or his adepts, from the Original Writings or his Confidential Correſpondence. He publiſhes a new code, and calls it *The corrected Syſtem of Illuminiſm, with its degrees and conſtitutions, by Adam Weiſhaupt, Counſellor to the Duke of Saxe Gotha.* Here at leaſt we have a right to judge him and his myſteries, both in his apology and his corrected degrees. But the reader will now view him in a new light. He is not only the conſpiring infidel, but the inſolent Sophiſter, inſulting the public with all the haughtineſs of the moſt daring Atheiſt, ſhrugging his ſhoulders in diſdain at the reſt of mankind; and with impertinent pity ſaying to us all, as he did of the adepts whom he had duped, *poor creatures! what could one not make you believe!*

I deign to caſt my eyes on this apology, or the Illuminiſm corrected. He begins by telling us, that to have ſuppoſed him capable of compoſing ſo extenſive a work in two years *was doing him the honour of ſuppoſing him gifted with moſt extraordinary talents;* and

† Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 15, to Cato.

it is in such terms that the Sophister informs the public that he takes them for great fools. Let the contempt with which he treats his readers be retorted upon himself; let neither him nor his accomplices expect to descend to posterity with any other distinction than as the phenomena of vice and infamy. Are we to crouch in token of homage before the men who insolently scoff at their God and at the public weal? I know not whether Weishaupt needed extraordinary talents or not, though I grant him all the art and cunning of the Sophister; but most certainly he must have presumed much on the force of impudence when he flattered himself that the public would inevitably find that his corrected code contained no principles but such as would elevate the mind and tend to form great men.* What I find is, that it is nothing more than a medley of all the arts of his original code for the education or rather depravation of his adepts. Did I wish to form a stupid atheist, this would be the work I should chuse to put into his hands. As early as the third degree, in place of a God reigning as freely as he does powerfully over this universe, I find the universe transformed into a vast machine, in which every thing is held together or put in motion by I know not what fatality, decorated sometimes by the appellation of God, at others, of nature. Again: did I wish to decorate with the name of providence a destiny *which cannot annihilate a single atom without depriving the stars of their support and involving the whole universe in ruin*, this would be the work I should recommend: I would give it to the narrow-minded adept, who, in a world where every thing is said to be necessary, should still pretend to talk of virtue or vices, or who could comfort himself for all the harm which the wicked could do him, by learning that the wicked like the virtuous man only followed the course which nature had traced for him; and that they would both arrive at the same point as himself; In fine, I would put it into the hands of the imbecile, who would call *the art of making merry the art of being always happy*

* So hoffe ich doch sollen alle darin ubereinkommen, dass die in diesen graden aufgestellten grund-säze fähig seyen, grosse und erhabene menschen zu bilden—*Introduction to his corrected system.*

(ars semper gaudendi ;) the art of persuading one's self that one's misfortunes are incurable, or that they are all necessary.* But what reader will brook the impudence of that conspiring infidel, who, dedicating his mysteries as an apology to the whole world and all mankind---*der welt und dem menschlichen geschlecht*---and pretending to prove that his original mysteries are not a conspiracy against Religion, puts a discourse in the mouth of his new Hierophants, whose very title characterizes the most determined one both against God and Religion; he calls it, *An instruction for the adepts who are inclined to the fancy of believing in or of adoring a God!* I know it may be also translated, *An instruction for the Brethren inclining towards Theosophical or Religious enthusiasm.*† But if both these translations be not synonimous in the language of the Sophisters, let the reader judge, from the exordium of the discourse, which is the most accurate.

"He who wishes to labour for the happiness of "mankind, to add to the content and rest of the hu- "man species, to decrease their dissatisfaction (these "are literally the words of our Antitheosophical So- "phister,) must scrutinize and weaken *those principles* "which trouble their rest, contentment, and happiness. "Of this species are all those systems which are hostile "to the ennobling and perfecting of human nature; "which unnecessarily multiply evil in the world, or "represent it as greater than it really is: all those "systems which depreciate the merit and the dignity "of man, which diminish his confidence in his own "natural powers, and thereby render him lazy, pusil- "lanimous, mean, and cringing: all those also which "beget enthusiasm, which bring human reason into "discredit, and thus open a free course for imposture: "*All the Theosophical and Mystical Systems; all those* "*which have a direct or indirect tendency to such Sys-* "*tems; in short, all the principles derived from Theoso-* "*phy, which, concealed in our hearts, often finish by* "*leading men back to it, belong to this class.*"

In the course of his instructions, the reader is not to expect that Weishaupt will make any exception in fa-

* See in the corrected System the Discourse on the third class.

† Unterricht für alle mitgleider, welche zu Theosophischen schwärmereyen geneight sind.

vour of the revealed Religion, not even a hint at such an exception is to be seen.---The Religion of Christ is represented as a medley of the reveries of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of Judaism. It is in vain for the Israelites to believe in the Unity of God, in the coming of a Messiah; it is in vain to assert that such was the faith of their forefathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, long before they entered Egypt or Babylon; it is in vain to prove, that the adoration of the golden Calf, or of the god Apis, was punished by the Almighty as a prevarication of their Religion: Nothing will serve the Sophister; he will declare in his *corrected code*, that the Religion of the Jews was but a modification of the reveries of the Egyptians, of Zoroaster, or of the Babylonians. To *correct* his adepts, he teaches them to cast aside the Creation as a chimera unknown to antiquity, and to reduce all Religion to two Systems---The one, that of matter co-eternal with God, a part of God, proceeding from God, cast forth and separated from God, in order to become the world---The other, matter co-eternal with God, without being God, but worked by God, for the formation of the universe. On these foundations he builds a general history of all Religions and makes all appear equally absurd. The reader might be tempted to think that these lessons had been composed before the hegira or rather proscription of the author of Illuminism. They may have been compiled for one of those discourses which he declares to be of more importance than that of the Hierophant in the degree of Epopt.---He precisely follows the course which Knigge represents as the grand object of the last mysteries. He makes, after his fashion, a general compilation of all the schools of Philosophism and of its Systems; and hence he deduces Christanity and all Religions. The result of the whole is, that all Religions are founded on imposture and chimera, all end in rendering man *cowardly, lazy, cringing and superstitious;* all degrade him, and trouble his repose.* And it is thus that this Sophister, under pretence of his justification, daringly acts that part in public which before he had only ventured to act under the cover of his mysteries. He sallies forth from his

* See the last discourse of Illuminism corrected.

baleful abyſs but to proclaim to the world what heretofore he had only hinted to his adepts in private,—that the time was at length come for the overthrow of every Altar, and the annihilation of every Religion.

By Knigge's teſtimony.

Are any further proofs neceſſary to demonſtrate the object of the grand myſteries? The teſtimony of Knigge cannot be objected to, nor can Knigge pretend or wiſh to miſlead Zwack when confidentially correſponding with him. Both had ſigned the agreement of the Areopagites reſpecting the compilation of the degrees of Illuminiſm.* Let us then attend to theſe two adepts—Philo-Knigge has been exhibiting all that he has done, according to Weiſhaupt's inſtructions, in the degree of *Epopt*, to demonſtrate that Chriſt had no other view than the eſtabliſhment of natural Religion, or, in the language of Illuminiſm, the rights of Liberty and Equality. Knigge then continues: "After having thus ſhown to our people that we are "the real Chriſtians, we have only *a word to add* "againſt Prieſts and Princes. I have made uſe of "ſuch precaution in the degrees of Epopt and of Regent, that I ſhould not be afraid of conferring them "on Kings or Popes, provided they had undergone "the proper previous trials. In our laſt myſteries we "have to acknowledge this *pious fraud;* to prove, "upon the teſtimony of authors, the origin of all the "religious impoſtures, and to expoſe the whole with "their connections and dependencies."†

Such, reader, is *that word to add*, which was to be ſpoken only in the laſt myſteries of Illuminiſm! That *word* againſt prieſts and the miniſters of every worſhip! That *word* on the *pious fraud*, or rather labyrinth of impiety, in which the ſect had involved the candidate on his firſt entrance into the Order, only to extricate him when he was judged worthy of their laſt

* See this agreement in the Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II. ſigned the 20 *Adarmeth* 1551, or Anno Domini, 20 December 1781.

† Da nun die leute ſehen daſs wir die einzigen ächten wahren Chriſten ſind, ſo dürfen, wir da gegen ein word mehr gegen pfaffen und fürſten reden; doch habe ich dieſs ſo gethan, daſs ich päpſte und könige nach vorhergegangener prüfung, in dieſe grade aufnehmen wollte. Indem höheren myſterien ſollte man dann A dieſe *piam fraudem* entdecken, und B aus allen ſchrifften den urſprung aller religiözen lügen, und deren zuſammenhang entwickeln—*Original Writings, Vol. II. Let.* 1, *from Philo to Cato.*

myſteries! The adept muſt certainly be of weak intellects, and his credulity muſt border on ſtupidity, if he has not, in the degree of Epopt, and long before, obſerved whither they were leading him. But ſhould he really be ſtill in the dark, or could he view with indignation the artifices which have been uſed with him; if all reflection have not abandoned him; what will not the very term of *pious fraud* diſcover to him? Will it not recall to his mind, "that on the firſt invita-"tions of the ſect, to entice him into their Order, they "began by telling him, that nothing contrary to reli-"gion would ever enter the projects of the Order? "Does he not remember, that this declaration was re-"peated on his admiſſion into the noviciate, and reite-"rated when he was received into the minerval aca-"demy? Has he forgotten, how ſtrongly the ſect "enforced the ſtudy of morality and of virtue in the "firſt degrees, and how carefully it iſolated both "from religion? When pouring forth its encomium on "religion, did not the ſect inſinuate, that true religion "widely differed from thoſe myſteries and worſhip "which had degenerated in the hands of the prieſt-"hood? Does he remember with what art and affected "reſpect it ſpoke of Chriſt and his Goſpel in the de-"grees of *Major Illuminee*, of *Scotch Knight*, and of "*Epopt;* how the Goſpel was inſenſibly metamorphoſ-"ed into illuminized reaſon, its morality into that of "Nature; and from a moral, reaſonable, and natural "religion, how a religion and a morality of the rights "of man, *of Liberty and Equality*, were deduced? "Does he reflect how all the different parts of this "ſyſtem and opinions of the ſect were inſinuated to "him, how naturally they occurred and appeared to "have been foſtered in his own breaſt? Could not "the Sect ſay to him, 'tis true, we put you on the "way, but you were much more earneſt in ſolving "our queſtions than we in anſwering yours. When, "for example, we aſked whether the religions which "nations had adopted fulfilled the objects for which "they were intended; whether the pure and ſimple "religion of Chriſt was really that which different "Sects profeſſed at this preſent day, we knew what to "believe, but we wiſhed to know how far you had "inhaled our principles. We had a multitude of

" prejudices to conquer in you, before we could ſuc-
" ceed in perſuading you that the pretended religion
" of Chriſt was but an invention of prieſt-craft, im-
" poſture, and tyranny. If ſuch be the caſe with the
" much-admired and loudly proclaimed Goſpel, what
" are we to think of all other religions? Learn, then,
" that they are all founded on fiction, all originate in
" impoſition, error, impoſture, and chimera. Such is
" our ſecret. All the windings we made; the hypo-
" theſes we aſſumed; the promiſes ſet forth; the pa-
" negyric pronounced on Chriſt and his ſecret ſchools;
" the fable, of Maſonry being for a long time in poſ-
" ſeſſion of his true doctrines, and our Order being
" at preſent ſole depoſitary of his myſteries, can no
" longer be ſubjects of ſurpriſe. If, to overturn Chriſ-
" tianity and every religion, we pretended ſolely to
" poſſeſs true Chriſtianity, the true religion, remember
" that the *end ſanctifies the means*, that the ſage *muſt*
" *make uſe of all thoſe means for good purpoſes, which*
" *the wicked do for evil.* The means we have em-
" ployed to rid you, and which we continue in order to
" rid mankind of all religion, are but a *pious fraud*,
" which we always meant to reveal to you when
" admitted to the degree of *Mage*, or of *Illuminized*
" *Philoſopher!!!*"

By the avowal of an honeſt adept.

To theſe reflections *on the word to be added* in the laſt myſteries (ſufficiently demonſtrated by the aſcenſion of the degrees, by Weiſhaupt's apology, by his intimate correſpondence, and that of his moſt perfect adepts) let us ſubjoin the avowal of a man little calculated indeed for a member of ſuch an abominable tribe, but who has better than any perſon known how to tear the maſk from their hideous countenances, and expoſe their wickedneſs. I am acquainted with his real name; I am aware that it would greatly add to the confidence of the public; but I alſo know that could Illuminiſm diſcover his aſylum, it would follow him to drink his blood, though it were to the ſouthern pole. He is then entitled to ſecrecy; till now it has been obſerved, nor will I be the firſt to infringe his right. The Germans have paid him homage, and, ignorant of his name, they have ſurnamed him *Biedermann*, or Man of Honour; at leaſt, it is under that denomination that his works are generally cited. All that I

can ſay in addition to what the public is already in poſſeſſion of reſpecting this gentleman is, that nothing could have induced him to continue ſo diſguſting a courſe, but a zeal for the public welfare, and a juſt opinion, that the only means of preventing the effects of the conſpiracy of the ſect was to make their machinations public.---Having paſſed through all the degrees, he was at length admitted to the laſt myſteries. He publiſhed thoſe of *Epopt or Prieſt, and of Regent*, under the title of *Laſt Works of Philo and Spartacus*. He ſubjoined the inſtructions belonging to thoſe degrees, with *a Critical Hiſtory of all the degrees of Illuminiſm*. Had I no other guarantee of the veracity of his aſſertions, than their glaring coincidence with the original writings, which is beyond all doubt with the attentive inveſtigator, I ſhould not heſitate in declaring him to be the man that has given the trueſt account, and was beſt acquainted with the ſect. The certificate at the head of the degree of *Epopt and Regent*, for a more perfect knowledge of which the public is indebted to him, I look upon as undoubtedly genuine. I know a perſon who has ſeen and read this certificate in the original, in *Philo*-Knigge's own hand-writing, and who has ſeen the ſeal of the Order attached to this certificate. I thus particularize becauſe the public is entitled, in diſcuſſions of this importance, to know how far I have extended my reſearches, and how far the grounds I work upon deſerve to be credited.---The paſſage I am about to quote is looked upon as fundamental by all German authors; it is from Biederman, and occurs near the end of his *Critical Hiſtory*.

" With reſpect to the two degrees of *Mage* and of " *Man King*, there is no reception, that is to ſay, there " are no ceremonies of initiation. Even the Elect are " not permitted to tranſcribe theſe degrees, they only " hear them read; and that is the reaſon why I do not " publiſh them with this work."

" The firſt is that of *Mage*, alſo called Philoſopher. " It contains the fundamental principles of Spinoſiſm. " Here every thing is *material;* God and the world " are but one and the ſame thing; all religions are

" *inconſiſtent*, chimerical, and the invention of ambi-
" tious men."*

* Der erſte, welcher *Magus* auch *Philoſophus* heiſt, enthält ſpinoſiſtiche grundsätze, nach welchen alles materiell, Gott und die welt einerley, alle religion unſtatthaft, und eine erfindung herſüchtiger menſchen iſt.

I might have quoted the teſtimony of another adept, who writes as follows to the authors of the Eudemonia: (Vol. III. No. 2, Art. 4.) " I alſo can declare that I have been preſent " at the grand myſteries; particularly, that in 1785 I was " entruſted with the inſtructions of the degree of *Mage* or " *Philoſopher;* and that the ſhort deſcription given in the " ENDLICHES SCHICKSAL (or the laſt object of Free-" maſonry) is perfectly exact and well-grounded." The author of the *Endliches Shickſal* has only, like myſelf, copied the text from *Biederman*. I have no knowledge of this new adept. I ſee he has ſigned his letter, deſiring the authors of the Eudemonia not to make uſe of his name without an abſolute neceſſity. " Beſides," he adds, " I am a Roman Ca-" tholic; and in the country in which I live might find diſ-" agreeable conſequences from not having aſked to be ab-" ſolved from my oath, *before I publiſhed what I had promiſed* " *to keep ſecret.*" Sir, I am a Catholic as well as yourſelf, and ſhould wiſh to know where you have learned, that the oath you had taken to the Illuminees was ſuperior to that you had taken to the ſtate. How then could you reconcile with your conſcience the keeping back from the magiſtrate or the prince ſuch proofs as you had acquired of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate? Yes, do penance, and aſk abſolution for having taken ſuch an oath, and for not having been true to the oath of allegiance which you had ſworn to the ſtate, and from which you could not be abſolved by *any power on earth.*—— What ſingular ideas are ſometimes formed of probity! To perſuade one's ſelf that one is bound by an oath to a band of conſpirators, while the oath of allegiance is overlooked!— Sir, had you ſaid, that it was neceſſary to take proper precautions for your ſecurity, that *wretches pretending to the power of life and death* might not aſſaſſinate you, nothing could be more natural; take your precautions while informing the public magiſtrate, but do not come and give us as an excuſe your fidelity to an oath, which in itſelf is nothing leſs than a perjury to the ſtate.

Notwithſtanding, however, the reproach juſtly merited by this adept, his teſtimony is not to be neglected, ſince he has ſent his name to the editors of the Eudemonia, a journal printed at Franckfort on the Mein, and highly deſerving of

"Divers principles," continues the author, "thrown "out in the preceding degrees might in ſome meaſure "point out the object the ſect had in view." Certainly nothing could be better grounded than ſuch a ſurmiſe ---Nature, ſo often united with God, repreſented active like God, following, with the ſame immenſity of power, the ſame wiſdom as God, the courſe which it had traced; a hundred ſuch expreſſions in the mouth of the Hierophant evidently indicated, that the God of Weiſhaupt was that of Spinoſa or Lucretius, no other than matter and the univerſe; in fine, the God of Atheiſm. Let the Sieur D'Alembert aſſert, that nothing can be more oppoſite to Atheiſm than Spinoſiſm;* or let Spinoſa ſay, that, ſo far from being an Atheiſt, he converts every thing into God; will ſuch an excuſe raiſe pity or indignation in the reader? To deny that there is any other God than the world, is evidently denying the only being that can juſtly be called God. It is laughing at men, to wiſh to make them believe, that the perſon is preſerved becauſe they do not dare deſtroy the name, at the very time that the name of God is only uſed as an agent for the annihilation of every idea of a Deity.

I think I have ſufficiently demonſtrated, that the firſt object of theſe grand myſteries of Illuminiſm, prepared with ſo much art and cunning, is no other than to plunge the adepts into a monſtrous Atheiſm, to perſuade all nations that religion is but an invention of ambitious impoſtors, and that to deliver nations from this deſpotiſm of impoſture, and recover the famous rights of man, Liberty and Equality, they muſt begin by annihilating every religion, every worſhip, every altar, and ceaſe to believe in a God.

Let us continue the declaration of *Biederman*, and the object of the laſt part of the myſteries (or the degree of the Man King) will be equally clear. The Man King, by the ſame adept.

encouragement for the vigour with which the editors combat the Illuminees. Their writings have frequently corroborated materials that I had received from Auſtria and Bavaria, which gives me great confidence in the reſearches I have made.

* Panegyric of Monteſquieu.

"The second degree of the grand mysteries," he says, "called the *Man King*, teaches that every in-"habitant of the country or town, every father of a "family, is sovereign, as men formerly were in the "times of the patriarchal life, to which mankind is "once more to be carried back; that, in consequence, "all authority and all magistracy must be destroyed. "---I have read these two degrees, and have passed "through all those of the Order."†

How well authenticated soever this testimony may be, still one is loth to think that there could have existed men at once so absurd and so wicked as to take such exquisite pains to educate their adepts merely to address them in the end to the following purpose: "All that we have done for you hitherto was only to "prepare you to co-operate with us in the annihilation "of all Magistracy, all Governments, all Laws, and "all Civil Society; of every Republic and even De-"mocracy, as well as of every Aristocracy or Monar-"chy---It all tended to infuse into you and make you "insensibly imbibe that which we plainly tell you at "present---All men are equal and free, this is their "imprescriptible right; but it is not only under the "dominion of Kings that you are deprived of the ex-"ercise of these rights. They are annulled wherever "man recognizes any other law than his own will. "We have frequently spoken of Despotism and of "Tyranny; but they are not confined to an Aristo-"cracy or a Monarchy: Despotism and Tyranny as "essentially reside in the Democratic sovereignty of "the people, or in the legislative people, as in the "legislative King. What right has that people to "subject me and the minority to the decrees of its "majority? Are such the rights of nature? Did the "sovereign or legislative people exist any more than "Kings or Aristocratic Legislators at that period when "man enjoyed his natural Liberty and Equality?--- "Here then are our mysteries---All that we have said

† Der zweyte, *Rex* genannt, lehrt dafs jeder Bauer, Bürger und haufvater ein *fouverain* fey, wie in dem patriarchalischen leben, auf welches die leute weider züruck-gebracht werden müsten, gewesen fey; und dafs folglich alle obrigkeit wegfallen müsse—Diese beyden gradeñ habe auch ich, der ich in dem orden alles durchgegangen bin, selbst gelesen. *Ibid.*

" to you of Tyrants and Deſpots, was only deſigned in-
" ſenſibly to lead you to what we had to impart con-
" cerning the deſpotiſm and Tyranny of the people
" themſelves. Democratic governments are not more
" conſonant with nature than any others. If you aſk,
" How it will be poſſible for men aſſembled in towns
" to live in future without laws, magiſtrates, or con-
" ſtituted authorities,---the anſwer is clear, Deſert your
" towns and villages, and fire your houſes. Did men
" build houſes, villages, or towns in the days of the
" Patriarchs? They were all equal and free; the earth
" belonged to them all, each had an equal right, and
" lived where he choſe. Their country was the world,
" and they were not confined to England or Spain, to
" France or Germany; their country was the whole
" earth, and not a Monarchy or petty Republic in
" ſome corner of it. Be equal and free, and you will
" be coſmopolites or citizens of the world. Could you
" but appreciate Equality and Liberty as you ought,
" you would view with indifference Rome, Vienna, Pa-
" ris, London, or Conſtantinople in flames, or any of
" thoſe towns, boroughs, or villages which you call your
" country.---Friend and Brother, ſuch is the grand ſe-
" cret which we reſerved for our Myſteries!!!"

It is painful indeed to believe, that ſtupidity, pride, and wickedneſs, ſhould have thus combined to prepare adepts, who, attending Weiſhaupt's Myſteries, could miſtake them for the Oracles of true Wiſdom and tranſcendant Philoſophy. How may Jacobins and thoſe pretended patriots of Democracy bluſh, when they learn the real object of the Sect which directs their actions; when they learn that they have only been the tools of a Sect whoſe ultimate object is to overturn even their Democratic Conſtitutions!---But in attributing ſuch language to the Hierophant of the laſt Myſteries, what more have I ſaid than the Illuminizing Legiſlator has already declared! What other can be the meaning of his *Patriarchal* or of his *Nomade* or *roaming life*, of thoſe vagabond clans, or of man ſtill in the ſavage ſtate?* What Democracy even could conſiſt with the Patriarchal life or the vagabond clans? Where is the neceſſity for attending the laſt Myſteries,

By the foregoing degrees.

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 10, to Cato.

to learn from the Sect itself the extent of their conspiracies? We have seen Weishaupt curling that day as one of the most disastrous for mankind, when, uniting themselves in civil society, they instituted Laws and Governments, and first formed *nations and people*. We have seen him depreciate *nations* and the *national spirit* as the grand source of Egotism; call down vengeance on the *laws*, on the *rights* of nations as incompatible with the *laws and rights of nature*. What else can the Sect mean by saying, that *nations shall disappear from the face of the earth*, than the annihilation of all civil or national society? Why those blasphemies against *the love of one's country*, if not to persuade the adepts to acknowledge none?---Have we not heard the Hierophant teaching that true morality consisted *in the art of casting Princes and Governors aside and of governing one's self;* that the *real original sin* in mankind was their uniting under the laws of civil society; that their *redemption* could be accomplished only by the abolition of this civil state? And when his frantic hatred against all government exalts his imagination, does he not enthusiastically exclaim, *Let the laughers laugh, the scoffers scoff; still the day will come, when Princes and Nations shall disappear from the face of the earth;* a time *when each man shall recognize no other law but that of his reason?* Nor does he hesitate to say, that *this shall be the grand work of* SECRET SOCIETIES. They are to reinstate man in his rights of Equality and Liberty, in an independence of every law but that of his reason. Such he formally declares to be one of the grand mysteries of his Illuminism;* and can the reader quietly sit down and think that all these declarations of the author of Illuminism, who must be superior to his Mysteries, have not the absolute ruin of every law, government, and civil society in view? Has he not seen the Sect anticipating those objections which evidence might have suggested against systems still more wicked than stupid; forewarning the adepts, that independence once more restored among men, it was not to meet the same fate it formerly had, and was never to be lost again;---teaching that mankind, having acquired wisdom by its disasters, will resemble

* See the Degree of Epopt.

a man corrected of his errors by long experience, and who carefully avoids those faults which were the cause of his past misfortunes? Has not the reader heard him proclaim to his elect, that this independence once recovered, the empire of the laws and all civil society would cease; and will he still continue to disbelieve the existence of the most deliberate and most dangerous Conspiracy that ever was formed against society!

Should any of my readers be weak enough to be seduced by the imaginary sweets of a patriarchal life, so artfully promised by Weishaupt, let them receive the explanation of that life from these pretended Apostles of Nature.

At my outset I did not only declare, that the destruction of civil society was the object of their views; I did not confine myself to saying, that should Jacobinism triumph every Religion and every Government would be overthrown; but I added, *that to whatever rank in society you may belong, your riches and your fields, your houses and your cottages, even your very wives and children would be torn from you.** I also rejected *fanaticism and enthusiasm* in my own and my reader's name. I have said it, and, adopting the simplest construction, do not proofs of the most extensive plots croud upon us from the very lessons of the Sect? Can common sense, nay can the strongest prejudice, refuse to admit such powerful evidence?

Let him who may wish to preserve his field, his house, or the smallest part of his property, under this patriarchal life, go back to the *lesser Mysteries*; there let him hear the Hierophant teaching the adept, that it would have been happy for man, "Had he known "how to preserve himself in the primitive state in "which nature had placed him!---But soon the un-"happy germ developed itself in his heart, and rest "and happiness disappeared. As families multiplied, "the necessary means of subsistence began to fail. *The "Nomade or roaming life ceased*; *Property began; Men "chose fixed habitations; Agriculture brought them to-"gether.*" What were in the eyes of the Sect the dreadful consequences of this deviation from the Nomade or Patriarchal life?---Why the Hierophant hast-

Plots of the Sect against PROPERTY.

* Chap. I.

ens to tell us, *Liberty was ruined in its foundations, and Equality disappeared.* This *Patriarchal or Nomade* life is then no other than that which preceded *property*, the building of *fixed habitations*, of houses, cottages, or *the cultivation of your fields.* It was this beginning of property therefore, the building of habitations, the cultivation of lands, which struck the first mortal blow at Equality and Liberty. Should any one wish to return to the *Patriarchal* or *Nomade* life with such wretches as these apostles of Liberty and Equality, let him begin by renouncing his property; let him abandon his house and his field; let him, in unison with the Sect, declare, that the first blasphemy which was uttered against *Equality and Liberty* was by the man who first said *my* field, *my* house, *my* property.

It must be voluntary blindness, indeed, in the man who will not see the hatred conceived and the Conspiracies entered into by the Sect against titles or pretensions to, nay against the very existence of property. It will acknowledge none, nor can it in any shape be compatible with their explanations of Equality and Liberty, or with that primitive state of nature which no more entitles you or me to the possession of this gold or silver, or that field, than it does a third person.

Here it is not simply the question of establishing the *Agrarian Laws*, where lands, riches, and other properties are to be equally distributed among all; it is not simply to abolish the distinction of *rich* and *poor;* no, every property is to be destroyed, that of the poor like that of the rich. The first man who was weary of the *Nomade*, roaming, vagabond, and savage life, built a cot and not a palace. The first who furrowed the earth was in quest of bread and not of gold; but he nevertheless, according to the principles of the Sect, was the man who struck the first deadly blow at Equality and Liberty. Poor or rich man then, according to the doctrine of the Sect, the field you have recovered from the waste, and that you have cultivated, belongs to me equally as to you, or else to nobody; I, though idle and inactive, am entitled to the fruit of your labours; I have a right to share those fruits which you have raised on the land which I left uncultured. Does not *Equality* disappear, whether it be a poor or rich man who shall pretend

to be entitled to or say this field is mine, I have that property? If the poor man has a title to his property, has not the rich man also one? Treasures and palaces are no more property than the cot or cottage. Here an Illuminee spies want, there abundance; Equality and Liberty are every where banished; Despotism or Slavery is universal. Nevertheless, Liberty and Equality in his eyes are the rights of nature, and he beholds them mortally wounded on the first appearance of property, when man became stationary. Poor or rich, you all imbrued your hands in this foul assassination of Equality and Liberty when you pretended to property; from that instant you are both involved in the curse pronounced in the mysteries; you are both objects of the Conspiracies of the Sect from the first instant that you dared assert your right to your habitations whether cots or palaces, to your properties, whether fields or domains. But these cannot be the whole of the secrets; they are only those of the lesser mysteries. Weishaupt has revealed them to his Epopts; he reserves the grander secrets for his *Mage* and *Man-King;* then let any man rich or poor harbour, if he can, a hope of seeing the Sect respect his property. Or rather let him behold the Sect at present pillaging the rich in favour of the poor. The last mysteries or ultimate conspiracy will take place; and then the poor man will learn, that if Illuminism begins by pillaging the rich, it is only to teach him that he is no better entitled to his property than the rich man was, and that the time is near when he will also be pillaged and fall a victim to the curse which has been pronounced against every proprietor.

The progress of this Sophism is worthy of remark. If we judge by its present growth, what a gigantic form will it assume for posterity! The Genevese Sophister of Liberty and Equality, anticipating the modern *Spartacus*, had already dogmatically asserted, "That the man who, having enclosed a piece of "ground, first took upon himself to say *this is mine*, "and found beings *simple enough to believe him*, was "the true founder of civil society." He then conti-"nues :—"What crimes, what wars, what murders, "what miseries, what horrors would that man have

" ſpared mankind, who, tearing down the fences or " filling up the ditches of this new encloſure, had cal- " led out to his equals, beware of hearkening to this " impoſtor, you are ruined if ever you forget that *the* " *fruits belong to all, though the land belongs to none.**" How many crimes and ſpoliations would Rouſſeau have ſpared the French Revolution, if, contemning ſo diſaſtrous a paradox, he had ſaid with more judgment and veracity, " The firſt man who encloſed a piece of land and took upon himſelf to ſay, *this belongs to no-body*, I will cultivate it, and from ſterile it ſhall become fertile; I will follow the courſe which nature ſhall point out to me, to raiſe ſuſtenance for me, my wife and children, and this *land will become my property*. The God of nature, who as yet has given it to nobody, offers and will give it to him who ſhall firſt cultivate it in reward for his labour.---The firſt man who held ſuch language, ſeconding the views of nature, and meeting with beings *wiſe* enough to imitate him, was *the true benefactor of mankind*. He taught his children and his equals, that they were not made to diſpute the wild fruits of the earth one with another, nor with the ſavage beaſts of the foreſt: no, he taught them, that there exiſted ſocial and domeſtic virtues far preferable to the roaming and often ferocious life of the *Nomades*. His poſterity was bleſſed, his generations were multiplied. If it was not in his power to avert all the evils, he at leaſt deſtroyed the firſt of them, that ſterility which ſtinted the very growth of life and drove the ſcanty population of the earth into the foreſts like wild beaſts, and too often aſſimilated them to the lion or the tiger, to whom they frequently fell a prey.

Had the Sophiſter of Geneva held this language, he would not have expoſed himſelf to the ignominy of being the precurſor of Weiſhaupt.---But human imbecility has laviſhed its praiſes on this paradox, and have decorated it with the name of Philoſophy! The Bavarian Sophiſter adopts the doctrine of Rouſſeau, and the delirium of pride has only refined on the phrenzy of wickedneſs. That which in the mouth of the maſter had been but a paradox in ſupport of the wildeſt

* Diſcourſe on the inequality of ſtations, Vol. II.

independence, becomes in the ſcholar (without diveſting itſelf of its folly) the blackeſt of conſpiracies.

It is now too late to ſay, that thoſe were the wild chimeras of the Sophiſters; at preſent we are compelled to ſay, ſuch are the plots contriving againſt all and each one's property, plots which have been awfully illuſtrated by the ſpoliation of the Church, of the Nobility, of the Merchants, and of all rich proprietors ---Let them be called chimeras if you are ſo determined; but remember, that they are the chimeras of Weiſhaupt, of the genius of conſpiring brigands, of a genius the moſt fertile in ſophiſms and artifice for the execution of thoſe plans ſuppoſed to be chimerical. What Jean Jaques teaches his Sophiſters, the modern Spartacus infuſes into his Illuminized legions, *The fruits belong to all, the land to none.* He farther ſtates in his dark receſſes, When property *began, Equality and Liberty diſappeared;* and it is in the name of this Equality and of this Liberty that he conſpires, that he invites his conſpirators to reſtore mankind to the patriarchal or wandering life.

Againſt paternal authority.

Let not the reader be impoſed upon by the term *patriarchal life.* The illuminizing Hierophant ſpeaks of Abraham and of the patriarchs, of the father *prieſt and king*, ſole *ſovereign* over his family. He is not to expect to ſee the father ſurrounded by his children, exerciſing the ſweeteſt of all dominions, and each child, docile to the dictates of nature, revering the orders and anticipating the will of a beloved father. No; this empire is as imaginary as his prieſthood. We have ſeen in the degree of *Mage*, that the illuminized patriarch can no more pretend to the acknowledgment of a God than can an Atheiſt. We muſt then begin by withdrawing from the patriarchal life that intereſting ſight of the father offering up to heaven the prayers of his children, ſacrificing in their name, and exerciſing in the midſt of them the functions of the prieſt of the living God. In the next degree of the myſteries all his dominion over his children is to diſappear, as his prieſthood has already done. Nor was I afraid to aſſert in the beginning of this work, *If Jacobiniſm triumps---your very children ſhall be torn from you.* I now repeat it; all this pretended ſovereignty of the

father is but a conſpiracy againſt the paternal auth ority. The proofs are extant in the codes of the ſect.

Here again is Weiſhaupt deprived of the glory of the invention. Rouſſeau and the Encyclopediſts had long ſince told us, that *the authority of the father ceaſed with the wants of the ſon;* this was one of their principles of rebellion. The man who invented his Illuminiſm only to covert it into the common ſewer of every anti-chriſtian and antiſocial error, could not leave your children in the dark as to theſe leſſons of independence, though under the ſanctuary of the paternal roof; nor with reſpect to the pretended right of governing themſelves, and of acknowledging no other law than that of their reaſon, as ſoon as they were ſtrong enough to diſobey, or no longer needed your aſſiſtance. Tell the illuminizing Hierophant, that your children belong to you; it will be uſeleſs, for he has already anſwered, "*The paternal authority ceaſes with* "*the wants of the children; the father would wrong his* "*children, ſhould he pretend to any authority over them* "*after that period.*" This is but a principle laid down in the leſſer myſteries. Follow up the conſequences, or rather leave it to the revolution to develop ſuch a principle. The reader will ſoon ſee to what this authority of the father is reduced. Scarcely can the child liſp the words Liberty and Equality, or that of Reaſon, when the commands of his parents become the moſt horrid deſpotiſm, oppreſſion, and tyranny.—Nor is the patriarchal ſovereign to expect any more affection than obedience from his ſubjects or his children. In imparting the doctrines of Liberty and Equality, the Hierophant had taught them to blaſpheme the *love of one's family* even ſtill more than *the national love, or the love of one's country,* as being the more direct and immediate principle of the moſt diſaſtrous *Egotiſm.* Let the father then enquire by what bonds his children ſtill remain united to him, or how they are ſubjected to him, when, without fear, they may openly reſiſt his patriarchal power as ſoon as their feeble arms have acquired ſufficient ſtrength to gather the fruits which were to ſerve them as food. No, this helliſh ſect acknowledges no ties. All thoſe of nature, as well as thoſe of government or religion, were to be diſſolved in Weiſhaupt's laſt myſteries.

The child, like the ſavage tyger of the foreſt, was to abandon his parents when ſtrong enough to go alone in queſt of his prey. And this is what the ſect calls reſtoring man to his primitive ſtate of nature, to the patriarchal life, to thoſe days when filial piety compenſated for all the neceſſary laws of civil ſociety. Yes, it is by the moſt abandoned depravation of all morals, by the extinction of the pureſt and juſteſt ſentiments of nature, that theſe conſpirators conſummate their laſt myſteries. In the name of Liberty and Equality they abjure the love and authority of their country; in that name they curſe the authority and love of their own family.

As I proceed in revealing theſe plots, I know not whether the reader does not frequently aſk himſelf, What then can theſe men want? Have they not fortunes to preſerve in our ſtate of ſociety? Have they not children in their families? Can they be conſpiring againſt themſelves? or, are they ignorant that their conſpiracies will fall back upon themſelves?---Thoſe who can propoſe ſuch queſtions are little acquainted with the enthuſiaſm of error when inflated by the ſpirit of independence and pride, of impiety and jealouſy. They have not, like us, heard the cant of the heroes, demi-heroes, and *ſans-culottes* of the revolution---They will be equal and free; they will it above all things.---It muſt coſt them many ſacrifices, but they are ready to make them---They will loſe their fortunes in the purſuit, but you will not preſerve yours---He that ſerved will become the equal, nor will he recognize either God or man above him.---Have we not ſeen the prince of the fallen angels exclaiming in his pride,

——Here at leaſt
We ſhall be free;—
Here we may reign ſecure, and in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, tho' in hell:
Better to reign in hell, than *ſerve* in heaven.

It is not to one of Weiſhaupt's adepts that the ties of nature are to be objects. He muſt be heedleſs of the duty he owes to his parents as of the affection due to his children, or the baleful conſequences of the myſteries cannot affect him. Can the reader have forgot-

ten the precept laid down for the *Insinuators* or *Recruiters?---The principles; look always to the principles, never to the consequences.* Or, in other words, strenuously support and insist upon these great principles of Liberty and Equality; never be frightened or stopped by the consequences, however disastrous they may appear. These wretches, blinded by their pride, do not know, then, that one single consequence proved to be false, contrary to nature, or hurtful to mankind, is a sufficient demonstration that both nature and truth hold the principle in detestation as the prime mover of these disasters. These madmen, with all the confidence of an atheistical Condorcet, when once become the adepts of Weishaupt, will exclaim even in the very tribune of the National Assembly, *Perish the universe, but may the principle remain!* They will not see, that this principle of Liberty and Equality, devastating human nature, cannot be a Liberty and Equality congenial to mankind. These unhappy men fall victims, perishing under the axe of these disorganizing principles, and spend their last breath in crying, *Liberty and Equality* for ever. No; they are all ignorant of the power of error stimulated by pride, who could think of counteracting the plots of the sect by the cries of nature, or even by the self-interest of the illuminized adept.---They have not sufficiently comprehended the artifice with which the Hierophant insinuates, vivifies, and inflames the enthusiastic zeal of his adepts.

The reader may rest assured, that villany never slumbers; it watches incessantly the opportunity for the completion of its views. It will persuade the imbecile adept, that all his wants are to disappear on the establishment of the reign of Liberty and Equality; that he will be as free from wants as the savage; that Nature shall provide for them; and this heedless adept thirsts after such an Equality. If the adept ruffian be taught that *the fruits belong to all, though the land to none*, he will easily find means of obtaining his share.

But am I really thinking of reconciling the adepts with their plots? What is it to them whether you see any agreement between them or not? Villany, we all know, is replete with contradictions; but is it the less wicked on that account, or are its crimes less real?

In vain would the reader object and say, What can these men want with their monstrous Equality, with their plots against our civil laws, our title to even the very name of property? Must we then, to please them, abandon our habitations; must we renounce all arts and sciences, and end with burning our cities, towns and villages, to follow them in herds like the savage and nomade clans? Are half the inhabitants of the globe to be slaughtered, the better to scatter these roaming herds? What can be the object of those arts and sciences, and particularly of those Minerval academies of Illuminism? Can it be for the propagation of science, or the involving mankind again in the disasters of barbarism, that all this parade of science is made? Can these Illuminees resemble the Goths, Huns, or Vandals? And is Europe once more threatened with an inundation of barbarians like those which formerly sallied from the North?---In answering such questions the reader may expect that I would put certain restrictions on the views of the sect! Nothing like a restriction or qualification. No; you must renounce all the arts, all the sciences; you must begin by firing your habitations, not only your palaces, but your cities, towns, and villages, in short all your fixed habitations, unless you stop the disorganizing career of the sect. Yes, wherever its legions shall be at liberty to act and accomplish the grand object of the sect, there you may expect to see those scenes of plunder, rapine, and devastation, which heretofore traced the awful progress of the Huns, Goths, or Vandals; and this inference is fairly drawn from the very code of the sect.

Has not the reader heard the Hierophant insinuating the designs of the sect upon the arts and sciences? Has he not taught the adept to answer, when asked what misfortunes reduced human nature to slavery, that it *was civil society, the state, governments, and sciences?* Has he not heard him exclaim, When shall the day come when, *the clod of useless sciences banished from the earth*, man shall recognize no other but the savage or nomade state, and which the sect styles patriarchal, primitive, natural? Has he not declared, that the happiness and glory of the sect would be at its zenith, when, beholding those happy days, it could say, *This is our work? (Wenn die beschleunigung dieser pe-*

riode, unſer werk iſt?)* Are we to be duped by the name of *Minerval Academies*, with which the ſect decorates its ſchools? Can we obſerve there any other ſtudy than that of applying the ſciences to the ſubverſion of ſcience, as well as to the total annihilation of all religion or ſociety, when we remark the anxiety with which the ſect puts the following queſtions to the adept on his coming out of theſe academies, wiſhing to know what progreſs he has made in its principles before he is admitted to the illuminized prieſthood:

"Do the *general* and *common* ſciences to which "men apply infuſe real light? Do they lead to true "happineſs? Are they not rather the offspring of va- "riegated wants, or of the anti-natural ſtate in which "men exiſt? Are they not the invention of crazy "brains laborioufly ſubtile?"† The reader has heard theſe queſtions, he has heard the ſect blaſpheme ſcience, and will he ſtill believe that Illuminiſm recognizes any other ſciences but thoſe of the man-ſavage equal and free, roaming in the foreſts? Have not the revolutionary devaſtations, the multitude of monuments fallen beneath the hatchet of the Jacobin brigand, already demonſtrated the frantic hatred of the modern Vandals? But the myſteries elucidate this enigma in a clearer manner.

Reader, give vent to your indignation. Aſk again, What can this Weiſhaupt be? What are theſe adepts of Illuminiſm? Treat them as barbarians, as Huns, or Oſtrogoths; but ſee him ſmiling at your contempt, and teaching his adepts to honour themſelves by imitating, and glory in the hope of hereafter ſurpaſſing, the diſaſtrous devaſtations of thoſe barbarians.——— Do you know in what light the illuminizing legiſlator views theſe northern clans ſallying from their foreſts and deſolating the moſt flouriſhing countries of Europe, firing its towns, beating down its empires, and ſtrewing the earth with ruins? He complacently beholds the precious remains of the patriarchal race, the true offspring of Nature; it is with their hatchets that

* See above, the Prince Illuminee.

† Befordern die gemeine wiſſenſchaften warhafte aufklärung, wahre menſchliche glückſeligkeit; oder ſind ſie vielmehr kinder der noth, der verfielfältigten bedürfniſſe, des wiedernatürlichen zuſtandes erfindungen ſpitzfindiger eitler köpfe?

he means to regenerate mankind, and ſhape them out to the views of the ſect. I did not note the leſſons of the Hierophant on this ſubject, when lecturing the future Epopt.——Here the account which Weiſhaupt gives of theſe clans, when he pretends to hiſtorify human nature, at that epoch marked in the annals of Europe as a ſcourge, and called the inundation of the barbarians. Here is his deſcription:

At that period, when all Europe had fallen a prey to corruption, "Nature, which had preſerved the true "race of men in its original vigour and purity, came "to the aſſiſtance of mankind. From diſtant, but "poor and ſterile countries, ſhe calls thoſe *ſavage na-* "*tions* and ſends them into the regions of luxury and "voluptuouſneſs to infuſe new life into the enervated "ſpecies of the ſouth; and with new laws and morals "to reſtore that vigour to human nature which flou- "riſhed until an ill-extinguiſhed germ of corruption "infected even that portion of mankind which origi- "nally arrived in ſo pure a ſtate," or thoſe barbarians the pretended regenerators of Europe ſent by Nature.

Such are the encomiums laviſhed by the ſect on the Goths and Vandals. You thought it would be offending this illuminized tribe to compare them to barbarians; whereas they glory in the compariſon. Hiſtory has deſcribed theſe northern clans as carrying every where fire and ſword, as ravaging countries, firing towns, deſtroying the monuments of the arts, depopulating empires; their courſe is to be traced by ruins and waſtes, and in their train appear ignorance and the iron age. But in the eyes of the adept this is not the exceptionable part of their conduct; on the contrary, it was by ſuch means that they were to regenerate mankind, and ſecond the grand object of nature. Theſe barbarians leave the regeneration in an imperfect ſtate; in time they adopt our uſages and manners; they are civilized; the plains riſe once more in fertile crops; ſociety is re-eſtabliſhed; ſcience returns; the arts flouriſh under the protection of the laws; towns are re-peopled; the *ſavage and primitive* race, confounded among the citizens, is ſubjected to the ſame laws, and governments acquire their priſtine luſtre.

Here, in the eyes of the adept, is the grand crime of theſe barbarians; the Hierophant, deploring their fall, exclaims, "Oh had there remained any ſages among "them happy enough to have preſerved themſelves "from the contagion, how would they ſigh after, and "ardently wiſh to return to the former abodes of their "anceſtors, there again to enjoy their former plea- "ſures on the banks of a rivulet, under the ſhade of a "tree laden with fruit, by the ſide of the object of "their affections! It was then that they conceived the "high value of Liberty, and the greatneſs of the fault "they had committed in placing too much power in "the hands of one man---It was then that the want of "Liberty made them ſenſible of their fall, and ſeek "means of ſoftening the rigour of Slavery;---but even "then their efforts were only aimed againſt the tyrant, "and not againſt tyranny."

It is thus that the inſidious and declaiming Sophiſter, but able Conſpirator, leads the adept through the labyrinth of his leſſer myſteries, not barely to imitate theſe barbarians, but to ſurpaſs their devouring rage, by conſtancy, perſeverance, and the perpetuation of their devaſtations. Thus are to be explained all thoſe queſtions on the danger of reconquering *Equality and Liberty* only to loſe them again. Hence thoſe exhortations "to unite and ſupport each other; to increaſe "their numbers; and to begin by becoming powerful "and terrible---You have already done it, for the mul- "titude ſides with you---The wicked, who fear you, "ſeek protection beneath your banners---Henceforward "your ſtrength will be ſufficient to bind the remainder "of mankind, ſubjugate them, and ſtifle vice in its "origin."*

Such will be the explanation of the revolutionary rage and madneſs which has levelled beneath its blows ſuch a multitude of majeſtic and invaluable monuments of the arts and ſciences---The cry of indignation riſing from every claſs ſuſpends for a moment the ſanguinary crimes of the Jacobin Vandal, and he even pretends to weep.---Wait, and the laſt myſteries ſhall be accompliſhed: wait, and you ſhall ſee the awful bodings of

* Nun ſeyd ihr ſtark genug den noch übrigen reſt die hände zu binden, ſie zu unterwerfen, und die boſheit eher in ihrem keime zu erſticken.

the Hierophant fulfilled, and with fire and ſword ſhall he annihilate your laws, your ſciences and arts, and eraſe your towns and habitations.

Here in particular is to be found the origin of that revolutionary ferocity, that thirſt of blood, thoſe inſatiable proſcriptions, thoſe inceſſant executions, and finally thoſe baniſhments more artfully cruel than the relentleſs guillotine. Yes, the time draws near when they ſhall *bind the hands, ſubjugate, and cruſh* in their origin, what the Sect calls the *wicked*, or, in other words, all who are proof againſt their vile efforts; the time for *ſubjugating* and *deſtroying* every citizen zealous in the cauſe of Religion, or wiſhing to ſupport the laws, civil ſociety, or property. Like Huns and Vandals, the Sect has begun its career; but it will carefully avoid terminating it like them; the devaſtations of its followers ſhall be perpetuated, and they will be Vandals to the laſt, until Religion, property, and the laws ſhall be irrecoverably loſt. Such atrocious plots are only the conſequences of the leſſer myſteries; but truſt the author of the Sect, the modern Spartacus, for the farther development of them. Has he not told you, that his laſt myſteries were but the conſequences, a clearer and more abſolute expoſition of the foregoing ſecrets of the Order? He informed you, that nations, together with their laws and ſocial inſtitutions, ſhall vaniſh, and that they ſhall diſappear before the all-powerful arm of his adepts, or his modern Vandals. What new ſecret then remains to be diſcovered, unleſs it be that no time ſhall blunt the ſword or ſlack the unrelenting fury of his proſelytes; that they ſhall perſevere until the end of time in their Vandaliſm, leſt Religion, ſociety, ſcience, arts, the love of their country, and reſpect for property, ſhould ſhoot forth again, and overſhadow the venemous growth of his Illuminized Liberty and Equality?

But Spartacus is not to be contented with theſe laſt ecrets of the Conſpiracy; his pride cannot endure that others ſhould uſurp the glory of the invention. Hitherto we have ſeen him play upon the credulity of his adepts, inflame their zeal, and acquire their reſpect by the pretended antiquity of his Order; and ſucceſſively attribute the honour of inſtituting his myſteries

to the children of the Patriarchs, the Sages, even to the God of Chriſtianity, and to the founders of the Maſonic Lodges. But now the time is come when the adept, initiated in the higher myſteries, is ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently enthuſiaſtic in his admiration of the Order for the chiefs no longer to fear *to diſcloſe the real hiſtory of Illuminiſm.** Here they inform him, that this ſecret ſociety, which ſo artfully led him from myſtery to myſtery, which has with ſuch perſevering induſtry rooted from his heart every principle of Religion, all falſe ideas of love of the country or affection for his family, all pretenſions to property, to the excluſive right to riches, or to the fruits of the earth; this ſociety, which took ſuch pains to demonſtrate the tyranny and deſpotiſm of all that he calls the laws of empires; this ſociety, which has declared him free, and teaches him that he has no ſovereign but himſelf, no rights to reſpect in others, but thoſe of perfect Equality, of abſolute Liberty, and of the moſt entire independence; this ſociety is not the offſpring of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious antiquity, it is that of modern philoſophy, in a word, it is of our own invention. The *true father of Illuminiſm is no other than* SPARTACUS WEISHAUPT.

We may alſo perceive by many of Weiſhaupt's letters, that this latter part of the ſecret, which attributed to him the whole honour of the invention, always remained a myſtery to the greater part of his *Mages* and *Men-Kings*. Thoſe alone who, under the title of Areopagites, formed the grand council of the Order, were to be made acquainted with the real chief and founder, except in certain caſes where an adept was judged worthy of ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of confidence.† Whatever merit the adept might boaſt, Weiſhaupt knew no higher recompence than to tell them in the end, "This general overthrow of the Altar, of the Throne, and of all Society, is a conception of my own; to me and to me alone is due the whole glory."

I have revealed the diſaſtrous ſecrets of Illuminiſm; I have laid open the gradation and progreſſive degrees, the long chain of artifice, by which the Sect prepares

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter from Knigge to Zwack.
† Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 25, to Cato.

its adepts for the laſt myſteries, to behold them ſtript of their veil without ſhuddering, and to embrace them with enthuſiaſtic ardour.---We muſt either commit the Code of the Sect to the flames, and deny the truth of its annals; even refuſe the evidence of the familiar correſpondence of *Spartacus* Weiſhaupt the founder, and of *Philo*-Knigge the principal compiler; we muſt diſpute all the agreements of its moſt arduous co-operators, or elſe muſt we wait, as the only poſſible demonſtration, the entire and fatal execution of theſe diſaſtrous plots, before we poſitively pronounce, that the ſole object of their infernal plans and of their frantic wiſhes is no other than the total overthrow of every Altar, of every Throne or Magiſtracy; the annihilation of all authority and of all civil or religious ſociety; the deſtruction of property whether in the hands of the rich or of the poor; and the very arts and ſciences which can only be cultivated in civil ſociety are to be baniſhed from the face of the earth. *Liberty and Equality*, together with the moſt abſolute independence, are to be the ſubſtitutes for all rights and all property: Our morals and ſocial intercourſe are to make place for the ſavage, vagabond, roaming life, which the Sect alternately decorates with the name of *Nomade* or of *Patriarchal*. The means to be employed in operating this change will be found in the artifice, deceit, illuſion and wickedneſs which the Sophiſters are maſters of, until the force of numbers ſhall have declared for the Sect; but when at length, powerful in numbers, the Sect ſhall have acquired ſtrength, it ſhall not only *bind hands*, *ſubjugate*, murder, ravage, and renew all the horrors and atrocities of the barbarians of the North, but alſo ſurpaſs thoſe Vandals in the arts of deſtruction, and without pity or diſtinction butcher all that part of mankind that ſhall dare to oppoſe the progreſs of the Sect, preſume to heave a ſigh over the ruins of religion, ſociety, or property, or attempt to raiſe them from their aſhes.---If I have not proved that ſuch are the wiſhes, the ſecret machinations of the Sect and of its flagitious principles, let me be informed what is to be underſtood by proof, or what is to be the operation of evidence on the human mind.---Were it poſſible that any of my readers ſtill conſoled themſelves with the idea that the

frantic extravagance of these plots surpassed their wickedness, let them remember that I have still something more to say.---I have still to investigate the laws and interior government of the Sect, laws adopted for the destruction of every other law or government, and that it might hereafter prove, that however monstrous the object of the plots of the Sect may be, it was far from being chimerical.

CHAP. XIII.

Tenth and laſt Part of the Code of the Illuminees.---Government of the Order.---General Idea of that Government, and of the Share which the Inferior Claſſes of Illuminiſm bear in it.

Of the ſeparate and collective Government of the Lodges.

IT is not enough for the founder of a Sect of Conſpirators to have fixed the preciſe object of his plots, the trials and degrees through which his adepts are to riſe inſenſibly to the acquiſition of his profoundeſt myſteries. His accomplices muſt form but one body animated by one ſpirit; its members muſt be moved by the ſame laws, under the inſpection and government of the ſame chiefs, and all muſt tend towards the ſame object. Such a genius as Weiſhaupt's could not be ſuſpected of having overlooked in his Code ſo important a mean of ſucceſs. From what I have already ſaid, the reader will have obſerved what connection and ſubordination ſubſiſted in the gradation of his myſteries; how all the adepts of a given town formed, notwithſtanding the inequality of their degrees, but one and the ſame academy of conſpirators, while each one laboured ſeparately at the overthrow of religion and the laws in the ſtate in which he lived. In this academy the *Candidate* and the *Novice* are under the direction of the *Inſinuator*, who introduces them into the *Minerval Lodges;* theſe Lodges are governed by the *Minor Illuminees*, who in their turn are inſpected by the *Major Illuminees*. Next to theſe preparatory degrees follow the intermediary or Maſonic degree, called the *Scotch Knight;* and his power extends on the one ſide over the *Major Illuminees*, and on the other over the Illuminized Maſons; or, in general, over all that part of the Order ſtiled in the Code the *lower part of the edifice*. After theſe we meet the *Epopts* and *Regents* or *Princes* of the leſſer myſteries, and laſtly, in the higher myſteries, the *Mage* and *Man-King*.

The aggregate of all theſe degrees forms a complete academy of Conſpirators, and impendent ruin threatens the country where ſuch a one exiſts. The

Magiſtrate and the Citizen may expect to ſee their property and their religion annihilated. The Sect recognizes no country but the univerſe, or rather acknowledges none; the very term *country* is a blaſphemy againſt the rights of man, againſt Equality and Liberty. What each member in his particular academy performs by himſelf is performed throughout all of them by the Sect in general, and the combined efforts of the whole are regularly directed towards the concerted plan of devaſtation. The Miners have received their inſtructions, that each may bore his ſubterraneous galleries, and lodge the chamber of his mines in ſuch a manner that partial exploſions may forward the views of the Sect, without endamaging the grand chamber, which ſhall involve the whole world in the premeditated exploſion of univerſal deſtruction. To produce this effect, general laws and mutual communications, common chiefs and directors are requiſite. Each Conſpirator, wherever his field of action may lie, muſt be certain that he acts in concert with his Brethren, that he will not be croſſed in his plans, but on the contrary meet every where with ſupport and correſponding agents.

Weiſhaupt was aware, that the farther the ſphere of diſorganization was to extend the more perfect ſhould be the organization of his power. The more eager he was to call down univerſal anarchy, and make it take place of all laws, the more did he wiſh to eſtabliſh ſubordination, and concentrate the forces of the Order, the better to direct its motions. To accompliſh this, the oath of implicit obedience to Superiors was not enough. It was not ſufficient for the adept to have blindly ſubmitted his life and fortune to the deſpotic power of unknown chiefs, ſhould they ever ſuſpect him of treachery or rebellion. The Superiors themſelves were to be bound by laws and principles common to all, that they might proceed in all points by a regular and uniform impulſe.

Weiſhaupt meditates on the laws of his Government.

It coſt Weiſhaupt much meditation before he could perfect his plan of government as he wiſhed. Five years after the eſtabliſhment of the Sect, he writes "*This machine of ours muſt be ſo perfectly ſimple that "a child could direct it;*" and later he writes, "allow

" me time to digeſt my ſpeculations, that I may pro-
" perly marſhal our forces."*

So pre-occupied was Weiſhaupt with his ſpeculations on the government of the Sect, that all his letters written to his principal adepts are replete with his maxims and political councils. One muſt have heard or read them one's ſelf to credit the deep-laid villany of his means and his infernal policy. Here is an example:

In the ſame letter which I have juſt quoted of the 15 Aſphandar 1151 he gives two rules to be inſerted among the inſtructions of the Areopagites---The one, to be on the reſerve with Candidates *from among the claſs of the rich*, becauſe that ſort of men, *proud, ignorant, averſe to labour, and impatient of ſubordination*, only ſeek admiſſion to our myſteries in order to make them an object of ridicule and mockery; the other, not to take the ſmalleſt pains to prove, that Illuminiſm is in the ſole poſſeſſion of the true Maſonry, *becauſe the beſt poſſible demonſtration is to give none*. Let Weiſhaupt himſelf explain a third law, which is to make a part of his political collection.

" *That we may be uncontrouled in our diſcourſe, let*
" *our pupils remark, that the Superiors enjoy a great*
" *latitude in that reſpect; that we ſometimes ſpeak in*
" *one way, ſometimes in another;* that we often queſ-
" tion with great aſſurance only to ſound the opinions
" of our pupils, and to give them an opportunity of
" ſhowing it by their anſwers. This ſubterfuge re-
" pairs many errors. Let us always ſay, that the end
" will diſcover which of our obſervations conveys our
" true ſentiments.---Thus we may ſpeak ſometimes in
" one way, at others in a quite different one, that we
" may never be embarraſſed, and that our real ſenti-
" ments may always be impenetrable to our inferiors.
" Let this be alſo inſerted in the inſtructions, *etiam hoc*
" *inſeratur inſtructioni*. It would ſtill have a better
" effect, if you gave in charge to our *Major Illumi-*
" *nees* to vary their converſation with their inferiors,
" for the above reaſons, *ex rationibus ſupra dictis*."

* Letters to Cato, 15th March 1781, and 16th February 1782.

Theſe inſertions of Latin are from Weiſhaupt, who frequently makes uſe of that language in his letters. It is immediately after having given theſe principles of government to the Areopagites, the chief ſuperiors of his Illuminiſm, that Weiſhaupt adds, " I entreat that " the maxims which are ſo often to be found in my " letters may not be loſt. Collect them for the uſe of " our Areopagites, as they are not always preſent to " my mind. With time they might form an excel- " lent *political* degree. Philo has long ſince been em- " ployed about it. Communicate alſo your private " inſtructions to each other, which may in time grow " into an uniform code. Read them attentively, that " they may become familiar to you. Though I know " them well and practiſe them *(und auch darnach han- " dle)* they would take me too much time to digeſt " them ſyſtematically. Theſe maxims once engraved " in your mind, you will enter better into my plans, " and you will proceed more conformably to my mode " of operation."*

Let the reader alſo profit of theſe inſtructions. They muſt bear evidence in my behalf while revealing all the monſtrous artifices of the remaining part of the illuminized code. From theſe long meditated combinations, ſprang forth that chain of laws which was to direct each Illuminee in all his proceedings.

General ſubordination and gradation of the ſuperiors.

We firſt remark in this government, as a means of ſubordination, a general diviſion of command, as well as of locality. Each department has a particular lodge for its adepts; each Minerval lodge has a ſuperior from among the preparatory claſs, under the inſpection of the intermediary claſs. In the ſecond place, we find the diviſion into diſtricts which contain ſeveral lodges, all which as well as the Prefect are under the direction of the ſuperior of the diſtrict whom the Order calls *Dean*. He is alſo ſubjected to the *Provincial*, who has the inſpection and command over all the lodges and deanries of the province. Next in rank comes the *National Superior*, who has full powers over all within his nation, Provincials, Deans, lodges, *&c. &c.* Then comes the ſupreme council of the

* Letter to Cato, 15th March, 1781.

Order, or the *Areopagites*, preſided by the real *General* of Illuminiſm.

The ſame hierarchy is preſerved in their communications. The ſimple Illuminee correſponds with his immediate ſuperior, the latter with his Dean, and thus gradually aſcending to the National Superiors. Theſe latter are in direct correſpondence with the Areopagites; and they alone are acquainted with their reſidence. In this council there is always a member whoſe particular office is to receive and anſwer their letters, and to tranſmit orders, which gradually deſcend to the perſon or perſons who are the objects of them. The Areopagites alone are entruſted with the name and reſidence of the General, excepting in caſes which I have already noticed, where particular confidence or remarkable ſervices have gained for an adept the ſignal honour of knowing and approaching the modern Spartacus. Correſpondence of the ſuperiors and inferiors.

It is eaſy to perceive, from the very regulations of the firſt degrees, how voluminous this correſpondence muſt be. Each brother, in the firſt place, as the *natural ſcrutator* of his co-adepts and of the profane, is bound to tranſmit at leaſt one letter each month, with a ſtatement of all the obſervations he has made, whether favourable or detrimental to the Order. He is alſo to give an account of the progreſs which himſelf and his brethren have made; of the orders he has received, and of their execution; and he is each month to inform his higher ſuperiors whether he is pleaſed with the conduct of his immediate ſuperior. Each brother Inſinuator is to report the progreſs of his candidates, and the proſpect he has of adding to their number. Next, to ſwell the volume, come all the portraits of the adepts, the extracts of tablets or daily obſervations made on the friends or enemies of the Order: alſo the minutes of initiations, the characters and lives of the initiated, the returns made by the lodges, thoſe by the ſuperiors, and an infinity of other articles which the Illuminee is bound to make known to his chiefs.----All this occurs without noticing the numberleſs orders and inſtructions which are perpetually tranſmitting to the inferiors. Its object.

Its gradation.

Besides the secret language already explained, and of which the grand object was to render this correspondence unintelligible to the profane, the sect had secret means of transmitting their letters, lest they might be intercepted. The Order styles these letters relative to their Illuminism *Quibus Licet's* (or to those who have a right.) The origin of this appellation is the direction of these letters which consists of the two words *Quibus Licet* or simply the initials Q. L. When, therefore, we find in the Original Writings, that such an adept has been fined in such a month for having neglected his Q. L. it must be understood that he let such a month pass without writing to his superiors.*

When the letter contains secrets or complaints which the adept chooses to keep from the knowledge of his immediate superior, he adds to the direction *Soli* or *Primo (to him alone, to the first:)* this letter will then be opened by the *Provincial*, the *National Superior*, or will reach the *Areopagites*, or *General*, according to the rank of the person from whom it comes.

Powers of each degree respecting this correspondence.

Next to these general means of graduated correspondence, come the meetings proper to each degree, and their respective powers. We have already seen, that those of the Minerval academy are regularly held twice a month. The Minor Illuminees, who are the magistrates of this degree, and the Major Illuminee, or the Scotch Knight, who presides in them, have no direct share in the government, farther than to inspect the studies and watch over the conduct of the young Minervals, and report to the lodges of the Major Illuminees. It is in that degree that the authority begins to extend beyond the limits of the assembly. It is to the Major Illuminees that all the tablettes or instructions relative to the brethren of Minerva are sent. Here these statements are digested, and receive additions and notes, before they are forwarded to the assembly of the next superior degree. Here are judged and determined the promotions of the Novices, Minervals, and Minor Illuminees; and also all differences and contests which may arise in the inferior degrees, unless the importance of the debate be such as to re-

* Vol. II. Let. 2, from Spartacus to Cato.

quire the interference of a higher tribunal. They are the guardians of the firſt tablets and reverſal letters of the brethren. As to what knowledge a Major Illuminee may have acquired either relative to other ſecret ſocieties, or to employments or dignities which might be obtained for adepts, he is bound to report it to his lodge, which will note it, and inform the aſſembly of the Directing Illuminees or Scotch Knights.*

When treating of the intermediary degree of Scotch Knight, I gave an account of their particular functions, and eſpecially their charge of ſuperintending the Maſonic lodges. The part they act in the general government of the Order, chiefly conſiſts in hearing all the *Quibus Licets* of the preparatory claſſes read in their chapters, even thoſe of the Novices which had already been opened by the officers of the Minerval ſchool; the latter having only the power of deciding proviſionally on theſe letters.

The authority which the Scotch Knights exerciſe over this correſpondence ſeems to give ſtill more propriety to their denomination of intermediary degree. Their *Quibus Licets* are directly ſent to the provincial lodge, which is compoſed entirely of adepts initiated in the myſteries of the Order. But the Knights read all letters coming from the preparatory claſs which have not the diſtinction of *Primo* or *Soli*. They claſſify and make extracts from all the *Quibus Licets* of leſſer importance coming from the inferior degrees, and ſend the general extract to the Provincial. To theſe extracts they ſubjoin a circumſtantial account of every thing that is going forward in the lodges of the preparatory claſs, to which they tranſmit all the orders coming from the adepts initiated in the myſteries, even from thoſe of the higheſt degrees with the very names of which they are unacquainted, and thus conſtitute a link between the two extremities.†

Both the intermediary and preparatory claſſes, however, form but the lower part of the edifice. The Prefects of the Chapters of the Scotch Knights are rather tools than ſuperiors; they receive their impulſe

* Degree of Major Illuminee, Inſtruction 4th.

† See this degree, Inſtruction the 2d, No. 2.

from the higher myſteries. It is there that the grand polity of the Order is to be ſought for in the inſtructions laid down for the Epopt and the Regent, and theſe are the inſtructions which beginning with thoſe of the Epopt, demand our utmoſt attention.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Government and Political Inſtructions for the Epopts.

ENLIGHTEN *nations;* that is to ſay, efface from the minds of the people what *we* call religious and political prejudices; make yourſelf maſter of the public opinion; and, this empire once eſtabliſhed, all the conſtitutions which govern the world will diſappear.——Such are the grand means, ſuch the hopes, on which Weiſhaupt has been obſerved in his myſteries to have grounded his hopes of ſucceſs. We have ſeen even the ſciences involved in the vortex of his conſpiracies. They were to be ſwept into the common maſs of ruin with religion, laws, Princes, nations, our towns and ſtationary habitations. Vandaliſm and the era of barbariſm were to be revived, and ſcience was to be reduced to that of the *nomade* and *ſavage* clans *equal and free*. This gigantic maſs of deſtruction could be the operation but of a general corruption and perverſion of the public opinion, which is itſelf dependent on ſcience, or at leaſt upon the reputation of wiſdom and knowledge which he poſſeſſes who pretends to inſtruct us. To prepare the attack, therefore, it was neceſſary to make the ſciences ſerve under the banners of the Sect in the cauſe of their own annihilation, and through their means captivate the public opinion in favour of the Sect. Its errors once triumphant, and every thing dear and ſacred to man *vandalized* and overthrown; ſciences would of themſelves ſhrink back and vaniſh from before the man ſavage and free. Such were the fruits of Weiſhaupt's meditations, ſuch the ſpirit which dictated the laws given to his Epopts. This degree was to extend the conqueſts of the Sect over public opinion by ſcience, or, in other words, to diſpenſe its anti-religious and anti-ſocial doctrines under the bewitching name of ſcience. He entirely devoted his degree of Epopts to the ſciences, and may be ſaid to have foreſtalled them all, that he might uſurp and dictate to the public

Object of theſe inſtructions.

opinion; or, rather, tainted them all, to make them subservient to his views; well assured that they would not survive the contagion. In his Minerval degree, it was the minds of the young adepts that he wished to pervert; but in his degree of Epopt, his means and views expand, and, under the same mask, he aims at nothing less than the perversion of the whole universe. He formed it into a secret academy, whose hidden ramifications, widely spreading throughout the globe, were, by means of the disastrous laws he had combined, at one blow to annihilate all society and the empire of science.

The plan may appear inconceivable, and above the reach of the most disorganizing genius; but let the reader remember how clearly it has been proved in the mysteries, that Weishaupt and his followers were firmly resolved to bring back the human race to the days of the Huns and Vandals, and, by means of this Vandalism, to all the ignorance of the *nomade* and *savage clans;* and to reduce the standard of science to that of the Liberty and Equality of *Sans-culotism.* Let the reader now condescend to follow me in the exposition of the lessons which the Sect has appropriated to the instruction of its Epopts, and the organization of their academy.

The academy of the Epopts.

"The illuminized Priests, or Epopts, are presided over by a Dean chosen by themselves. They are to be known to the inferior degrees only under the appellation of Epopt---their meetings are called *Synods.* All the Epopts within the circle of the same district compose a Synod; but each district shall contain no more than nine Epopts, exclusive of the Dean and Prefect of the Chapter. The higher superiors may attend these Synods."

"Of the nine Epopts, seven preside over the sciences distributed under as many heads in the following order:

"I. *Physics.*---Under this head are comprehended "Dioptrics, Catoptrics, Hydraulics and Hydrostatics; "Electricity, Magnetism, Attraction, *&c.*"

"II. *Medicine*---comprising Anatomy, Chirurgery, "Chymistry, *&c.*"

"III. *Mathematics.*---Algebra; Architecture, civil

" and military; Navigation, Mechanics, Aſtronomy, " *&c.*"

" IV. *Natural Hiſtory.*---Agriculture, Gardening, " Economics, the Knowledge of Inſects and Animals " including Man, Mineralogy, Metallurgy, Geology, " and the ſcience of the earthly phenomena."

" V. *Politics*---which embrace the ſtudy of Man, " a branch in which the Major Illuminees furniſh the " materials; Geography, Hiſtory, Biography, Anti- " quity, Diplomatics; the political hiſtory of Orders, " their deſign, their progreſs, and their mutual diſ- " ſentions." This laſt article ſeems to have the divers Orders of Maſonry in view. A *nota bene* is added in the original, with a particular injunction *to attend to this article*, which the diſſentions of the Illuminees and Freemaſons had probably rendered of great importance to the Sect.

" VI. *The Arts.*---Mechanics, Painting, Sculpture, " Engraving, Muſic, Dancing, Eloquence, Poetry, " Rhetoric, all the branches of Literature; the " Trades."

" VII. *The Occult Sciences.*---The ſtudy of the Ori- " ental tongues, and others little known, the ſecret " methods of writing, the art of decypherıng; the " art of raiſing the ſeals of the letters of others, and " that of preſerving their own from ſimilar practices; " *Petcſh aften zu erbrechen, und fur das erbrechen zu* " *bewahren.* The ſtudy of ancient and modern hie- " roglyphics; and, once more, of ſecret ſocieties, " Maſonic ſyſtems, *&c. &c.*"

Should the reader feel his indignation rouſed by the art of raiſing the ſeals and violating the ſecrecy of letters, and at ſeeing an adept named in each diſtrict to preſide over this ſtrange ſcience, let him not forget that I am but the tranſlator and tranſcriber of the code of the ſect.*

The two remaining Epopts, who in the ſynod are named to preſide over any particular ſcience, are made ſecretaries to the Dean, and ſerve him as coadjutors. Theſe functions once diſtributed, the Epopts are to

* Inſtructions for this degree, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11.

renounce all other buſineſs political or domeſtic, and every care but that of perfecting themſelves in the branch of ſcience which they are to ſuperintend, and of ſecretly forwarding the brethren of the inferior degrees in the ſciences to which they had devoted themſelves.

The grand object of this inſtitution is to inſpire the pupils with the greateſt confidence in the Order, from an idea that it will furniſh them with all the means and lights neceſſary for the proſecution of the ſtudy they have adopted. The Inſinuators have held out the promiſe to them, and the Order has engaged to fulfil it. This idea of a ſcientific ſociety, and of which they have the honour of being members, is to encourage in them a docility and veneration for their chiefs naturally due to men whoſe precepts appear to be emanations of light and of the moſt tranſcendent wiſdom. The artifice in ſome ſort anſwers to the promiſe.

Every Novice, on being admitted into the Minerval ſchools, was to begin by declaring to what art or ſcience he meant to devote himſelf, unleſs indeed his pocket was to be aſſeſſed for the tax which his genius could not pay. This declaration is tranſmitted from the inferior lodges to the Provincial, who forwards it to the Dean; by whom notice of it is given to the Epopt who preſides over that particular branch of ſcience; and he inſcribes his name on the liſt of thoſe pupils whoſe labours fall under his inſpection. In future, and by the ſame conveyance, all the eſſays, diſcourſes, treatiſes, *&c.* which the Sect requires of the young Minerval are tranſmitted to the ſame Epopt. The firſt advantage accruing to the Order from this law is the pointing out to the inſpecting Epopt thoſe whom the code calls the *beſt heads of the Order*.

Should any doubts ariſe in the minds of the pupils, any difficulties to vanquiſh, or any queſtions to propoſe; they have been taught that the Order is the fountain of ſcience, that they have but to apply to their ſuperiors, and light will inſtantaneouſly ſhine upon them. They are ignorant as to who theſe ſuperiors may be; but that will not hinder their doubts and queſtions from reaching the preſiding Epopt: and he

has divers means of ſolving them, and of never being taken unawares.

In the firſt place the Epopt muſt have prepared himſelf for certain queſtions, which he either has or ought to have foreſeen. Many of them will have been already ſolved by his predeceſſors, by his brother Epopts of other diſtricts or even nations. The Order is exceedingly careful in collecting all theſe anſwers, and putting them into ſuch hands as may employ them according to the views of the ſect. Each Epopt is particularly enjoined to ſtudy thoſe which relate to his branch; he is even to make an alphabetical entry of them on his tablets, that he may always have them at hand whenever he wiſhes to turn to them. If, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Epopt ſhould find himſelf unprepared or unable to ſolve the difficulty propoſed, he will apply to the Dean, who will ſend the required ſolution or have recourſe to the Provincial. But, leſt the Superiors ſhould find their occupations too often interrupted by ſuch applications, it is expreſsly enjoined to the Epopt not to have recourſe to them but in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, and not to make the acquiſitions of their Superiors an encouragement to their own negligence.---It may ſo happen, that the Provincial is not able to give the required ſolution; he will then propoſe it to all the Epopts of his province. If that does not ſucceed, application is made to the National Inſpector, and from him it is referred to the Areopagites and General. On ſuch occaſions all the learned men of the Order are conſulted. Before this laſt appeal, it is ordained in the ſtatutes, that the Epopt may propoſe the queſtions to the profane; but in ſo doing he is on no account to diſcover that the *ſect* has recourſe to, or ſtood in need of their information, nor what uſe it makes of it. This is particularly enjoined to the preſiding Epopt in the following terms:---"As often as your own knowledge and that of your pupils ſhall not ſuffice, you may aſk the advice of learned ſtrangers, *and turn their knowledge to the advantage of our Order, but without letting them perceive it:*" *(ohne daſs ſie es bemerken.)* This precaution is the more to be inſiſted on, as one of the grand objects of the Epopt

must be, "to attain such perfection in science, that "Illuminism shall never be beholden to the profane; "but that the latter, on the contrary, shall perpetually "stand in need of the lights of the Order."*

That the Epopt may not recur too frequently to the superiors, or to the profane, an artifice has been invented by which he may profit of all the acquisitions of the pupils of his district, while he makes them believe that the whole flows from the unknown superiors. This artifice consists in proposing such questions as he is not perfectly master of, to the different lodges, and then studying and combining the various answers that he receives. All the Epopts of the province do as much in their several districts. Each one selects those parts which he has judged worthy of notice in the productions of the lodges; these he inspects, and lays them before the provincial and annual assembly. There other Epopts are employed in compiling from these selections, and in preparing the required solutions of the proposed questions, or in commenting on such passages as may elucidate others that may hereafter rise. The same plan is followed in all the provinces, and the reports of the provinces will form a new collection to be digested under the inspection of the National Chief, or even of the Areopagites. This will be a new treasure for the secret library of the Epopts, and furnish them with new means of maintaining in the minds of their pupils the high idea they have conceived of the knowledge of their Superiors.† It will also furnish materials for the formation of a systematic Code or complete course of study for the use of the Sect.‡

Here we cannot but remark how much arts and sciences would be benefited and promoted by the labours of a society which, actuated by quite other views, and despising that affectation of secrecy, should employ the same means and be animated with a similar zeal in the discussion of useful truths. But the united efforts of the Epopts are concentrated in their pursuit of science, only to debase it, by directing all its powers towards the overthrow of Religion and Governments, the triumph of their disorganizing systems, and

* Instructions for this degree, No. 2, 5, 6, 9.

† Nos. 5 and 12. ‡ No. 15.

always under the ſtale pretext of ſubjecting mankind to Nature alone.*

Should the reader be curious to know to what uſes the Epopt turns all the ſcience which he is ſuppoſed to acquire daily, let him obſerve the queſtions which this preſiding Illuminee either ſolves himſelf, or propoſes for the ſolution of the adepts. Let his judgment on the queſtions and on their tendency, be guided by the expreſſions of the Code:

"The Epopt," ſays the Code, "muſt keep a liſt "of a very great number of important queſtions pro- "per for inveſtigation, and which he may eventually "propoſe to the young adepts.---In the branch of "practical Philoſophy, for example, he will propoſe "for inveſtigation the queſtion, how far the principle "is true, *that all means are allowable, when employed "for a laudable end?* How far this maxim is to be "limited to keep the proper medium between Jeſuiti- "cal abuſe, and the ſcrupuloſity of prejudice?---Queſ- "tions of this nature ſhall be ſent to the Dean, who "ſhall tranſmit them to the Minerval ſchools for the "inveſtigation of the young adepts, and their diſſerta- "tions will ſwarm with a multitude of ideas, *new, "bold, and uſeful*, which will greatly enrich our *Ma- "gazine.*"†

We deſpiſe this infamous aſperſion on the Jeſuits. Let thoſe paſs ſentence on them who have learned to judge them by their conduct and by their real doctrines, and not by calumnious aſſertions, or ſatires which, in ſpite of all the powers of genius and irony, have been juſtly condemned by various tribunals as replete with falſehood and miſrepreſentation.‡ Let thoſe who have been educated by the Jeſuits pronounce on theſe atrocious imputations of the Illuminees. I do not think myſelf bound to follow the example of the celebrated Hoffman, Profeſſor at the Univerſity of Vienna, one of the moſt formidable adverſaries of the

* Das der Order die bisherigen ſyſteme entbehren, und eigene, auf die natur allein gegründete ſyſteme ſeinen anhänger vorlegen könne.

† Ibid. No. 7.

‡ See Art. PASCAL in the Hiſtorical Dictionary of Flexier Dureval, laſt Edition.

Illuminizing Sect, by inserting a long justification of that persecuted Order.* But it is impossible not to observe, that the legislator of Illuminism has not the most distant idea of modifying or limiting this famous principle, *the end sanctifies the means;* his object is evidently to give rise to ideas, *new*, *bold*, and *useful* to the Sect; or, in other words, to dispose the young adepts hereafter to decide as he has already done, that *nothing is criminal*, not even robbery or theft, provided *it be useful* to the views and forward the grand object of Illuminism. He wishes by means of these questions to acquire an early insight into the minds of the adepts and to distinguish those who will hereafter be the most worthy of his higher mysteries, by the greater or smaller disposition they show to stifle the cries of conscience and remorse in the perpetration of the crimes necessary for the future success of his plots. This is the sum total of the science to be carefully inculcated by the Epopts in the branch of *practical* Philosophy.

With respect to Religion, it is not even admitted among the sciences to be studied by the Epopts; the Code has, however, furnished them with a means of traducing and blaspheming it.---That the Epopt may never be at a loss for questions of this nature to solve or propose, he will have them noted on a register in alphabetical order. "For example, says the Code, "at the letter C in the register of secret sciences and "hieroglyphics the word Cross is to be found, and "under it is the following note---For the antiquity of "this hieroglyphic, consult such a work, printed such "a year, such a page, or else such a manuscript, sig- "nature M."† Is it necessary to be endowed with any extraordinary share of perspicacity to see that the whole object of these pretended *secret sciences*, or hieroglyphics, is merely to teach the young pupils to view the Cross in no other light than as an ancient hieroglyphic erected by ignorance and superstition into a symbol of the redemption of mankind? The illuminized explanation of this glorious symbol will, doubtless, long remain buried in the Occult Sciences

* Vide Hoch wichtige erinnerungen—Von Leopold-alois—Hoffman. Sect. V. Page 279 to 307.

† Ibid. No. 15.

of the Order. Meanwhile we may defy them to point out in the hiſtory of mankind any nation whatever revering the croſs as the ſymbol of ſalvation anterior to the grand epoch when the Son of Man died on the croſs to conſummate the triumph of Chriſtianity.

The Epopts have alſo their hiſtorians and annaliſts, and their duties are laid down in the Code.---The following rules may be remarked.---Each province of Illuminiſm muſt have its hiſtorian, in imitation of the ancient annaliſts and chronologiſts. He is to keep a journal, in which, beſides facts of public notoriety, he will particularly collect, and even give *the preference to, anecdotes of ſecret hiſtory*.---He will endeavour to redeem from oblivion all men of merit, however deep they may have ſunk into obſcurity---He will make them known to the Provincial, who will inform the Brethren of their ſituation---Each Provincial will have a calendar of his own, in which (inſtead of ſaints) for each day of the year ſhall be inſcribed the name of ſome man as an object of veneration or execration, according as he has merited or demerited of the Sect.

My name may, perhaps, be inſcribed under the black letter; but I anticipate the glory and conſolation of ſeeing it by the ſide of that of Zimmerman and of Hoffman, who, like myſelf, are entitled to the ſable wreath twined by Illuminiſm for its moſt ſtrenuous opponents. But how different is that to which the Code declares that all the Brethren *may aſpire!*---Probably, to be ſeated beſide a Brother *Mirabeau* or a *Marat*.

The ſame laws ordain, that the Chronologiſt ſhall inform the Minerval Lodges of all memorable facts.---He will not fail to inſert all mean and odious actions, nor to paint them in their proper colours. He will not paſs unnoticed *thoſe of men occupying the firſt dignities, or enjoying the higheſt conſideration*.*

Next to the laws of the hiſtorian follow thoſe for the Epopt who ſuperintends that branch of ſcience relating to politics, and particularly to the knowledge of mankind. The reader has already ſeen what ſtreſs the Order lays upon this ſcience, and how much they make it depend on the ſpirit of obſervation

* Ibid. No. 18.

---Let no Brother pretend to the dignity of Epopt, nor to the honour of preſiding over any branch of ſcience, until he has anſwered the three following queſtions---What is the ſpirit of obſervation?---How is this ſpirit to be acquired, and what conſtitutes a good obſerver?---What method is to be followed, in order to make juſt and exact obſervations?---When an Epopt has ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his anſwers on theſe heads, to be judged worthy of being choſen the chief of the obſervers or ſcrutators, he is entruſted with all thoſe notes which the reader has ſeen the Sect ſo carefully collecting on the character, the paſſions, the talents, and hiſtory of the Brethren. When theſe notes contain the portrait or life of any adept more than commonly intereſting, he will make him (without naming him) the object of various queſtions to be propoſed to the Minerval Schools. He will aſk, for example, What are the ideas which a man, with ſuch and ſuch paſſions or diſpoſitions, will adopt or reject? ---How on ſuch data can ſuch and ſuch inclinations be encouraged or weakened?---What adept could be employed with moſt advantage in ſuch a buſineſs?---- What muſt ſuch a man's ideas be on Religion and Governments?---Can he be looked upon as being ſuperior to all prejudices, and ready to ſacrifice his own perſonal intereſt to that of Truth?---Should he be deficient in confidence and attachment, what means ſhould be employed to invigorate them, and what ſort of man would be the fitteſt for ſuch an undertaking? ---Finally, *what employment in the ſtate, or in the Order, would he fill to the greateſt advantage, or in which would he be the moſt uſeful?*"

The Scrutator in chief digeſts theſe anſwers into a proper ſtatement, which he ſends to the Dean. The Provincial receives it from the Dean, and is thus enabled to form his judgment, whether that particular adept *be a moral, diſintereſted, beneficent man, and free from all prejudice; whether he can be uſeful to the Order, and in what way he can be beſt employed.*---From the reſult of ſuch obſervations, the ſcrutinizing Epopt will carefully ſelect rules and general maxims on the knowledge of mankind. He will make a compilation of them, and tranſmit them to the Superiors.*

* Ibid. No. 18.

"By means," says the Code, "of these and such like observations, the Order will be enabled to make discoveries of every kind, to form new systems, and to give on all subjects irrefragable proofs of its labours and its immense fund of science; and the public will give it credit for being in possession of all human knowledge."*

Lest any of the profane should partake of this honour, or that any one of the members should not direct these sciences towards the object of Illuminism, precautions are taken in the Code to assure the exclusive advantage of these labours to the Sect. "Particular parts of these sciences and discoveries may be "printed by permission of the Superiors; but the law "adds, not only these books shall not be communicated to any of the profane, but as they will never "be printed elsewhere than at the presses of the Sect, "they will only be entrusted to the Brethren according "to the rank they hold in the Order."†

"That our worthy co-operators may not be divested "of the glory of their labours, every new principle "laid down, machine invented, or discovery made, "shall for ever bear the name of its inventor, that his "memory may be revered by future ages."‡

"On the same grounds it is strictly enjoined, that no "member shall ever communicate to the profane any "discovery that he may have made in the Order---"No book treating of these discoveries shall be printed "without the permission of the Superiors; and hence "arises the general regulation, that no Brother shall "publish any of his productions without leave of the "Provincial. He also is to decide whether the work "is of a nature to be printed by the secret presses of "the Order, and what particular Brethren may be allowed the perusal of it---Should it be necessary to dismiss any of the Brethren from the Order, the local Superior is to receive notice that he may have the necessary time to withdraw from him not only the "manuscripts, but even the printed works of the "Order."§

* Ibid. No. 20. † Ibid. No. 17.
‡ Ibid. No. 23. § Ibid. No. 24.

The Illuminizing Legiſlator, in juſtification of all theſe precautions, alleges, in the firſt place, the undeniable right veſted in the Order to all the labours of its Brethren; then the lure of ſecrecy, which ſtimulates curioſity and the thirſt of ſcience; finally, the advantage accruing to the ſciences themſelves, by being preſerved among men who only impart them to others ſo prepared as to render them of the greateſt poſſible utility. Beſides, ſays he, every man has it in his power to make himſelf an Illuminee if he pleaſes, and to partake of their ſcience; and who better able to render them uſeful to mankind, or to preſerve them, than we are? After this juſtification, which the reader may appreciate, he returns to his Epopt, and tells them, that it is incumbent on them to direct and turn all the ſciences towards the views of Illuminiſm. "The wants "of every country are to be maturely conſidered, as "well as thoſe of your diſtrict; let them be the objects "of deliberation in your Synods; and aſk inſtructions "of your Superiors." Then the Legiſlator makes a ſudden tranſition, and expands his views far beyond his Lodges. The reader will ſcarcely ſuſpect whither they tend. Let him read, and learn the grand object of the Epopts, what conqueſts they are to make for the Order, and whither they are to extend the ſyſtems of Illuminiſm. "You will," abruptly exclaims the legiſlator, "inceſſantly form new plans, and try every means, "in your reſpective provinces, to ſeize upon the public "education, the eccleſiaſtical government, the chairs "of literature, and the pulpit."*---This is one of the grand objects of the Sect, and we ſhall ſee the Code treating of it again in another part.

To enhance the merits of his plans, and to inſinuate his adepts into the eccleſiaſtical ſeminaries, and even into the pulpit, under the ſhadow of his pretended ſcience, "the Epopt muſt find means of *acquiring* the re-"putation of a man of tranſcendent learning; where-"ever he appears, whether walking or ſtopping, ſit-"ting or ſtanding, let *rays of light* encircle his head, "which ſhall enlighten all who approach him. Let "every one think himſelf happy in hearing the pure

* Müſſen ſtets neue plane entworfen und eingeführt werden: Wie man die hände in erziehungſweſen, geiſtliche regierung, lehr, und predigt-ſtühle in der provinz bekomme. *Ibid. No.* 28.

"truth from his lips. Let him on all occaſions, com-
"bat prejudice; *but with precaution*, and according
"to the rules laid down, *with dexterity and with all*
"*the reſpect due to the perſons he is addreſſing.*"*
Who could believe that theſe were leſſons given to a modern Vandal by his diſorganizing legiſlator, whoſe heart thirſts after the *happy* period when that *encircling light* of his Epopts ſhall have *Vandalized* the whole univerſe, and nations ſhall have diſappeared from off the face of the earth?

But the Epopt has yet to aim at another conqueſt, that of the empire over the literary world. "In the
"literary world certain writings generally take the
"lead for a time, according to the faſhion, and inſpire
"feeble minds with admiration. At one time the en-
"thuſiaſtic productions of religion, at another the ſen-
"timental novels of wit, or perhaps philoſophical re-
"veries, paſtorals, romances on chivalry, epic poems,
"or odes will inundate the republic of letters. The
"Epopt will turn all his ſkill towards bringing into
"faſhion the principles of our Order, the ſole tenden-
"cy of which is the happineſs of mankind." Or, in other words, thoſe baleful principles which, under the pretence of rendering human nature more happy and united in one family, aim at nothing leſs than deſtroying every Religion, every title to *property*, every town, every fixed reſidence, and every nation.

"Our principles muſt be made faſhionable, that the
"young writers may diffuſe them among the people,
"and ſerve the Order without intending it."†

"In order to raiſe the public ſpirit, he muſt with the greateſt ardour preach up *the general intereſt of humanity, and inculcate the utmoſt indifference for all aſſociations or ſecret unions which are only formed among the ſubjects of one particular nation.*‡ Here the impious legiſlator blaſphemouſly cites for an example Chriſt, and his pretended indifference for his family. Becauſe Chriſt died for the redemption of *all* mankind, becauſe his affection for the moſt holy of mothers

* Ibid. No. 2.

† Damit junge ſchriftſteller dergleichen unter das volk auſbreiten, und uns, ohne daſs ſie es wiſſen, dienen.

‡ Ibid. No. 3.

never made him lose sight of that great work, is that a ground on which the illuminizing Epopt shall persuade his simple auditory that to love all mankind is to dissolve the bonds of nations?

As a farther rule for acquiring this literary empire, "He will take care that the writings of the members "of the Order shall be cried up, and that the trumpet "of fame shall be sounded in their honour. He will "also find means of hindering the reviewers from "casting any suspicions on the writers of the sect."†

With respect to the *Literati*, and *writers who*, without belonging to the Order, *show principles coinciding with ours*, should they be what we call GOOD, "*class "them among those who are to be enrolled. Let the "Dean have a list of those men, and from time to time "he will hand it about among the brethren.*"‡

Let us now take a cursory view of these laws, and of their gradual tendency to infect the whole literary world. In its Minerval academies the sect begins by forming its pupils; and the care with which its disorganizing principles are instilled into the young adept has already been displayed. Lest any of these principles should swerve from the grand object, the Epopts oversee all the schools of the same district; these latter have their provincial assemblies, where every thing is prepared, combined, and foreseen. At this assembly the Epopt attends, bringing with him *his notes* and observations on his particular district, and on those means which may there contribute to the advancement or disparagement of the illuminizing principles and science. The minutes of these assemblies are sent to the National Inspector, who overlooks the whole, and sees that the original spirit is every where preserved; and the Areopagites hold the same line of conduct with respect to all nations, that he does within his particular one. Hence then the Minerval academies, the Epopts, the Provincials, the National Inspectors, in a word, the disorganizing whole, form but one and the same invisible academy, spreading its subterraneous ramifications, every where infusing the same principles, actuated by the same spirit, and subjected to the same laws: and these laws, this science, are but the

† Ibid. No. 4. ‡ Ibid. No. 5.

machinations and the forebodings of univerſal impiety and diſorganization.

But the union and univerſality of this conſpiring academy is not ſufficient for the Sect; it extends its views to the public ſchools and to the pulpit. The man of letters, the tranſcendent genius, all are to bend beneath its laws, and faſhion is to ſecond its plots. From the child that ſpells, to the Doctor enveloped in mazy ſcience, all are to be ſubjected to Illuminiſm; and ſcience itſelf, ſo inſtrumental to the progreſs of the Sect, ſhall ſink beneath the effort of bringing forth that Vandaliſm which is to annihilate the altar and the throne, all laws, individual property, and national ſociety.

Let the reader compare the myſteries of the Sect with the code of its Epopts, and pronounce if ſuch be not the real tendency of this Empire of Science. Horror impreſſes the mind, and indignation riſes at ſuch a ſight.---But the monſtrous legiſlator who has compiled them pretends that they are entitled to the admiration of the young adepts; and it is his Epopts who are to inſpire them with this admiration. "You "muſt," ſays he, "infuſe ſo great a reſpect for the "ſublimity and ſanctity of our Order, that a promiſe "made by the adepts on the honour of Illuminiſm "ſhall be more binding than the moſt ſacred oath."* At length the Atheiſt has found an equivalent for the name of God. He ſeeks bonds to bind his followers, and he has broken thoſe of conſcience; he appeals to honour, and perverts it into a bond of villany. "*He* (ſays Weiſhaupt) *who ſhall dare violate the oath* "*he ſhall have ſworn on the honour of my Society, ſhall* "*be declared infamous. I care not what his rank may* "*be, his infamy ſhall be proclaimed throughout the whole* "*Order, and it ſhall be ſo without remiſſion or hope of* "*pardon.* My intention is, that the Members ſhould "be informed of this, that they ſhould deliberately "reflect on the ſacredneſs of this oath in *my* Order, I "mean that the conſequences of it ſhould be clearly "and warmly repreſented to them.†"

The Epopts charged with this miſſion are of a degree too much revered in the Order to compromiſe

* Ibid. No. 29. † Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 8, to Cato.

their dignity. They attend, at pleaſure, the meetings of the inferior degrees, but they are never to occupy any office in them, excepting that of Prefect of the Scotch Knights. Their preſence might overawe and intimidate the young adepts, and thus be detrimental to the obſervations they are ordered to make; for (ſo far from conſtraint,) the Epopt is to endeavour to ſtudy them in their moſt unguarded moments. He is therefore never to intermix with them but as their equal. There is a particular law forbidding him to diſcloſe the degree, or the claſs to which he belongs, or even his coſtume.† Thus, hiding his ſuperiority, and ſeated on the ſame benches beſide the young adepts, he exerciſes his functions of Scrutator more freely among them in their mutual intercourſe, and he judges better of the talents of each. His leſſons, coming from an equal, will ſink deeper into their minds; and, without betraying his authority, he will the better obſerve their progreſs and their failings---Should any of theſe pupils have ſhown a zeal and fidelity beyond all doubt, he may take them into his confidence; he will point them out to the Dean, who may call them about his perſon, and make them his *Acolites*. The Dean may even throw a great part of the weight of his correſpondence on them, and carry them to the Synod of the Epopts, until they ſhall have ſhown themſelves worthy of being initiated to all the myſteries reſerved for this claſs.‡

Thus ends that part of the Code which is to be communicated to the Epopts. The following Chapters will delineate the laws and inſtructions which are to guide their conduct when admitted to the degree of *Regent* or *Prince* of *Illuminiſm*.

† Ibid. No. 31. ‡ Ibid. No. 32.

CHAP. XV.

Instructions for the Regent or Prince Illuminee, on the Government of the Order.

THE prominent feature of all the instructions given by the Illuminizing Legislator to his Epopts is the consecration of their degree to the perversion of the public opinion, and to the attainment of the empire of sciences, that he may direct them all to the support of his disorganizing Liberty and Equality and to universal anarchy. This mission of perversion requires an assiduity to which not many men are equal; but adepts may be found, who, unable to distinguish themselves in such missions, may yet be endowed with a sufficient zeal and with the necessary talents for the superintendence and direction of the Brethren. There are others again whose disastrous successes are to be recompensed by the higher employments in the Order; and it is from these two classes of Epopts that the Order selects its Regents. It is also for their instruction that the Legislator descends into all the gubernatory minutiae of his Illuminism.---His instructions are comprised under four different heads. I. General System of Government for the Order.---II. Instructions for the degree of Regent.---III. Instructions for the Prefects or Local Superiors.---IV. Instructions for the Provincial.* First part of these Instructions.

I have, it is true, been obliged to anticipate many parts of this Code when unfolding the artifices of the lower degrees; but as a confirmation of what has already been exposed, in order to bring the different objects within one point of view, and to show the dangers of his disastrous combinations, let us attend to the Legislator when treating of the whole collectively. What particularly endeared this degree of Regent to Weishaupt was, that part of his instruction which takes a general view, and which lays open the progressive plan to be observed in the government of the Brethren. The reader perusing the instructions in the

* Last Works of Philo and Spartacus, degree of Regent.

ſame order in which Weiſhaupt has written them will more eaſily conceive the cauſe of his predilection.

Inſtruction A. Plan of the General Government of the Order.

" I. The moſt high and excellent Superiors of the illuſtrious Order of *true Freemaſonry* do not immediately attend to the minutiae of the edifice.---They muſt not, however, on that account be conſidered as contributing leſs to our happineſs, by their counſels, their leſſons, their plans, and the many and powerful reſources with which they furniſh us.

" II. Theſe excellent and moſt gracious Superiors have eſtabliſhed a claſs of Maſons to whom they have entruſted the whole plan of our Order. This claſs is that of the *Regents*

" III. In this plan our Regents hold the firſt dignities. Until admitted to this degree, no perſon can hold the office of *Prefect* or of *Local Superior*.

" IV. Every country has its national Superior, who holds an immediate correſpondence with our *Fathers*, at the head of whom is a general who holds the helm of the Order.

" V. Under the *National* and his *Aſſiſtants* are the *Provincials*, who each govern their Circle or their Province.

" VI. Every Provincial is ſurrounded by his Counſellors.

" VII. Each Provincial alſo commands a certain number of Prefects, who may in like manner have their coadjutors in their diſtricts. All theſe, as well as the *Dean*, belong to the claſs of Regents.

" VIII. All theſe offices are for life, excepting in caſes of depoſition or ejectment.

" IX. The Provincial is to be choſen by the *Regents* of his province and the *National Superiors*, and approved by the *National*.---[I do not underſtand how the Code diſtinguiſhes between ſeveral *National Superiors* and the *National* in chief; unleſs it be, that it denotes in this place as *Superiors* thoſe which are called a little higher up *Aſſiſtants (Gehulfen)* of this chief.]

" X. The whole ſucceſs of Illuminiſm depending on the *Regents*, it is but juſt that their domeſtic wants ſhould be provided for. They ſhall therefore be the firſt ſupplied from out of the funds of the Order.

" XI. The Regents of each Province form a particular body immediately under the Provincial, whom they are to obey

" XII. The offices of Illuminiſm not being conſidered in the light of dignities, nor of *places of honour*, but as mere *employments* freely accepted, the Regents muſt be always ready to labour for the good of the Order, each according to his ſituation and to his talents. Age is never to be ſet forth as a title. It may often happen, that the youngeſt is choſen Provincial, and the eldeſt only a Local Superior or Counſellor, ſhould the one live in the center, while the other only inhabits the extremity of the Province; or, ſhould the former, on account of his natural activity or his ſtation in life, be more fitted for the place of Superior than the latter, though far more eloquent.---In many caſes, for example, a Regent is not to think it beneath his dignity to offer himſelf to diſcharge any of the leſſer offices in the *Minerval churches* (lodges) in which he may be uſeful."

" XIII. That the Provincial may not be over-burdened with too extenſive a correſpondence, all the *Quibus Licets* and all the letters of the Regents, ſhall paſs through the hands of the Prefect, unleſs the Provincial gives Orders to the contrary."

" XIV. But the Prefect ſhall not open the letters of the *Regents*. Thoſe he muſt tranſmit to the Provincial, who will forward them to their proper deſtination."

" XV. The Provincial has the power of convoking the whole of his Regents, or merely thoſe whom he may think proper, conſidering the exigencies of the province. He who cannot attend according to his ſummons muſt give the proper notice at leaſt four weeks prior to the meeting. Beſides, he is always to be ready to give in an account of what he has done for the Order until that period, and ſhow his willingneſs to fulfil the intentions of his Provincial and of his

high ſuperiors. The convocation of Regents muſt take place at leaſt once a year."

" XVI. The following inſtruction (B) will point out more particularly to the Regents thoſe objects to which they muſt chiefly attend."

" XVII. It has been already obſerved, that great attention is to be paid to the gradually procuring of funds for the Order. This may be accompliſhed by attending to the following rules:

" Each province is to be entruſted with the expenditure of its own monies, and only remit ſmall contributions to the ſuperiors for the expences of poſtage. Each lodge alſo is to enjoy the *full propriety* of its funds *(eigenthumlich)*---when *for any great enterprize* the aſſembly of the Regents levy contributions on the funds of the different lodges, they ſhall be conſidered but as loans, and ſhall be made good to the lodges with full intereſt."

Has the illuminizing legiſlator then forgotten, that it was PROPERTY which gave the firſt *deadly blow* to *Equality and Liberty?* Certainly not; but more than ONE *great enterprize* will be neceſſary to prepare the LAST, which is to *annihilate all property* whatſoever; meanwhile the Order is glad to enjoy its own, and to make the inferior lodges believe that they are not to be pillaged of any thing that belongs to them.

" The Provincial has no fund allotted to him, but he has an exact return of all thoſe of his province."

" The general *receipts* will conſiſt---1°. In the contributions paid on the receptions of Maſons *(freymaurer-receptions-gelder)*---2°. In the overplus of the monthly contributions----3°. In voluntary ſubſcriptions----4°. In fines---5°. In legacies and donations---6°. In our commerce and traffic *(handel und gewerbe.)*"

" The *expences* are---1°. The expences of the meetings, poſtage, decorations, and ſome few journies---2°. Penſions to the poor brethren who have no other means of ſubſiſtence---3°. Sums paid for the *promotion of the grand object of the Order*---4°. Sums paid for the encouraging of talents---5°. The expences of experiments and trials---6°. For widows and children---7°. For foundations.

Thus terminates the firſt part of the inſtructions for the Regent. After the reading of this, which takes

place on the day of his inauguration, his attention is called to the following:

Inſtruction B *for the whole degree of Regent.*

The reader has ſeen (*ut ſupra*, art. xvi.) the Regent forewarned to pay a particular attention to this ſecond part of the inſtructions. Let the reader alſo profit of the hint. He will ſee that many of the *arcana* of the ſect ſtill remain to be revealed. 2d Part of the inſtructions.

"I. The object of the Order being to render man more happy, virtue more attractive, and vice leſs powerful, it is neceſſary that our brethren, the *teachers and governors of mankind*, ſhould publicly aſſume an unimpeachable character. A Regent of Illuminiſm therefore will be the moſt perfect of men. He will be prudent, provident, ingenious, irreproachable, and of manners ſo urbane that his company ſhall be courted with avidity. He is to acquire the reputation of being enlightened, benevolent, honeſt, diſintereſted, and full of ardour for great and extraordinary enterpriſes, all contributing to the general good."

It would be uſeleſs to recall to the mind of my reader what is to be underſtood, in the language of Illuminiſm, by virtue, vice, or public good. He will therefore on reflection be the leſs ſurpriſed at peruſing the following inſtructions framed for theſe *virtuous teachers and governors* of mankind.

"II. The Regents are to ſtudy the means of ruling and governing without betraying any ſuch intention.* Under the maſk of humility, but of a real and candid humility, grounded on the perſuaſion of their own weakneſs, and on the conviction that their *whole ſtrength reſts on our union*, they muſt exerciſe an abſolute and boundleſs dominion,† and muſt direct every thing towards the attainment of the views of the Order."

"Let them avoid a pedantic reſerve, at once diſguſting and ridiculous in the eyes of the ſage. Let them give the example of a reſpectful ſubmiſſion to

* Die Regenten ſollen die kunſt ſtudiren zu herſchen, ohne das anſehen davon zu haben.

† Sollen ſie unumſchränkt regieren.

the Superiors. Should they be poſſeſſed of the advantages of birth, it will be an additional reaſon for ſhowing their obedience to a Superior born in a lower ſtation of life---Let their conduct vary according to the perſons with whom they have to deal. Let the Regent be the confidant of one, the father of another, the ſcholar of a third; very ſeldom a ſevere and inexorable Superior, and even on ſuch occaſions let him ſhow with how much unwillingneſs he exerciſes ſuch ſeverity. He will ſay, for example, that he ſincerely wiſhes the Order had given ſo diſagreeable a commiſſion to ſome other perſon; and that he is weary of acting the part of ſchoolmaſter with a man who ſhould long ſince have known how to conduct himſelf.

"III. The grand object of our *ſacred legion ſpread throughout the univerſe* being the triumph of virtue and of wiſdom, every Regent muſt endeavour to eſtabliſh *a certain equality* among men.---Let him take the part of thoſe who are too much debaſed, and humble the proud. Let him never ſuffer the fool to lord it too much over the man of wit, the wicked over the good, the ignorant over the learned, nor the weak over the ſtrong, though the latter ſhould in reality be in the wrong.*

"IV. The means of acquiring an aſcendancy over men are incalculable. Who could enumerate them all? ... They muſt vary with the diſpoſition of the times. At one period it is a taſte for the marvellous and extraordinary that is to be wrought upon. At another the lure of ſecret ſocieties is to be held out. "*For this reaſon it is very proper to make your inferiors believe, without telling them the real ſtate of the caſe, that all other ſecret ſocieties, particularly that of Freemaſonry, are ſecretly directed by us. Or elſe, and it* IS REALLY THE FACT IN SOME STATES, THAT POTENT MONARCHS ARE GOVERNED BY OUR ORDER. *When any thing remarkable or important comes to paſs, hint that it originated with our Order.---Should any perſon by his merit acquire a great reputation, let it be generally underſtood that he is one of us.*"

How ſmoothly flows this combination of artifice

* Er ſoll nicht leiden daſs der dümmere über den klügern—der Schwächere über den ſtärkern, auch wenn dieſer unrecht haben ſollte, zu ſehr den meiſter ſpiele.

from the pen of the Illuminizing Legiſlator! But I hope that my reader will not expect to find a method in my tranſlation, where the Legiſlator has diſdained method. It is eaſy to perceive, that to heap artifice upon artifice is much more his object, than to give a ſtudied connection to principles with which he ſuppoſes his adepts to be ſufficiently impreſſed. Or may it not be ſaid, that this diſorder is the effect of ſtudied art? But let us proceed and trace the ſteps of Weiſhaupt.

"With no other object than to give your orders the appearance of coming from a myſterious hand, you may, for example, put a letter under the plate of an adept when dining at an inn, though it might have been a much leſs trouble to forward it to him at his own lodgings---You may attend large and commercial owns during the time of fairs in different characters, as *a Merchant, an Officer, an Abbe.* Every where you will perſonate an extraordinary man having important buſineſs on your hands.---But all this muſt be done with a great deal of art and caution, leſt you ſhould have the appearance of an adventurer. It is to be well underſtood, that theſe characters are not to be aſſumed in towns where you are likely to be diſcovered either by the Police or the ſtanders-by.----At other times, you may write your orders with a chemical preparation of ink which diſappears after a certain time.

"V. A Regent is as much as poſſible to hide from his inferiors all his weakneſſes, even his ill-health, or diſguſts; at any rate he is never to complain.

"VI. Here he repeats the inſtruction on the art of flattering and gaining over women to their cauſe, already tranſcribed, page 25.

"VII. You muſt alſo gain over to the Order the COMMON PEOPLE. The great plan for ſucceeding in this is to *influence the Schools.* You may alſo attempt it by liberalities, or by great ſhow and ſplendour; at other times by making yourſelf popular, and even tolerating, with an *air of patience, prejudices which may hereafter be gradually eradicated.*

"VIII. When you have ſucceeded any where in making yourſelf maſter of the public authority and government, you will pretend not to have the leaſt power, for fear of awakening the attention of thoſe

who may oppoſe us. But, on the contrary, when you find it impoſſible to ſucceed, you will aſſume the character of a perſon who has every thing at his command. That will make us both feared and ſought after, and of courſe will ſtrengthen our party.

" IX. All the ill ſucceſs or diſguſts which may befall the Order are to be concealed with the utmoſt caution from the inferiors.

" X. It is the duty of the Regents to ſupply the wants of the Brethren, *and to procure the beſt employments for them*, after having given the proper intimation to the Superior.

" XI. The Regents ſhall be particularly cautious and diſcreet in their diſcourſe;---but ſhall carefully avoid any thing denoting the leaſt perplexity of mind---There are even ſome occaſions whereon an extenſive genius is to be affected; on others, they may pretend that their friendſhip has made them ſay a word too much; by theſe means the ſecrecy of the inferior is put to the teſt. They may alſo ſpread certain reports among our people, which may prepare them to receive ideas which the Order wiſhes to infuſe into their minds. On all doubtful occaſions, the Regent will conſult his Superiors by means of a *Quibus Licet*."

" XII. Whatever rank or ſtation a Regent may hold in the Order, he will ſeldom anſwer the queſtions of the inferiors verbally, but generally in writing, that he may have time to reflect or even conſult on the anſwers he ſhould give."

" XIII. The Regents will unceaſingly attend to every thing relating to the grand intereſts of the Order, to the *operations of commerce*, or ſuch things as may in any way contribute to augment the *power* of the Order. They will tranſmit all plans of that nature to the Provincial. Should it be a caſe requiring expedition, he will give him advice of it by ſome other channel than the *Quibus Licets*, which the Provincial has not the power of opening."

" XIV. They will follow the ſame line of conduct with reſpect to every thing that tends to influence the Order in general; and find means of putting its united forces in motion at one and the ſame time."

" XV. When an author ſets forth principles true in themſelves, *but which do not as yet ſuit our general plan*

of education for the world; or principles the publication of which is premature; every effort must be made to gain over the author; but should all our attempts fail, and we should be unable to entice him into the Order, let him be discredited by every possible means."

"XVI. *If a Regent should conceive hopes of succeeding in suppressing any religious houses,* and of applying their revenues to our object, for example, *to the establishment of proper* COUNTRY SCHOOLS; he may depend on it, that such a project would be particularly grateful to the Superiors."

"XVII. The Regents will also turn their attention towards a solid plan for establishing a fund to support the widows of the brethren."

"XVIII. *One of our most important objects must be, to hinder the servile veneration of the people for Princes from being carried too far.* All such abject flattery tends only to make those men worse who are already for the most part of very common and weak understandings. You will show an example of the proper conduct to be held in this respect. Shun all familiarity with them; behave to them politely, *but without constraint, that they may honour and fear you.* Write and speak of them as you would of other men, that they may be made to recollect that they are but men like other people, and that their authority is a thing purely conventional."*

"XIX. When there happens to be a man of merit among our adepts but little known by or entirely unknown to the public, no pains are to be spared to acquire celebrity for him. *Let our disguised brethren* every where sound the trumpet of his praises, and force envy and party spirit to be silent."

"XX. The essay of our principles and of our schools is most easily and most successfully made in small states. The inhabitants of capitals and commercial towns are too corrupt, too much a prey to their passions, and think themselves too much enlightened, to submit to our lessons."

"XXI. It is useful to send visitors from time to time, or to give a Regent that is travelling the commission to visit the meetings, to ask for the minutes, and to call

* Eine unserer vornehmsten sorgen muss auch seyn, unter das volke sclavische fürsten verehrung nicht zu hoch steigen zu lassen, &c. &c.

on the brethren in order to examine their papers or journals, and receive their complaints.---These Plenipotentiaries, presenting themselves in the name of the high Superiors, may correct many faults, and boldly suppress abuses which the Prefects had not the courage to reform, though ready to enforce the commands of the visitor.

"XXII. If our Order cannot establish itself in any particular place with all the forms and regular progress of our degrees, *some other form must be assumed. Always have the object in view; that is the essential point. No matter what the cloak may be, provided you succeed; a cloak is however always necessary, for in secrecy our strength principally lies.*"

"XXIII. For this reason we should always conceal ourselves under the name of some other association. The *inferior lodges* of FREEMASONRY *are the most convenient cloaks* for our grand object, *(das schickliche kleid fur unsere hohere zwecke)* because the world is already familiarized with the idea that nothing of importance, or worthy of their attention can spring from Masonry.---The name of a literary society is also a proper mask for our first classes. Under such a mask, should our assemblies be discovered, we may confidently assert, that the reason of our holding secret assemblies was partly to give a greater interest and charm to our pursuits; partly to keep off the crowd, and not to expose ourselves to the bantering and jealousy of others; in short to hide the weakness of an association as yet but in its infancy."

"XXIV. It is of the utmost importance for us to study the constitutions of other secret societies and to *govern* them. The Regent is even bound, after having obtained leave of his superiors, to gain admittance into those societies, but he must not undertake too many engagements. This is an additional reason why our Order should remain secret."

"XXV. The higher degrees must always be hidden from the lower. *A person more willingly receives orders from a stranger than from men in whom he gradually discovers a multitude of defects.* By this precaution one may keep the inferiors in a more proper awe; for they naturally pay greater attention to their behaviour when they think themselves surrounded by persons

who are observing them; at first, their virtue may be the effect of constraint, but custom will soon make it habitual."

"XXVI. Never lose sight of the military schools, of the academies, printing presses, libraries, cathedral chapters, or any public establishments that can influence education or government. Let our Regents perpetually attend to the various means, and form plans for making us masters of all these establishments."*

"XXVII. In general, and independent of their particular employment, the grand object of our Regents must be an habitual and constant application to every thing which can in any way add to the perfection and to the power of our Order, that it may become for future ages the most perfect model of government that can enter the mind of man;" or in other words, that it may be hereafter said, such was the famous association which, by perpetually perfecting its laws and governments, at length taught mankind to cast off every law and every government. It would be useless for me to think of adducing farther proofs to demonstrate that such is the real object of the pretended perfection of Illuminism. The mysteries of the Sect have been too clearly laid open for us to harbour the smallest doubt of their intention. But to acquire this perfection and power for the Sect, Weishaupt has modelled still farther laws for his Regents, according to the different offices they hold in the Hierarchy of the Order.†

* Militair-schulen, academien, Buchdruckereyen, Buchläden, Domcapitel, und alles was ein einfluss auf bildung und regierung hat, muss nie aus den augen gelassen werden; und die Regenten sollen unaufhörlich plane entwerfen, wie man es anfangen könne, über dieselben gewalt zu bekommen.

† For the whole of the Second Part of this Chapter see the *Instruction B for the Degree of Regent*, of which it is nearly a literal translation.

CHAP. XVI.

Continuation of the Inſtructions on the Government of the Illuminees---Laws for the Local Superiors.

GREAT as the authority of the *Major Illuminees* over the Minerval Academies may appear at firſt ſight, no perſon of the *preparatory claſs* is in fact entruſted with any real authority. Even the Scotch Knight in his *intermediary* claſs does not enjoy any. The Order recognizes as real Superiors none but thoſe who have been initiated into the claſs of the Myſteries. Even in that claſs the adept muſt have attained the degree of Regent before he can be named Prefect for the Scotch Knights, or Dean of his diſtrict. Thoſe are the firſt two offices which the Order conſiders as having any real authority over the Brethren.

Though the Code expreſsly declares, that each Superior ſhall find in his inſtructions the reſpective laws concerning his particular duty, it certainly contains none for the office of Dean. A ſingle Chapter is indeed to be found in the Code on his election and conſecration. On the firſt eſtabliſhment of a new diſtrict he is elected by the Provincial; but on his depoſition or death the Epopts aſſemble and chooſe a ſucceſſor by the plurality of votes, the Provincial only having the right of confirming ſuch an election. With regard to what the Code terms his *conſecration (Weihung des decani,)* it is generally performed by what is called a Plenipotentiary, and in a ſort of barbarous Latin, extremely inelegant. Were not the impiety of it as abominable as the ceremonial is low, it might form an excellent ſcene for the theatres of Bartholomew fair. The Illuminizing Legiſlator, a very inferior copyiſt of Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire*, ridicules St. Paul, Moſes, and all religious ceremonies, as Moliere did the quack diſciples of Hippocrates. Little wit is required to ſcoff at religious rites, and yet our Legiſlator has only ſucceeded in being diſguſtingly impious. Such turpitude is not worthy our notice, for none but

Epopts can admire it; this nevertheleſs is all the information the Code can give us reſpecting the Dean.*

* Should any adept wiſh for a ſpecimen of this miſerable farce, let him figure to himſelf an aſſembly of Epopts in their ſacerdotal habits. The delegate opens the piece by Domine aperi os meum: The two Aſſiſtants repeat the ſame—*The Plenipotentiary* Fili mi quid poſtulas? *The Delegate* Ut Deus et Superiores noſtri concedant nobis Decanum hunc quem ad te duco.—*Plenip.* Habetis decretum?—Habemus—Legatur—Communi voto atque conſenſu ſuperiorum elegimus nobis in Decanum Fratrem N. N. Preſbiterum Noſtræ Provinciæ, Majoris Ordinis verum atque prudentem hoſpitalem, moribus ornatum, ſapientem, illuminatum et manſuetum, Deo et ſuperioribus noſtris per omnia placentemque ad Celſitudinis veſtræ dignitatem adducere, quatenus autore Domino nobis velut idoneus Decanus præ-eſſe valeat ut prodeſſe, noſque ſub ejus ſapienti regimine in ſecuritate ac quiete magnis ſcientiis aliiſque operibus curare poſſimus—*Plenip.* Diſpoſuiſti domui tuæ?—*The Elect* Diſpoſui—Noſti quanta ſit Decani cura et quâ pœnâ infligantur infideles et Delatores?—Duce me Domine—Ego auctoritate ſuperiorum inductus firmiter ſub interminatione anathematis, inhibeo tibi, ne quid de ſcientiis occultis, vel ſecreta tibi revelanda abducas, ſurripias, vel alicui profano communices. Si tu autem aliquid attentare præſumſeris, maledictus eris in domo et extra domum, maledictus in civitate et in agro, maledictus vigilando et dormiendo, maledictus manducando et bibendo, maledictus ambulando et ſedendo, maledicta erunt caro et oſſa, et ſanitatem non habebis à plantâ pedis uſque ad verticem. Veniat tunc ſuper te maledictio quam per Moyſen in lege filio iniquitatis Dominus promiſit. Deleatur nomen tuum in libro viventium, et cum juſtis non amplius ſcribatur, fiat pars et hereditas tua cum Cain fratricidâ, cum Dathan et Abiron, cum Ananiâ et Saphirâ, cum Simone Mago et Juda proditore. Vide ergo ne quid feceris, quo anathema mereris.—*Here follow the impoſition of hands, the exhortations, and the benedictions, all in Latin. The Officiator, extending his hands again on the head of the Elect, terminates the ceremony with the following words:* Sicut ros Hermon qui deſcendit in montem Sion, ſic deſcendat ſuper te Dei ſummæ ſapientiæ benedictio *(ſee the laſt works of Spartacus—Nachricht von Weihung eines Decani.)* What execrable impiety muſt the Sect have infuſed into its Epopts to expect that ſuch an impious deriſion of the Scriptures and of the moſt ſacred rights could give them pleaſure? Let not the

The ſame cannot be ſaid of the inſtructions for the *Prefects*. Theſe Local Superiors may have as many as eight Lodges at a time under their command, partly Minerval, and partly Maſonic. The Prefect is the firſt Regent within his prefecture, and has the direction of all that part of the Order ſtiled in the Code *the lower part of the edifice*. All the *Quibus Licets* of his diſtrict paſs through his hands. He opens thoſe of the Scotch Knights, and the *Solis* of the Novices and Minervals; but every thing elſe he tranſmits to the higher Superiors. When he founds new Lodges, or receives new Brethren, he gives the new *Geographical* names and *Characteriſtics*, which he ſelects from the liſt that he has received from the Provincial. He makes a general report to the Provincial of every thing that has happened within his prefecture once a month; and every three months tranſmits the reverſal letters, the tablets ſent by the Scrutators with notes on their *political and moral* conduct, and an exact return of the ſtate of the funds belonging to each Lodge. He decides on the promotion of the Brethren as far as Scotch Knight, but can confer the latter degree only with the conſent of the Provincial.---He has the right once a year of commanding all the adepts under his direction to return whatever writings the Order may have entruſted them with---He returns them to thoſe on whoſe fidelity he has reaſon to rely, *but not to thoſe whom he may have any reaſon to ſuſpect, or who are intended to be diſmiſſed*.*

The foundation of the Edifice reſts ſolely on the vigilance, experience, and zeal of the Prefect.---And it was to the direction of their conduct in every part of the Government that Weiſhaupt dedicated his leſſons under the following heads:---I. *Preparation*.---II. *Tuition of the Pupils*.---III. *Spirit or love of the Order*.---IV. *Subordination*.---V. *Secrecy*.---Each of theſe articles contains a cloud of thoſe artifices which the reader has ſeen interſperſed in divers parts of the Code, but which now become the peculiar ſtudy of the Pre-

reader think that I have exaggerated this barbarous cant. The whole ceremony is a buffoonery of the loweſt claſs. Impiety depraves every thing, even the taſte for literature.

* Inſtructions C for the Regents, and No. 1—X.

fect. I ſhall only extract the moſt ſtriking, or thoſe on which the Legiſlator particularly inſiſts; ſuch, for example, as the following, to be found in the firſt pages of the head *Preparation*.

" Our ſtrength chiefly conſiſts in numbers; but much will alſo depend on the means employed to form the pupil---Young people are pliant and eaſily take the impreſſion.---" The Prefect will therefore ſpare no " pains to gain poſſeſſion of the *Schools* which lie " within his diſtrict, and alſo *of their teachers*. He " will find means of placing them under the tuition " of members of our Order; for this is the true me- " thod of infuſing our principles and of training our " young men: it is thus that the moſt ingenious men " are prepared to labour for us and are brought into " diſcipline; and thus the affection conceived by our " young pupils for the Order, will gain as deep root " as do all other early impreſſions."

Under the ſame head are to be found inſtructions for the Prefect equally curious, on the propagation of the Order.

" When a new colony is to be founded, begin by " chooſing a bold and enterpriſing adept entirely de- " voted to the Order. Send him ſome time before- " hand to live on the ſpot where you intend making " the new eſtabliſhment."

" Before you proceed to people the extremities, be- " gin by making your ground good at the centre."

" Your next object muſt be, to gain over ſuch " perſons as are conſtant reſidents, as *Merchants* and " *Canons*."

" Such miſſions ſhould only be entruſted to *brethren* " *of independent fortune*, and who would occaſion no " expence to the Order; for though all the brethren " are entitled to ſuccour when in real want, yet thoſe " of one province are as ſeldom as poſſible to be an " expence to the neighbouring ones. Nor are the " other diſtricts by any means to be made acquainted " with the weakneſs of the Order in yours. Beſides, " the funds muſt find a ſufficiency to ſuccour thoſe of " the Minerval ſchool who may ſtand in need of it, " that our promiſes in their caſe may be performed."

" You will not ſeek to extend yourſelf till you have

" conſolidated your eſtabliſhment in the capital of " your diſtrict."

" You will ſeriouſly examine and cautiouſly ſelect from the brethren thoſe who are the moſt able to undertake ſuch a miſſion.---You will next conſider whether it will be proper to begin your eſtabliſhment by a *Minerval church* or a Maſonic lodge."

" Pay moſt particular attention to the man whom you place at the head of the new colony; obſerve whether he is courageous, zealous, prudent, exact, and punctual; whether fitted for the forming new adepts; whether he enjoys a good reputation or is much conſidered; whether he is a man of buſineſs and capable of a ſerious and conſtant application: in ſhort, whether he has all the neceſſary qualifications for an undertaking of ſuch high importance."

" Conſider alſo the locality. Is the place propoſed near to or diſtant from the capital of your diſtrict?---Is it a dangerous or ſafe ſituation for ſuch an undertaking?---Is it great or ſmall, more or leſs populous?---By what means can you beſt ſucceed, and which can be eaſieſt employed?---What time would be requiſite for the perfecting of ſuch an eſtabliſhment?---To what perſons can you apply on firſt ſetting off?---If your firſt applications be ill made, all future attempts will be fruitleſs.---What pretence or what name is to be aſſumed?---How is the new colony to be ſubordinated or *co-ordinated?* that is to ſay, what ſuperiors ſhall it be under, and with what lodges ſhall it correſpond?"

"When you ſhall have acquired ſufficient ſtrength in your new colony, and particularly if our brethren enjoy the firſt dignities of the ſtate, if they may freely and openly ſhow themſelves formidable to their opponents, and make them feel the painful conſequences of counteracting the views of the Order; if you have wherewith to ſatisfy the wants of the brethren; if, ſo far from having to fear from the government, the Order directs thoſe who hold the reins---Then be aſſured that we ſhall not be wanting in numbers or in the choice of adepts; we ſhall ſoon have more than we have occaſion for. *I cannot too ſtrongly recommend this method of proceeding.*"

" If it be neceſſary for us to be maſters of the or-" dinary ſchools, of how much more importance will

" it be to gain over the *eccleſiaſtical ſeminaries and their* " *ſuperiors! With them we gain over the chief part* " *of the country; we acquire the ſupport of the greateſt* " *enemies to innovation; and the grand point of all is,* " *that through the clergy we become maſters of the mid-* " *dle and lower claſſes of the people.*"

" But remember, that great caution is neceſſary " with the Eccleſiaſtics. Theſe gentlemen are gene- " rally either too free or too ſcrupulous; and thoſe " who are too free have ſeldom any morals." The legiſlator then proceeds to the excluſion of the religious, and tells the Inſinuator to avoid the Jeſuits as he would the plague.

While peruſing theſe laws, I ſuppoſe the reader makes nearly the ſame reflections which I am tempted every inſtant to commit to paper.---Should the following article ever meet the eye of a Prince, it will give him ample room for reflection.

" When the Prefect ſhall have gradually ſucceeded " in placing the moſt zealous members of the Order " in the councils and offices under the Prince, he will " have arrived at the full extent of his commiſſion. " He will have done much more than if he had initia- " ted the Prince himſelf."*

" In general, Princes are not to be admitted into " the Order, and even thoſe who are received are ſel- " dom to be permitted to riſe above the degree of " *Scotch Knight*."

After what has been ſeen of this degree and thoſe that precede, it is rather extraordinary that Weiſhaupt ſhould deign to grant admiſſion to Princes; for he did not wait for this degree before he clearly inſinuated his plans. Princes, at leaſt, who had not ſurmiſed them before their admiſſion to that degree muſt have been void of penetration indeed. What hopes then could the legiſlator entertain of their not perceiving his plots againſt all legitimate authority? His confidential letters will explain the enigma:---" Brethren," he writes to his Areopagites, " you will take care to " have the following corrections made before you

* Kann der Präfect die fürſtlichen Dicaſterien und Räthe nach und nach mit eifrigen ordens-mit-gliedern beſetzen, ſo hat er alles gethan, was er thun konte. Es iſt mehr, als wenn er den fürſten ſelbſt aufgenommen hätte.

" ſhow the conſtitutions of our degrees to the Elector.
" ---In the degree of *Minor Illuminee* in place of the
" words *imbecile Monks* ſay *imbecile men*----In the de-
" gree of *Major Illuminee* blot out the words *Prieſts*
" *and Princes are in our way.* With reſpect to the
" degree of *Prieſt* ſhow no part of it *excepting the*
" *diſcourſe on ſciences*, and read that over carefully leſt
" any *alluſion or reference to any other part of the de-*
" *gree ſhould remain.*"* Theſe corrections begin to clear the enigma; a more inſidious expedient will veil his plots in complete darkneſs. " *I mean,*" ſays Weiſhaupt when ſpeaking to the Areopagites of the inferior degrees, " *to reviſe the whole ſyſtem.*" Then, attributing to the Jeſuits his own immorality, he ſays, " I mean that it ſhould be a complete Jeſuitical piece; " not a ſingle word ſhall be found in it that can in any " way be cavilled at by religious or political govern-" ments. Let us act with caution; do nothing with-" out a reaſon; things muſt be prepared and brought " on ſtep by ſtep."† The adept who has given us the moſt complete and candid account of the degrees of Illuminiſm aſſures us, that he had ſeen a diſcourſe for the degree of Epopt in which every thing reſpecting religion and government was omitted.‡

Here then we find Weiſhaupt not only correcting but even forming fictitious degrees to dupe the princely adept, and to perſuade him that the dark and myſterious receſſes of the hireling crew have been laid open to him, while the real adept ſmiles at his credulity. Such artifice certainly aggravates Weiſhaupt's criminality. But will that excuſe the princely adept? Notwithſtanding the veil artfully thrown over the impious and ſeditious principles of the ſect, did he not begin by ſwearing *obedience and protection* to the Order? His court ſoon ſwarms with Illuminees; he thinks he reigns over them, but is no more than their ſtately captive. And ſhould he fall their victim, will it not be ſaid that he met with his juſt fate? What ſtrange madneſs can induce Princes to inſcribe their names on the regiſters of ſecret ſocieties! Have they not duties to fulfil towards the public? On what right can their

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. 2d Jan. 1785.
† Ibid.—Weiſhaupt's Let. 15th March, 1781.
‡ Geſchichte der illumin. Grad. Page 66.

oaths of submission and protection be grounded, sworn in the recesses of secret lodges, to men who hide themselves from public view; when their labours, cares, and protecting power, are to extend over the whole state and to all its citizens? On the throne, or with pretensions to it, do they not degradingly swear obedience and protection to Masters of Lodges! By what right will they promulgate laws emanating from lodges? When their subjects swore allegiance and fidelity to them, did those subjects expect to be governed by a slave, or be subjected to laws proclaimed indeed by their Prince, but dictated by some *Master Illuminee* or *Rosicrucian?* And ye, magistrates of the people, who are to sit in judgment over the mutual and disputed claims of the citizens in general, what confidence can be placed in you after you have sworn *obedience* and protection to this illuminizing sect, even in actions just or *unjust?* Such reflections will rise refulgent from the page of history; and would to God that the Revolution had not already indelibly engraved them!

If ever self-love should have directed the actions of men, and supplied the place of nobler motives, the princely dupe will have found ample matter in the laws of Illuminism to stimulate his, when he but casts his eye on the following article contained in the instructions for the Prefects, or local Superiors, under the head *formation of pupils:* "What will numbers avail us, if unity and similarity of sentiment do not prevail?---*No rank, no state of life, can dispense the brethren* from our labours or our trials. To accustom them to despise all distinctions, and to view the world and human nature in the grand scale, the Prefect shall carefully collect all the anecdotes he can, remarkable either for their generosity or meanness, not regarding to whom they relate whether Princes or Citizens, rich or poor. He will transmit them to the Masters of the Minervals; and these will expose them in a proper manner to their pupils. They will not forget to give the name of the Prince or great personage, though the trait should dishonour him; "for," says the Code, "every member must be made sensible, that we distri-"bute impartial justice, and that among us the wicked "man upon the throne is called a villain *(ein schurke*

" *heift)* juſt as freely, if not more ſo, than the criminal " who is being led the gallows."

Under the ſame head we may obſerve another article remarkable enough, on the means of rendering the language of the adepts more uniform when ſpeaking before any of the Order, or of facts relating to it.

On theſe occaſions the Prefect will take care ſecretly to inſtruct the *lower Superiors* in what ſtyle they are to hold forth, what ideas to propagate, and in what manner they ſhould make their pupils ſpeak. " Hence " the pupils will conſtantly accord themſelves in every " thing, whether in language or action, with the Su- " periors, though their motives may be unknown to " them. By theſe means we ſhall all tend towards " the ſame object; the young adepts will accuſtom " themſelves to ſearch and dive into the intentions of " the Order; to refrain from acting, or to be ſilent on " all doubtful occaſions, till they have received the " advice or orders of their Superior as to what they " ought to do or ſay."

Under the head *Love or Spirit of the Order*, the Prefect is inſtructed, that ſuch *Love or Spirit* is to be inſpired by deſcanting on the beauty and importance of the object of the Sect, the integrity of its members, the greatneſs and certainty of its means, the utility of the inſtruction imparted, and ſecurity promiſed to all its pupils by the Order.---This *Love* will always be proportionate to the certainty of *being happy while attached to the Order, and of finding real happineſs in no other place.* To ſtimulate it, *he muſt always feed them with the hopes of new diſcoveries more and more important;* and, leſt their zeal ſhould diminiſh, " *try to keep our pupils conſtantly occupied with objects relating to the Order; make it their favorite purſuit.*---See what the Roman Catholic Church does to make its religion familiar to its followers, how it keeps their attention inceſſantly towards it; model yourſelf by that.----It would be impoſſible to foreſee all caſes and lay down rules for them;---Let it then be the conſtant ſtudy of the Prefects and other Superiors to prepare themſelves for unforeſeen events---Let them propoſe and diſtribute prizes for the beſt compoſitions on ſuch caſes. Perpetual vigilance will render it impoſſible for the edifice not ſooner or later to ſucceed, and to take a proper

conſiſtency according to the local circumſtances. Exhort the Brethren to complacency, beneficence, and generoſity towards each other *and towards the Order.*"

The next article treats of *Obedience.* Here the Prefect is informed, "That ſhould he have been diligent and ſucceſsful in impreſſing the young pupils with the grandeur of the views of the Sect, they will doubtleſs obey the Superiors with pleaſure. How can they do otherwiſe than ſubmit themſelves to be conducted by Superiors who have ſo carefully guided them hitherto, who contributed ſo much to their preſent happineſs, and who promiſe to perpetuate it in future? May the man who is not to be enticed into obedience by ſuch advantages be rejected from among us; *let him be caſt out from the ſociety of the elect!* The ſpirit of obedience is to be more particularly infuſed by *example* and inſtruction---by the conviction, that to obey our Superiors is in fact only fulfilling our own inclination---by the gradual progreſs of the degrees---by the hopes of diſcovering more important truths---by fear properly managed---by honours, rewards, and diſtinctions granted to the docile---by contempt caſt on the ſtubborn---by avoiding familiarity with the inferiors---by the exemplary puniſhment of the rebellious---by the ſelection of thoſe whom we know to be devoted to us and ready to execute all our commands---by a particular attention to the *Quibus Licets* whereby we may ſee how far the Orders of the Superiors have been executed;---and by the punctuality of the intermediary Superiors in ſending the *tablets* or reports reſpecting their inferiors. *The more particular theſe tablets are, the better they will be; for it is on them that all the operations of the Order are grounded.* It is by their means that the progreſs and number of the Brethren is to be known; that the ſtrength or weakneſs of the machine, and the proportion and adheſion of all its parts is to be calculated, and that the promotion of the brethren, the merits and demerits of the aſſemblies, of the Lodges, and of their Superiors, is to be judged.

When treating of *Secrecy,* "the Prefect is informed, that *this is the moſt eſſential article;* and it is on that account that even in countries where the Sect may

have acquired sufficient power to throw off the mask, it is to remain veiled in darkness."

"The Prefect is always to hide with dexterity the real object of his views according to local circumstances. Let him agree with the Provincial on what shape he shall assume to conceal the Order.---As in the religious institutions of the Roman Church, where religion, alas! is but a pretext; exactly so, *only in a nobler manner, must we enwrap our Order in the forms of a mercantile society, or some other exterior of a similar nature.*"

In vain would the reader ask me, whence the Illuminized Code had taken the idea of Religion being only a *pretext* for the religious institutions in the Catholic Church. It has not come to my knowledge, that the most barefaced Sophisters have ever advanced a calumny of this sort. I have seen the religious founders, such as St. Francis, St. Benedict, or St. Basil, and other founders of orders, described by the Sophisters as superstitious enthusiasts. But even among the apostates who must have been acquainted with the Orders they had lived in, we have never heard one pretend that Religion was only a *pretext* either for the institution they abandoned, or for their ancient brethren! Did any of them ever assert, that ambition, avarice, or any pretext besides Religion, had given rise to the foundation of the Order of the Capuchins, Friars, Benedictines, or Carmelites, and of so many other convents destined for men or women? This, however, is not a calumny originating with Weishaupt; it is not to be found in his instructions sent to Knigge, and on which the latter formed the Code of Laws for the Regents and Local Superiors, though he subjoined many of his own ideas. Knigge was totally ignorant of every thing relating to religious Orders. Weishaupt was born a Roman Catholic, and might indeed, in his impiety, have repeated the ideas of many apostate Sophisters, or have left this strange comparison of his illuminism with the religious institutes, since it was in the Code: but I should be truly surprized were I to find that it was a calumny of his invention. He knew too well how much he stood in need of darkness to envelope his designs; and he also knew, that in the Roman Catholic Church no religious institute

was adopted, until it had been made public and examined by the conſtituted authorities.

After this abſurd calumny follows a recapitulation of every thing we have already expoſed to our readers in the firſt Chapters of this Volume, on the neceſſity of hiding the proceedings and even the very exiſtence of the Lodges. But I find the following additions in this place.

"Leſt the number of the Brethren ſhould expoſe them to diſcovery, by their aſſemblies being too numerous, the Prefect will take care that no more than ten members ſhall aſſemble in the ſame *Minerval* Church."

"Should any place contain a greater number of "pupils, the Lodges muſt be multiplied, or different "days of aſſembly muſt be aſſigned, that all may not "meet at once; and ſhould there be ſeveral Minerval "Churches in the ſame town, the Prefect will take "care that thoſe of one Lodge ſhall know nothing "of the others." For the better direction of the lower part of the edifice, he will obſerve the following rules---He is to nominate the Magiſtrates of the Minervals; but the chief of theſe Magiſtrates can only be named with the conſent of the Provincial. He will be reſponſible for thoſe he names.---He will overlook the Maſonic and Minerval Lodges, to ſee that every thing is regularly and punctually executed. He will not permit any diſcourſes to be delivered there which may give any ſtrong ſuſpicions of what is contriving againſt Religion, the ſtate, or morals.---He will ſuffer no Brother to be advanced to the higher degrees before he has acquired the requiſite qualities and principles; on this point, ſays the Code, he cannot carry his precautions, *anxiety*, and *ſcrupuloſity* too far.

"It has already been ſtated in the rules, that perſons not belonging to the Order may be received into the Maſonic Lodges of Illuminiſm.---The Prefect will carefully watch leſt any of theſe ſtrangers ſhould take the lead in the Lodges.---They ſhould as far as poſſible be honeſt men, ſedate, and quiet; but by ſome means or other they ſhould be made uſeful to the Order.---Without leave of the Provincial, the Prefect ſhall hold no correſpondence on matters relating to the Order with any perſon out of his province---as his peculiar

object will be, to watch over and to inſtruct the Superiors of the Minerval and Maſonic Lodges, he will have recourſe to the Provincial in all doubtful caſes of any importance.

" Let the Prefect make himſelf perfect maſter of theſe rules; let him follow them with preciſion; let him always attend to the whole of the object; let him take care that each one may attend to his duty, *doing neither more nor leſs than the law requires*; and he will find in this inſtruction all that is neceſſary for the regulation of his conduct."

Such is the promiſe which terminates the laws for the Prefect of Illuminiſm. The five articles treated of in theſe regulations are prefaced by a far more pompous promiſe; " If, it is ſaid we have exactly " foreſeen every thing relating to theſe *five articles*, " nothing will be impoſſible for us in any country un- " der the Sun."*

* Iſt nun in dieſen fünf ſtücken alles gehörig beſorgt, ſo iſt in jedem lande unter der ſonne nichts unmöglich——The whole of this Chapter is extracted from the Inſtructions C for the Prefect, from Page 143 to 166.

CHAP. XVII.

Instructions for the Provincial.

BY far the greater part of the code of laws which has just been laid before the reader as relating to the *Regents* and *Prefects* of the Illuminees, was originally written by Weishaupt for the instruction of his Provincials. This is evident from the first digest of these laws, as they appear in the second part of the second volume of the Original Writings of the Sect, from page 17 to 43. It is even one of those parts which Knigge looked upon as a master-piece of politics.* So replete with artifice did he think it, that he deemed it a pity to circumscribe the knowledge of it to the Provincials alone. The reader has seen what use he has made of them, thoroughly persuaded that the Regents in general, and particularly the Local Superiors, could greatly benefit the Order by attending to them. The Areopagites and General consented to these new dispositions; but the following part of this chapter remained appropriated to the Provincials.

"I. The Provincial shall make himself perfect master of the whole constitution of the Order.---The system of it should be as familiar to him as if he had invented it."

"II. As a guide for all his actions, he shall adopt the whole government and the instructions already laid down for the Regents and Local Superiors, not neglecting a single rule."

"III. The Provincial shall be chosen by the Regents of his Province, and be confirmed by the National Superior† The high Superiors (the Areopage and General) have the power of deposing him."

"IV. He shall be a native of, or at least be thoroughly acquainted with the province under his inspection."

"V. He shall be engaged as little as possible in

* See his last Observations.

† There is an omission in the copy from which these rules have been printed, which makes part of this article unintelligible.

public concerns, or in any other enterprize, that he may devote all his time to the Order."

"VI. *He ſhall aſſume the character of a man retired from the world, and who only ſeeks reſt.*"

"VII. He ſhall fix his reſidence as nearly as poſſible in the centre of his province, the better to watch over the different diſtricts."

"VIII. On his being named Provincial, he ſhall leave his former characteriſtic, and aſſume that which the high Superiors ſhall give him.---The ſame Superiors will ſend him the impreſſion of the ſeal he is to bear, and he will wear it engraved on his ring."

"IX. The archives of the province, which the Regents will have taken care to ſeal up and carry away on the demiſe of his predeceſſor, are to be entruſted to him on his nomination."

"X. The Provincial will monthly tranſmit the general report of his province to the National Inſpector immediately over him. As he himſelf only receives the reports of the Local Superiors a fortnight after the month is up, he will neceſſarily be always a month behind-hand, making, for example, the report of May about the end of June, and ſo on. This report will be ſubdivided into as many parts as he has Prefects under his inſpection. He will carefully note every thing of conſequence that has happened in any of the ſchools or lodges: alſo the names, ages, country, ſtation in life, and the date of the reverſal letters, of each new adept; the high ſuperiors wiſhing to have no further information concerning the new adepts until they come to the claſs of Regent, unleſs on ſome particular occaſion."

"XI. Beſides this monthly report, he is to apply to the National Superior in all extraordinary caſes which are not left to his deciſion. He is alſo to ſend in his perſonal tablets every three months; and he will undertake no political enterprize without having firſt conſulted."

"XII. He has nothing to do with the other Provincials. Let things go on well or ill in a neighbouring province, it is no buſineſs of his. If he wiſhes to aſk any thing of the other Provincials, let him apply to the National Inſpector."

" XIII. If he has any complaint to make againſt the Inſpector, he will direct his letter *Soli* or *Primo*."

" XIV. All the Regents of the province are his counſellors; they are to ſecond and help him in all his enterprizes. If it be convenient to him, he ſhould have two of them near his perſon, to ſerve him as ſecretaries."

" XV. He confirms the nominations of all the Superiors of the inferior degrees. He alſo names the Prefects, but they muſt be approved by the Director, who can refuſe his ſanction."

" XVI. He has a right to ſend the brethren *who are penſioned* by the Order, and to employ them in thoſe parts of the province where he may think them moſt uſeful."

" XVII. and XVIII. He tranſmits the characteriſtics of the brethren and geographical names of the lodges to the Prefects, as he receives them from the high Superiors."

" XIX. He is alſo to ſend the names of the excluded brethren, that an exact liſt may be preſerved in all the aſſemblies."

" XX. When he has any reprimand to make to a Brother, whom it may be dangerous to offend, he will aſſume an unknown hand, and the ſignature of *Baſyle*. This name, which no Member of the Order bears, is peculiarly preſerved for that object.

" XXI. He will ſometimes write to the Inferior degrees; and on the propoſition of the Epopts he will decide what books are to be put into the hands of the young adepts according to the degrees they are in.—He is as much as poſſible to promote libraries, cabinets of natural philoſophy, *Muſæums*, collections of manuſcripts, *&c.* in the moſt convenient parts of his Province; theſe, it may eaſily be conceived, are only intended for the adepts.

" XXII. The Provincial opens the letters of the Minor and Major Illuminees which are directed *Soli*. He alſo reads the *Quibus Licets* of the Epopts and *Primos* of the Novices; but can neither open the *Primo* of the Minerval, the *Soli* of the Knight, nor the

Quibus Licet of the Regent."* This gradual power of opening the letters of the Brethren according to the degree they belong to, plainly indicates that ſome mark peculiar to each degree is made uſe of; but I have not been able to diſcover that mark. The reader will have obſerved, that all the letters, even the *Quibus Licets*, are opened by Brethren of a higher degree than that of the adept who writes; and conſequently he never can know who it is that anſwers him, as the rules of this Hierarchy are only made known to the Brethren in proportion as they riſe in dignity. The Provincial himſelf can only form a conjecture as to the perſons who open his letters and thoſe of the other Brethren which he is not permitted to open himſelf.

" XXIII. He ſhall raiſe no Brother to the degree of Regent, without having firſt obtained the conſent of the National Inſpector.

" XXIV. He is to inform the Dean of the branch of ſcience which each new adept has made choice of on his admiſſion into the Minerval Academy.

" XXV. Leſt any of the Archives ſhould be miſlaid, he will take care to form but one bundle of all the tablets, reverſal letters, and other documents relating to the ſame adept.

" XXVI. He will apply himſelf to procure as many co-operators as poſſible for the Order, in the ſcientific branches.

" XXVII. He will tranſmit to the Deans all remarkable treatiſes or diſcourſes, and every thing relative to the degree of Epopt; for example, the lives hiſtorical or characteriſtic, diſſertations, *&c.*

" XXVIII. If among the Epopts any men be found endowed with great talents, but little fitted for the political government of the Order, the Provincial muſt deviſe means of removing them from ſuch functions.

" XXIX. When the Chapters of the Scotch Knights are compoſed of more than twelve Knights, he will raiſe the ableſt among them to the degree of Epopt.

" XXX. In each Chapter he will have a confidential Epopt, who will be his *ſecret cenſor* or ſpy.

* This article is extracted from the inſtructions for the Preſect; but, being directly addreſſed to the Provincial, I have placed it here.

" XXXI. The Provincial will receive his letters patent from the National Superior---When he iſſues thoſe for the Chapters of the Scotch Knights, he will make uſe of the following formula: " We of the " Grand Lodge of the *Germanic Orient*, conſtituted " Provincial and Maſter of the diſtrict of N N, make " known that by theſe preſents we give to the venera- " ble Brother (here is the characteriſtic and true name " of the new Venerable or Maſter) full powers to " erect a ſecret Chapter of the *moſt holy* Scotch Ma- " ſonry, and to propagate this *Royal Art* conformably " to his inſtructions by the eſtabliſhment of new Ma- " ſonic Lodges of the three ſymbolic degrees----Given " at the Directory of the Diſtrict---

(L. S.) SECRET PROVINCIAL OF THE DIRECTORY.

" *Without any further ſignature.*

" XXXIII. To ſay every thing in a few words, the Provincial has the ſpecial charge of putting his province in a proper ſituation for attempting every thing for the general good, and for preventing all evil. ---*Happy the ſtate where our Order ſhall have acquired ſuch power!* Nor will it prove a difficult taſk for the Provincial who ſhall implicitly follow the inſtructions of his high Superiors.---Seconded by ſo many able men *deeply verſed in moral ſciences*, ſubmiſſive and ſecretly labouring like himſelf, there can be no noble enterprize which he may not undertake, nor evil deſign which he cannot avert---Therefore let there be no connivance at faults; no *Nepotiſm*, no private piques; no views but for the general good; no object, no motives but thoſe of the Order. " And let the Brethren " rely upon us, that we ſhall never create any Pro- " vincials but ſuch as are capable of fulfilling theſe du- " ties; *but let it be alſo remembered, that we reſerve* " *in our hands all the means neceſſary for chaſtiſing the* " *man who ſhould preſume to abuſe the power he has* " *received from us.*"*

" XXXIV. This power muſt never be employed but for the good of the Brethren. We ſhould indeed

* See the Inſtruction D for the degree of Regent.

help all whom we can help; but when the circumſtances are ſimilar, the members of our ſociety are always to have the preference.---Particularly as to thoſe whoſe fidelity is proof againſt all the powers of ſeduction. In their ſupport let us be prodigal of our toils, our money, *our honour*, our goods, even our blood; and *let the leaſt affront offered to any Illuminee be the general cauſe of the Order.*"

Thus terminate the inſtructions for the Provincial. They forewarn us of the exiſtence of a moſt tremendous power above him whence all the authority of the Order emanates; a power which reſerves to itſelf the means of chaſtiſing whoever ſhall abuſe that portion which it has entruſted to any of its adepts; that is to ſay, who ſhall not have made it ſubſervient to the grand object and to all the plots of the Sect---There are, in fact, three offices in the Hierarchal Order of Superiors above the Provincial. Firſt, the *National Directors*, then the *Supreme Council* called the *Areopagites* by the Sect, the authority of which extends over the Illuminees of all nations; and that is preſided over by the *General of the Order*. The following Chapter will give every light on theſe ſupreme Magiſtrates of Illuminiſm which the known Archives of the Sect can reflect.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the National Directors, of the Areopagites, and of the General of Illuminiſm.

IN the general plan of the Government of the Illuminees it is ſaid, that every Brother ſhall receive particular inſtructions according to the rank he holds in the Hierarchy of the Order: Yet I have never been able to diſcover thoſe intended for the uſe of the National Directors. This part of the Code is not to be found either in the *two volumes* ſo often quoted of the *Original Writings*, or in that of *Philo and Spartacus* which has thrown ſo much light on the myſteries. It does not appear, that any of the German writers who have been the beſt informed on, and the moſt ſtrenuous opponents of, Illuminiſm have ever been able to diſcover them. For ſome time I even entertained doubts whether the *Superiors* called *National Directors*, and thoſe ſtyled *Inſpectors*, were not of the ſame degree in the Hierarchy of the Sect.---They were certainly diſtinct employments in the year 1782; for Weiſhaupt's letters at that period mention Germany as divided into *three inſpections*, each *Inſpector* having ſeveral Provincials ſubordinate to him.* But, on the other ſide, the general account which the Order puts into the hands of its Regents, and the laſt works of Philo printed in 1788, mention no intermediate office between the *Provincials* and the *Nationals*, which latter are ſometimes deſcribed as *National Superiors*, at others as *National Inſpectors*. Their correſpondence and ſubordination is direct from the Supreme Council.† It is therefore evident, that in the laſt digeſt of the Code the two offices of *National Inſpector and Director* were united. But in vain would the Sect conceal the inſtructions which it has appropriated to the functions of theſe *National* Superiors. The denomination alone teſtifies the importance which attaches to their office; and if the preciſe nature of their duties be wanting,

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 15, to Cato.

† Directions, Syſtem No. 5, and Philo's Endliche erklärung, page 81.

it is eaſy to ſupply the deficiency, by what has already eſcaped the vigilance of the Sect in the foregoing parts of the Code.

Let the reader recal to his mind what has been ſaid in the Chapter on the *Epopts*, of the ſyſtems which they were to form in order to ſeize on the empire of the Sciences and direct them all towards the accompliſhment of the plots of the Sect. In the ſame degree we have ſeen them annually aſſembling in each province, and compiling from their partial attacks every means that their inventions could furniſh, inſenſibly to enſlave the public opinion, and to eradicate from the minds of the people what the Sect is pleaſed to call religious prejudices. We have ſeen the claſs of the Regents more particularly occupied in ſapping the foundations of the throne, and in deſtroying that veneration in which nations held the perſons and functions of their Sovereigns---Nay, there exiſts a particular law framed for the Epopts which has not yet been cited, and which muſt here be introduced. It is to be found *in the Second Volume of the Original Writings, ſecond Section, intitled---Articles agreed upon by the Areopagites in Adarmeth* 1151 (A. D. December 1781)---There, under the article HIGH MYSTERIES, I read, " If among our Epopts *any ſpeculative geniuſes* " are to be found, they ſhall be admitted to the de- " gree of *Mage*.---Theſe adepts ſhall be employed in " collecting and digeſting all the grand philoſophical " ſyſtems, and will invent or compile for the people a " ſyſtem of religion which our Order means as ſoon " as poſſible to give to the univerſe."*

I do not forget that I am to treat of the *National Directors;* but am ſomewhat afraid that my readers may adduce this plan for giving a new religion to the whole univerſe, as invalidating their plot for the deſtruction of every religion. Let ſuch readers, however, reflect on the religion which Weiſhaupt has himſelf laid down for his *Mages*. It is the rankeſt *Spinoſiſm*, admitting of no God but the world itſelf; that is

* So werden die ſelben *Magi*—Dieſe ſammeln und bringen die höhere philoſophiſche ſyſteme in ordnung, und bearbeiten ein *volks-religion*, welche der Orden demnächſten der welt geben will.—In the original, which is in Cato Zwack's hand-writing, the words *volks-religion* are in cypher thus 20, 14, 2, 3, 18—17, 8, 2, 4, 6, 4, 14, 13.

to say, absolute Atheism. Let them also remember, that one of the last secrets of the Grand Mysteries, is to reveal to the adepts that all religions are grounded on and are the invention of imposture. Nor is it by any means difficult to account for these two schemes of the Sect, the one for the creation of a new religion, the other for the destruction of all. These plans are to be successive in their operations. Sentiments of Religion are too deeply engraven in the minds of the people for Weishaupt to flatter himself with suddenly eradicating it, or at least without substituting some capricious and sophisticated faith, which in reality would no more constitute a religion than the *Worship of Reason*, of which the French Revolution has given us an impure essay. The religion, therefore, to be invented by the Mages of Illuminism is no more than a preparatory step that should destroy the religion of Christ throughout the universe. This advantage gained, it will remain no very difficult task to open the eyes of the whole world on the inanity and imposture of their own; and thus it will have served as a scaffolding which naturally disappears with the edifice that is to be pulled down. This religion to be invented may be considered as on a parallel with those new governments, those democracies, which are to amuse the people until the period shall come when their illuminizing Equality and Liberty shall have taught them, that each one is essentially his own sovereign, that this sovereignty is an imprescriptible right inherent in each man, in direct opposition to democracy, and even to all property or social compact.

Such is the general tenour of the systems to be invented and prosecuted by the Sect, for attaining the grand object of these conspirators. All the adepts which the Sect comprises under the denomination of *speculative geniuses* are perpetually labouring at these systems under the direction of the Provincials. But they are not the persons who complete the plans; they are only to present the first sketch, which each Provincial is obliged to transmit to the *National Directory*, there to undergo a further investigation and receive its final polish.* One of the first duties, there-

* Instructions for the degree of Epopt, Nos. 12 and 14.

fore, of the *National Director* will be, to collect all these anti-religious and anti-social systems, to pass judgment on them, and to declare how far they can contribute towards the universal disorganization. But even these could not alone suffice for so great a work; they are surrounded by the Elect of the nation as the Provincial is by the Chosen of the provinces. This council of the Elect, after mature deliberation, declare which are the systems that are worthy of being adopted by the Order; and they will make all the additions and corrections that they may conceive conducive to the success of the general plan. Thus corrected and digested, these systems of impiety and disorganization are deposited in the *archives* of the Director, which now become *national*. It is to these that the Provincials have recourse in all their doubts, and hence flow all those lights which are to expand themselves throughout the nation: it is hence also that the National Director † will take all the new regulations which he may judge necessary for the better combination and concordance of the efforts of the National Brethren.---But the Sect does not confine its views to one nation. It has formed within itself a supreme tribunal, which has subjected all nations to its inquisition. Composed of *twelve Peers* of the Order,* it is presided over by the General; and, under the name of Areopagites, it becomes the common centre of communication from the adepts of all nations, as the *National* is the centre of one particular nation, the *Provincial* of one province, the *Local Superior* of the lodges of his district, the *Minerval Master* of his academy, the *Venerable* of his Masonic lodge; and, finally, as the *Insinuator* or *Recruiter* is of his novices or candidates. Thus, from the first step to the pinnacle of the Order, every thing is connected and gradually ascends by means of the *Quibus Licets*, *Solis* and *Pri-*

† Deswegen kommen järlich ein mal alle Presbyter einer provinz auf der grossen Synode zusammen, machen ein grosses verzeichniss der in diesem jahr gesammlten beylagen *an die National Direction* wo selbst es in die haupt katalog eingetragen, und damit ein schatz von kenntnissen formirt wird, woraus jeder befridigt werden kann: denn daraus werden die regel abstrahirt, und was noch fehlt, weitere beobachtungs aufgaben, wie schon ervähnt worden, aufgeschrieben um feste satze zu bekommen. *Ibid.* No. 15.

* Philo's Endliche erklärung, Page 119.

mos.—Every thing that happens in each nation gradually aſcends to the *National*, and from theſe *Directors* all is tranſmitted to the centre of all nations, to the ſupreme council of the Areopagites, and the General in chief, the univerſal Director of the Conſpiracy.

The grand point, therefore, to be obſerved in the code concerning the National Director is, his direct correſpondence with the Areopagites. It is evident from the terms expreſſed in the general plan of the government which the Sect reveals to its Regents: "In every "nation there ſhall be a National Director aſſociated "and in direct communication with our Fathers, the "firſt of whom holds the helm of the Order."* This accounts for the injunction given to the Provincial, to make frequent and exact returns to the National Director of every thing that may take place in his province; to have recourſe to him on all doubtful occaſions, or in caſes of eſpecial importance; and never to take any ſtep in politics without having firſt conſulted him.† This explains why the choice of thoſe adepts which are to be advanced to the political degree of Regent, or to the Prefectſhips of diſtricts,‡ is left to the option of the National, or even the nomination of the Provincials.§ This informs us why all the *Quibus Licets* of the Regents are reſerved to the Director, that is to ſay, that all the ſecrets of their political diſcoveries may more certainly reach the hands of him who is to leave no ſecret hidden from the Fathers of the Order.‖

Such then are the rights of, ſuch the laws for the National Inſpector of Illuminiſm; and ſo great is the importance which the Sect attaches to this office. To him are forwarded all the ſecrets of the brethren ſpread throughout the provinces, the Courts, or towns; to him are ſent all the projects, all the reports on the ſucceſſes gained by, or dangers impending over the Order; on the progreſs of its plots; on employments, dignities, and power to be acquired for the adepts; on the candidates to be rejected, the enemies to be cruſhed, the councils and ſtate offices of princes to be ſeized. To him, in ſhort, are reported all the means

* *Directions Syſtem*, No. 4. † Ibid. No. 10 and 11.
‡ Ibid. No. 15 and 23. § Ibid. No. 9. ‖ Ibid. No. 22.

which can retard or accelerate the fall of the Altar and of empires, the diſorganization of every church and ſtate within his inſpection.---It is by means of his direct correſpondence, and that of his Co-nationals, that the diſcoveries of the Scrutators, the political plans of the brethren, the ſpeculations of the plodding *geniuſes* of the Order, the plans propoſed and debated in the councils of Princes, and every thing, in ſhort, which can weaken or ſtrengthen the opinion of the people; which is to be foreſeen or hindered, to be anticipated or haſtened in each town, court, or family, are concentrated, and ſubjected to the views of the ſupreme council of the Sect. Hence no ſovereign, no miniſter of ſtate, no father of a family, no man in the bonds of the moſt intimate friendſhip, can ſay, My ſecret is my own, it has not, it will not come to the knowledge of the Areopagites. By means of theſe ſame National Directors too, we behold all the orders of the illuminizing Peers gradually deſcending to the adepts of all nations, of all provinces, academies, and lodges, whether Minerval or Maſonic; and immediately reaſcending through theſe ſame Nationals an exact ſtatement to the Areopagites in what manner each command has been executed. It is by the Nationals too, that the ſupreme council is informed of the negligent brethren who need to be ſtimulated, of the tranſgreſſors and ſtubborn adepts who deſerve puniſhment, and ſtand in need of being reminded that they have ſworn to ſubmit both their lives and fortunes to the commands of the high Superiors (the unknown Fathers) of the Areopagites. In vain would the Sect ſtrive to conceal the laws which the code lays down for theſe Inſpectors. After what the reader has already ſeen of the laws of the Order, he muſt naturally conclude that ſuch are evidently the myſteries comprehended in thoſe words, *There ſhall be in each empire a National Director aſſociated or in direct correſpondence with the Fathers of the Order.*

With reſpect to the laws and interior economy of the councils, it is eaſy to be conceived, that the Sect has ſucceeded in encompaſſing them with impenetrable darkneſs. Some few rays of light, however, have been caſt on it, and that by the Fathers themſelves.

In the firſt place, we ſee *Philo*-Knigge, in his Apo-

logy, ſpeaking as follows of theſe ſupreme magiſtrates of Illuminiſm: "Their labours, with regard to the "parts purely ſpeculative, were to have in view the "knowledge and the tradition of all the important, "holy, and ſublime diſcoveries to be made *in the re-* "*ligious* myſteries and in the higher philoſophy. "Twelve Areopagites only are to compoſe this tri- "bunal; and one of them is to be the chief. When "any one of the members dies, or retires, his ſucceſſor "is choſen from among the Regents."* This general idea given by Knigge, of the Supreme Council is indeed myſterious;---but he could ſcarcely be expected to *publiſh* more, knowing as he did the fate which awaits thoſe who betray the ſecrets of the Sect. He has, however, at leaſt ſaid enough to give us clearly to underſtand, that all the religious and philoſophical or rather impious and ſophiſticated ſpeculations of the Epopts, perpetually perverting the ſciences and operating the extinction of all religious ideas, are concentrated within the council of the Areopagites; we have ſeen them combining, digeſting, approving, or rejecting *thoſe plans of a new religion* which the *Mages* are directed to invent, and which the Sect *means incontinently to give to the world.*

In his familiar correſpondence, Spartacus ſpeaks more openly and with greater latitude to his beloved Cato. Therein it appears, that anti-religious ſyſtems do not alone employ the meditations of the Fathers; for, ſoon after having mentioned the object of thoſe *Quibus Licets* in which the young adepts were to give an account of the prejudices they might have diſcovered in themſelves, which of them predominated, and how far they had ſucceeded in deſtroying them, he proceeds to ſay, "It is by theſe means that I diſcover "ſuch of our Order as have the proper diſpoſitions "for adopting certain *ſpecial* doctrines, and more ele- "vated, on governments and religious opinions."† He then continues: "*The maxims and politics of the* "*Order* are completely explained *in the end.* Here,

* Laſt Obſervations of Philo, Page 115.

† Aus dieſen kann ich erſehen welche geneigt ſind gewiſſe ſonderbare ſtaats lehren, weiters hinauf religions meynungen anzunehmen.

" in the *Supreme Council*, they project and examine " the plans to be adopted for gradually enabling us " to attack the enemy of reason and human nature " *personally (auf den leib.)* Here also the mode of " introducing such plans into the Order is discussed, " and it is decided to which brethren they are to be " entrusted, and how far each one can be employed " in their execution, in proportion to the insight given " to him."‡

The reader is already too well acquainted with the maxims and policy of Illuminism, not to join with me in saying, Here then is the grand object of this Supreme Council of the Sect! It is in that dark recess that all those artifices are devised for rendering the disorganizing systems of Liberty and Equality familiar to the illuminizing adepts: There is exactly ascertained the proportion which each class of the brethren can bear in this universal destruction of religion, empire, society, and property; there again is the day anxiously sought and the means prepared, for hereafter throwing off the mask, and attacking *personally* the defenders of religion, laws, and property, as so many enemies to reason and humanity; there concentrate all the declarations, the reports, the plans of all the brethren dispersed throughout the universe, that the Sect may judge of its own strength, and compare it with that of the friends to the Altar and the Laws. To sum up all, it is there that the artifices and means are determined on, and the merits and powers of the higher adepts are investigated prior to their being entrusted with that part of the grand conspiracy to which their abilities are best adapted. Let the reader remember, that it is not a stranger to the Sect who has thus described the Areopage; it is the grand legislator of Illuminism himself. Can we any longer stand in need of the regulations for this council? No; we well know what they must be; we know that impiety, and the most consummate arts in seduction and

‡ Und am end folgt die totale einficht in die *Politic* und maximen des Ordens. In diesen obersten *Conseil*, werden die project entworfen, wie den feinden der vernunft und Menschlichkeit nach und nach *auf den leib* zu gehen seye: Wie die sache unter den Ordens mitgliedern einzuleiten, wen es anzuvertauen? Wie ein jeder *a proportione* seiner einsicht könne dazu gebraucht werden.—*Original Writings*, *Letter to* Cato-*Zwack*, 10*th March*, 1778.

ſedition, are to be their leading features; we further know, that its members muſt reſemble Weiſhaupt himſelf, before they can be permitted to ſit with him in council. What other bond of union do they need, beſides the machination of the moſt hideous plots, the juſt or unjuſt means of forwarding the intereſts of the Sect as much as circumſtances will permit, and the enſuring of ſucceſs by the blackeſt and moſt profound artifices that depravity can invent? The fertile genius of the legiſlator, however, would not commit the ſucceſs of the leaſt of his crimes to chance. He attempted to ſketch a code of laws for his Areopagites, and for any future Spartacus that might ſucceed to him. The code contains but a *ſketch* of what he calls *laws ad interim*. It is to be found in the ninth ſection of the firſt volume of the Original Writings, and is addreſſed to the Areopagites. Many other paſſages of his letters relate to the ſame object.---I have tranſcribed the following articles:---

" The Areopagites ſhall form the Supreme Council (literally, the Supreme College.)---Their occupations ſhall relate to affairs of the greateſt importance, and they ſhall pay little or no attention to ſuch as are leſs eſſential.---They may *recruit*, it is true *(konnen ſie zwar recroutiren;)* that is to ſay, they may entice Candidates into the Order; but they muſt leave the care of their inſtruction to ſome intelligent adept. From time to time they will viſit theſe Candidates, to inſpire them with freſh ardour, to ſtimulate their zeal---They will be particularly careful in ſeeing that the progreſs and method of our Illuminees is every where uniform---They will more particularly watch over Athens *(Munich,* the principal Lodge after that of Ingolſtadt, where Weiſhaupt reſided at the time he wrote theſe inſtructions.) They will make no reports concerning that Lodge to any body but Spartacus. They will ſend monthly a ſtatement of all the principal events, *a ſort of Gazette (Ein art von Zeitung,)* to the Brethren *(Conſcii;)* that is to ſay, to thoſe only who are initiated in the laſt ſecrets. But (continues Weiſhaupt) *nota bene*, this Gazette as yet has been no more than our common journal; the *Conſcii* muſt compoſe one for the uſe of the Areopagites.---Theſe latter will labour at *projects, ameliorations*, and other objects of a ſimilar

nature, which are to be made known to the *Conſcii* by circular letters. They are the people who are to bear a part of the weight of the general correſpondence---They are not allowed to open the letters of complaint *(die litteras gravatoriales;)* that is to ſay, thoſe containing any complaints againſt them. Theſe are to be tranſmitted to the general, to Spartacus, as a ſure means of informing him that they fulfil their duty. This inſtruction being only proviſional, and relating ſolely to the Areopage, ſhall not be circulated; but the council will take a copy and ſend back the Original to Spartacus.*

"The aſſembling of the council is to be regulated according to the feaſts marked in the calendar of the Order. *(Nach dem calendario Illuminatorum an Ordens feſten.)* But this was ſoon found to be inſufficient, and Weiſhaupt exhorts his Areopagites to meet in their ſenate every poſt-day, and at the hour of the delivery of the letters."

Short as this ſketch of a Code for the Areopagites may ſeem, it clearly denotes the eſſence of their functions, and ſhows how they are to act as a central point, for the whole Sect. A grand queſtion was ſtill undecided when Spartacus gave theſe laws to the council; which was nothing leſs than, Whether Spartacus was to preſerve a legiſlative and ſovereign power over the Members of this Council, ſimilar to that authority which they were to exerciſe over the reſt of the Order?---Great Conſpirators will ſeldom brook controul even by their fellows. They will be equal among themſelves and in their dens of conſpiracy. *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt was naturally of a deſpotic diſpoſition. His Areopagites for a long time complained of it.† But he contended, that as founder, he had the indefeaſible right of giving to the aſſociation thoſe laws and regulations which he judged neceſſary for its perpetuation. He ſoon, indeed, repented of the deciſion he had given againſt himſelf in favour of his Senate, "That "the *plurality* of votes ſhould dictate the eternal laws "of the Sect" *(Lex ſemper valitura.‡)* Notwith-

* Extracts from the Inſtruction to Cato, Marius, and Scipio, Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. ix.

† Letters of Philo to Cato and laſt Obſervations of Philo.

‡ Letter of the 8th November, 1778.

ſtanding theſe complaints of the Areopagites, however, he ſpeedily found means of re-inſtating himſelf in that authority, the privation of which only thwarted his artful conceptions, by ſubjecting them to the opinions of perſons leſs conſummate in the conſpiring arts than their maſter. He ſometimes ſubmits to the juſtification of his conduct; but that is the very moment in which the reader ſhould obſerve him artfully reclaiming all the rights and pretending to the exerciſe of unlimited deſpotiſm, though his cant appears to reject the very idea of it. Addreſſing his opponents in the ſhape of his pupils, he recalls to their minds the monſtrous ſervices he has rendered them in their youth, as ſo many benefactions of the moſt tender friendſhip, and aſks them "of what they can in their conſciences complain?" "When (ſays he) did you ever obſerve harſhneſs or haughtineſs in my conduct, with reſpect to you? When did I ever aſſume the tone of Maſter? Is it not rather with an exceſs of confidence, of goodneſs, of openneſs with my friends, that I may be reproached?"---When in this manner Weiſhaupt has captivated his Areopagites, he comes to the point:---

"Read then (he ſays) my letters over and over again. "You will therein perceive that the grand object of "our Society is not a thing of ſmall conſequence for "me; that I know how to view it, and treat it alſo, "in the moſt ſerious manner; that I have always "aimed at the eſtabliſhment of order, ſubmiſſion, "diſcipline, and activity, as the ſole means that can "lead you to the grand object. In undertaking a "work of ſuch vaſt importance, was I not obliged by "prayers, exhortations and advice, to maintain and "ſtimulate the ardour of my firſt, my deareſt companions, on whom every thing depended?---If I "wiſh to keep the *ſupreme direction* in my own hands, "hear my reaſons, which are moſt certainly of great "weight:

"In the firſt place, I muſt neceſſarily know with "whom I have to deal, and muſt be aſcertained of "the fidelity of our people; and, to effectuate this, "I am not to receive reports from a ſixth hand, or "perhaps one ſtill more remote, on the execution of "my plans, which have been approved of by the Elect "of our Myſteries... *In the next place, am I not*

" *the Conſtructor of this grand Edifice?* Is there no " reſpect due to me? When my ſyſtem ſhall be " completed, will it not be neceſſary for me to inſpect " the whole and keep every man at his ſtation? It is " a great and radical defect in a ſociety, where a Su- " perior is dependent on the Inferiors, as it has been " attempted to render me.

" But, to ſhow you how much I value the friend- " ſhip of my former friends, above all the authority " I may exerciſe over others, I renounce all my rights, " all my authority. Accept my warmeſt acknow- " ledgments for all your paſt labours and patience. I " flatter myſelf they have been hurtful to nobody, and " that many have acquired from me lights on ſecret " ſocieties which they would not eaſily have found " elſewhere. The purity of my intentions is my con- " ſolation and my recompenſe. From this inſtant I " betake myſelf to obſcurity and repoſe, where I ſhall " not meet with zealous and envious opponents. There " I ſhall be my own maſter, and my own ſubject."*

The Illuminizing Deſpot thus artfully pleaded his cauſe. The Areopagites were impatient of his authority, but at the ſame time felt the want of ſo diſorganizing a genius; and that they might not be deprived of its co-operation they reproached the Legiſlator with the extinction of his zeal---The fire, however, was only hidden beneath the embers; they once more ſubmit to the yoke of their former chief, who, inflamed with zeal, dictates the conditions on which alone he will deign to place himſelf once more at their head. Every thing is worthy of being remarked in them. The haughty ſpirit in which they are conceived, the nature, object, and extent of the power he aſſumes over the Supreme Council and Elect of the Order, are all worthy of our attentive notice.

" I begin (ſays he) by telling you beforehand, that it may not any more be a ſubject of ſurprize, that I will be more ſevere than ever. I will not overlook a ſingle fault, and ſhall in that reſpect be much more ſtrict towards perſons whom I know than towards thoſe with whom I am not ſo familiar. My object and views require it. And to whom would you have

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. 49.

me addreſs myſelf, if not to the chiefs of the Order, ſince they alone are in direct correſpondence with me? That things may ſucceed, it is neceſſary that we ſhould be actuated but by one opinion, one ſentiment, and be acquainted but with one language! And how can that be accompliſhed, if I cannot freely ſpeak my mind to our people? I will then re-aſſume my poſt of General on the following conditions:

"I. That you will execute neither more nor leſs "than what I ſhall command. I ſhall expect it in fu- "ture; at leaſt, ſhould any change be thought neceſ- "ſary, I am to receive previous notice of it.

"II. I expect that every Saturday a proper report "ſhall be ſent to me of every thing that has taken place "during the week, and that it ſhall be in the form of "*Minutes* ſigned by all the Elect preſent.

"III. That I ſhall be informed of all the Members "that have been recruited, or perſons that are to be "recruited, with an outline of their characters; and "let ſome particulars concerning them be added when "they are admitted.

"IV. That the ſtatutes of the claſs in which you "labour be punctually obſerved, and that no diſpenſa- "tions be granted without previous inveſtigation. For "ſhould each one take upon himſelf to make ſuch "changes as he pleaſed, where would be the unity of "the Order.---What I exact from you, you ſhall exact "from thoſe that are ſubject to you. If there be no "order and ſubordination in the higher ranks, there "will be none in the lower."*

It was on the 25th of May 1779, that Weiſhaupt dictated theſe laws to his Areopage. A fifth condition ſeems to have made them merely proviſional, and to have entruſted the deſpotic power in Weiſhaupt's hands only until the Order had acquired a proper conſiſtency; but he took care not again to loſe the newly-acquired ſupremacy; though the Areopagites ſtill regretted the loſs of their Ariſtocracy, and the being reduced to be the mere agents or prime miniſters of the Spartacus of the Order. But let us attend to that Spartacus, who has always repreſented the moſt legiti-

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letters 49 and [illegible].

mate authority as an outrage on human nature. Let us hear him invoking Machiavel in support of that which he wishes to exercise over the Order. He pleads his own cause with Zwack, who is also jealous of his Master, by showing all the disorder it occasioned, by every body wishing to introduce his own ideas into the Order, and then quotes the following passages from Machiavel: "It must be laid down as a "general rule, that it seldom or never happens that "any Government is either well-founded at first, or "thoroughly reformed afterwards, *except the plan be "laid and conducted by* ONE MAN ONLY, who has the "sole power of giving all orders and making all laws "that are necessary for its establishment. A prudent "and virtuous Founder of a State, therefore, whose "chief aim is to promote the welfare of many rather "than to gratify his own ambition, to make provision "for the good of his country, in preference to that of "his heirs or successors, ought to endeavour by all "means to get the supreme *authority wholly into his "hands*: nor will a reasonable man ever condemn him "for taking any measures (even the most extraordinary, "if they are necessary) for that purpose: The *means* "indeed *may seem culpable*, but the end will justify "him if it be a good one;—for he only is blameable "who uses violence to throw things into confusion and "distraction; and not he who does it to establish "peace and good order." After this long quotation which Weishaupt has made from a French translation of Machiavel, *Chap. IX. Discourses upon the first Decad of Livy*, he continues in a sorrowful tone: "but I "have not been able to obtain so favourable a decision. "The Brethren have viewed that which is but a neces- "sary law in the art of governing, in the light of am- "bition and a thirst of dominion."* In the midst of this contention for power, he felt himself so superior in the art of governing conspiring associations at least, that he did not hesitate at writing to his Areopagites, *As to politics and morality, Gentlemen, you must confess, that you are as yet at a great distance behind me.*† He at length succeeded in persuading them, that it was necessary that the General of the Order should also, as

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 2, to Cato.
† Ibid. Let. 10.

preſident of the Areopagites holding the *helm of the Order*, be the abſolute director.‡

Weiſhaupt, who left nothing relating to the diſorganizing arts in an imperfect ſtate, muſt, no doubt, have compoſed inſtructions to guide his ſucceſſors in the exerciſe of their ſupremacy, and to teach them how to make the ſame uſe of it which he intended. But the reader will eaſily conceive, that theſe never could have eſcaped the vigilance of the Sect, nor pierced the dark cloud with which it had enveloped itſelf. It may even be poſſible that Weiſhaupt had not ſufficient confidence in his Areopagites to entruſt them with the entire plan. Throughout the whole hierarchy of Illuminiſm the lower degree is entirely ignorant of the particular inſtructions of the ſuperior degrees; and why ſhould not Weiſhaupt, who wiſhed to perpetuate his diſorganizing genius in all the ſucceeding Generals, have followed the ſame plan? He undoubtedly dictated laws and rules for their conduct, gave them rights which were to maintain both themſelves and their Areopagites in their hierarchal ſuperiority, and ſecond them in the purſuit of their grand object; and theſe were entitled Inſtructions for *the General of the Illuminees*. No hiſtorian can flatter himſelf with the diſcovery of ſuch a code of artifice and cunning; the moſt unrelenting wickedneſs and hypocriſy had invented it; and genius alone cannot pretend to dive into ſuch ſecrets. The hiſtorian can only pretend to collect thoſe articles which are to be found in Weiſhaupt's familiar correſpondence, or in other parts of the code or writings of the Sect. Were we to throw this compilation into the form of inſtructions, the following might be nearly the reſult of our reſearch.

I. The General ſhall be choſen by the twelve Peers of the Areopage, on the plurality of votes.*

II. The Areopagites can only elect one of the members of their ſenate for General; *(ein aus ihrher mitte gewahltes oberhaupt;)*† that is to ſay, a man who has ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Regents to be admitted among the twelve ſupreme adepts of Illuminiſm, and who has afterwards made himſelf fo

‡ General Plan of the Order, No. 5.
* Laſt Obſervations of Philo, Page 119. † Ibid.

eminent in their council, that he is judged to be the first Illuminee in the world.

III. The adept is supposed to possess qualities requisite for a General in consequence of those he may have evinced before he was called to the Supreme Council. As he is to preside over the whole Order, he must (more than any body else) be impressed with the principles of the founder, and be divested of all religious, political, or national prejudices. The grand object of the Order must be more particularly inculcated into him, namely, that of teaching the whole universe to set aside all government, laws, and altars; and he must perpetually attend to the grand interests of human nature. His zeal is to be stimulated at the sight of every man who is subjected to any authority. It is to reinstate the inhabitants of the earth in their original Liberty and Equality that he is constituted General of all the Illuminees that are or will be spread over the world during his reign, all labouring at the accomplishment of the grand revolution of the *Man-King*.‡

IV. The General shall have immediately under him the twelve Peers of the Supreme Council, and the various agents and secretaries which he shall judge necessary to second him in the exercise of his functions.§

V. The better to secure himself from the notice of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, he may assume, after the example of the founder, some public office under the very Powers the annihilation of which is to be his sole object. But he will be only known to the Areopagites and to his agents and secretaries in his quality of General.* The better to conceal the residence of the General, the town where he has fixed will have three names. The common name known to all; the geographical one peculiar to the Order; and a third known only to the Areopagites and the *Conscii* or Elect.†

VI. Our success greatly depending on the moral conduct of the Areopagites, the General will pay particular attention to prevent all public scandals which might hurt the reputation of the Order. He will re-

‡ See the Mysteries. § See above.
* Orig. Writ. Spartacus's Letters, passim, et supra.
† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. 3.

preſent to them in the ſtrongeſt colours how much bad example will contribute to alienate from the Order the minds of perſons who might otherwiſe prove its moſt uſeful members.§

VII. The better to preſerve that reſpect which virtue commands from inferiors, the General will aſſume the character of auſtere morals. That he may always have the grand object preſent to his mind, and be wholly occupied with the duties he has to fulfil; let him never loſe ſight of that great maxim ſo frequently inculcated in his letters by the founder, as the leading feature to which he owed all his ſucceſſes. *Multum ſudavit et alſit, abſtinuit venere et vino. He neither feared heat nor cold; he abſtained from wine and women,* that he might always be maſter of his ſecret, always be maſter of himſelf, and prepared for all exigencies where the intereſts of the Order might require it.*

VIII. The General ſhall be the central point for the Areopagites, as the latter are for the whole body of Illuminees. That is to ſay, each Areopagite holding correſpondence with the National Inſpectors is to make a report of all the *Quibus Licets* ſent, and of all the ſecrets diſcovered by the correſponding Inſpector; the ſecrets thus flowing from all parts will ultimately ſettle under the eye of the General.†

IX. The functions of the General, and the ſucceſs of his diſpoſitions, greatly depending on the information he receives by means of this correſpondence, he will diſtribute it among his Areopagites, aſſigning to each that of a particular nation whoſe Inſpector is to tranſmit all his reports to him.‡

X. The principal heads of this correſpondence ſhall be---1ſt, The number of the brethren in general, that the force of the Sect may be aſcertained in each nation. ---2dly, Thoſe brethren who diſtinguiſh themſelves the moſt by their zeal and intelligence.---3dly, Thoſe adepts who hold important offices about the Court, in the Church, Armies, or Magiſtracy: alſo what kinds of ſervices might be expected from or preſcribed to them in the grand revolution which our Order was preparing for human nature.---4thly, The general pro-

§ Ib. Vol. II. Let. 9 and 10. * Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 16. &c.

† Vide ſupra. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 6, 13, &c.

greſs which our maxims and our doctrine were making in the public opinion; how far nations were prepared for the grand revolution; what ſtrength and means of defence ſtill remained in the hands of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers; what perſons were to be placed or diſplaced; what engines were to be played off, to haſten and ſecure the ſucceſs of our revolution; and the means neceſſary to bind the hands of thoſe who might reſiſt.*

XI. If from this correſpondence he ſhould judge it neceſſary to diſmiſs any of the brethren from the Order, (and all the rights recognized by the adepts as inherent in the Order, particularly that of *Life and Death* being in the hands of the General) he will have to decide what further puniſhment is to follow the ejectment: whether the culprit is to be declared infamous throughout all the lodges of the Order, or whether the pain of death is to be pronounced againſt him.†

XII. The General, after having chaſtiſed the imprudent, cowardly, and treacherous adepts, will turn his attention towards the diſcovery of thoſe brethren who may be beſt fitted for ſeconding his views in each empire. Without making himſelf known to them, he will eſtabliſh a line of communication between them. He will himſelf prepare the links of this immenſe chain after the manner laid down by our founder as the grand means of governing, from his myſterious centre, all the diverging ramifications of the Sect to the extremities of the earth; as a means of vivifying inviſible armies in an inſtant, of putting them in motion, of directing their courſe, and of irretrievably executing the moſt aſtoniſhing revolutions, even before the very Potentates whoſe thrones are overturned have had time to ſurmiſe their danger.

XIII. The uſe of the chain is obvious and eaſy. To touch the firſt link is all that is required. A ſingle ſtroke of a pen is the grand ſpring that imparts motion to the whole. But the ſucceſs depends on the choice of the time. In his hidden abode the General ſhall meditate the means, and catch the propitious moment. The ſignal of univerſal revolution ſhall not

* See the different degrees and the views with which the *Quibus Licete* and tablets, &c. &c. are written.

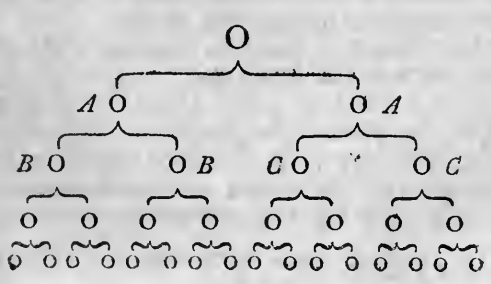
† Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 8, et ſupra, Oath of the Novice.

be given till a time when the combined force and inſtantaneous efforts of the brethren ſhall be irreſiſtible.

The illuminizing General who ſhall have managed this chain with the greateſt art, who ſhall have ſpread it both far and near, who ſhall have imparted to it a ſufficient power of action to bear away and overturn at a ſingle effort every throne and every altar, all political and religious inſtitutions, and ſhall ſtrew the earth with the ruins of empires---He will be the creator of the *Man-King*, *ſole king*, *ſole ſovereign* of his actions as of his thoughts. To that General is reſerved the glory of conſummating the grand revolution which has ſo long been the ultimate object of our myſteries.

Whatever proofs I may have adduced, that muſt naturally lead my readers to ſuch a concluſion, it may nevertheleſs be an object of ſurpriſe to them to ſee that Weiſhaupt had really planned this long chain of ſubterraneous communications, by which himſelf and his ſucceſſors were empowered inviſibly to actuate thouſands of legions, which inſtantaneouſly, on a day preſcribed, might burſt into exiſtence armed with pikes and torches, and all the horrid implements of univerſal revolution. Let my readers then caſt their eyes on this *ſeries of progreſſion*, which Weiſhaupt has with his own hand traced in his letters firſt to *Cato*-Zwack and afterwards to *Celſus*-Bader. The explanations are his own, and let them be particularly attended to.

" For the preſent, direct nobody to me but *Cortez*, " that I may have ſome leiſure to digeſt my ſpecula- " tions, and determine each one's place; for every " thing depends on that. My operations with you " ſhall be directed by the following table:



" Immediately under me I have two adepts, into " whom I infuſe my whole ſpirit; each of theſe cor- " reſponds with two others, and ſo on. By this me- " thod and in the ſimpleſt way poſſible, I can inflame " and put in motion thouſands of men at once. It is " by ſuch means that orders are to be tranſmitted and " political operations carried on.*

A few days after he writes to *Celſus*-Bader, and tells him, " I have ſent to Cato a table *(ſchema)* ſhowing " how one may *methodically* and without much trouble " *arrange a great multitude of men in the fineſt order* " *poſſible.* He will probably have ſhown it to you; if " he has not, aſk for it. Here is the figure *(then follows the figure.)*

" The ſpirit of the firſt, of the moſt ardent, of the moſt profound adept daily and inceſſantly communicates itſelf to the two A, A; by the one to B, B; by " the other to C, C: B B and C C communicate it to " the eight following; theſe to the next ſixteen, from " thence to the thirty-two and ſo downwards. I have " written a long explanation of it all to Cato. In a " word, *every man has his Aide-Major, by whoſe means* " *he immediately acts on all the others. The whole force* " *firſt iſſues from the centre and then flows back again* " *to it.* Each one ſubjects, as it were, to his own per- " ſon, *two men whom he ſearches to the bottom, whom*

* I here feel it incumbent on me to inſert the original text, to ſhow that I do not exaggerate Weiſhaupt's meaning. The following are the terms in which he writes to Cato :— " An mich ſelbſt aber verveiſen ſie dermalen noch keinen un- " mittelbar als den *Cortex*, bis ich ſchreibe, damit ich in- " deſſen ſpeculiren, und die leute geſchickt rangieren kann; " den davon hängt alles ab. Ich werde in dieſer figur mit " ihnen operiren." *(Here ſtands the figure already inſerted above: The Letters A B C allude to the explanation given in the Letter to Celſus.)* " Ich habe zwey unmittelbar unter mir wel- " chen ich meinen ganzen geiſt einhauche, und von dieſen " zweyen hat wieder jeder zwey andere, und ſo fort. Auf " dieſe art kann ich auf die einfachſte art tauſend menſchen " in bewegung und flammen ſetzen. Auf eben dieſe art " muſs man die *ordres* ertheilen, und im politiſchen opieren." *Original Writings, Vol. II. Let.* 8. *to Cato, of the* 16*th February* 1782. It may be remarked that Weiſhaupt's ſtile is none of the pureſt.

" *he observes*, disposes, inflames and drills, as it were, " like recruits, that they may hereafter exercise and " fire with the whole regiment. The same plan may " be followed throughout all the degrees."†

This is not a document which, like many others, flowed unintentionally from Weishaupt's pen, and which he left his disciples to collect, in order to form the political Code---*Give me leisure to digest my speculations, and to determine each one's place---It is by such means that orders are to be transmitted, and political operations carried on.* These words evidently demonstrate, that it is not a provisional law which he is about to pronounce, but a premeditated one, that is to last till that fatal period when whole legions, fired with his spirit, are to be led to that terrible exercise for which he had so long been drilling them; that time so expressly foretold by Weishaupt and his Hierophants,

† The original text of this letter is to be found in the Original Letters, Vol. II. Let. 13, to *Celsus* without any date. It is as follows: " Ich habe an Cato ein *schema* ge- " chickt, wie man planmäßig eine grosse menge menschen in " der schönsten ordnung . . . abrichten kann. . . Es ist diese " forme."

" Der geist des ersten, wärmsten, und einsichtsvollesten " communicirt sich unaufhörlich und täglich an *A A—A* an " *B B:* und das andere an *C C—B B*, und *C C* communi- " ciren sich auf die nämliche art an die unteren 8. Diese an " die weitere 16, und 16 an 32, und so weiter. An Cato hab " ich es weitläufiger geschrieben: Kurz! Jeder hat zwey " flügel adjutanten, wodurch er mittelbar in all übrige wirkt. " Im centro geht alle kraft aus, und vereinigt sich auch " wieder darinn. Jeder sucht sich in gewisser subordination " zwey männer aus, die er ganz studiert, beobachtet, abrich- " tet, anfeuert, und so zu sagen, wie recrouten abrichtet, " damit sie dereinst mit dem ganzen regiment abfeuern und " exerciren können. Das kann man durch alle grade so " einrichten."

I do not find the long explanation mentioned as sent to Cato by Weishaupt, nor do I remember to have seen it. It would most certainly be curious, and we should see in a clearer light how he was to infuse his spirit into and fire the minds of thousands of men; but still these two letters are proofs more than sufficient for our purpose.

when they were to *tie hands*, to *fubjugate, fire on, and vandalize* the whole univerſe.

When this fatal law ſhall be fulfilled, then will the laſt Spartacus ſally forth from his baleful den, and triumphantly claim the ſanguinary palm of murder and deſtruction from the Old Man of the Mountain, who would ſcarcely have been worthy of being his precurſor. The earth loaded with the ruins of laws and empires; mortals blaſpheming their God; nations lamenting over their conflagrating towns, their palaces, public monuments and arts, and even their cottages, all overthrown; ſociety weeping over its laws;—ſuch ſhall be the ſight which the laſt Spartacus will contemplate with joy, when he ſhall exultingly exclaim, "At length, my Brethren, the long-wiſhed for day is come; let us celebrate the name, and dedicate this day as ſacred to the memory of Weiſhaupt, our founder. We have conſummated his grand myſteries; no laws ſhall exiſt, but thoſe of his Order. Should nations be ever tempted *to return to their wickedneſs*, (to laws and ſociety) this code, which has once deſtroyed their bonds, may do it again."

Will not hell vomit forth its legions to applaud this laſt Spartacus, to contemplate in amazement this work of the Illuminizing Code?—Will not Satan exclaim, "Here then are men as I wiſhed them. I drove them from Eden; Weiſhaupt has driven them to the foreſts. I taught them to offend their God; he has made them reject their God entirely. I had left the earth to repay them for the ſweat of their brow; he has ſtricken it with ſterility; for it will be in vain for them to pretend to till and ſow that which they ſhall not reap. I left them in their inequality of riches; but he has ſwept all away; he has deſtroyed the very idea of property; he has transformed mankind into brigands. Their virtues, happineſs, and greatneſs under the protecting laws of ſociety or of their country, was an object of jealouſy to me; but he has curſed their laws and their country, and has reduced them to the ſtupid pride and ignorance of the roaming, ſavage, and vagabond clans. In tempting them to ſin, I could not deprive them of repentance and the hope of pardon; but Weiſhaupt has taught them to ſcoff at crime and deſpiſe repentance. Villany without re-

morſe, and hopeleſs misfortune, is all that he has left to the miſerable inhabitants of the earth!

Meanwhile, before Satan ſhall exultingly enjoy this triumphant ſpectacle, which the Illuminizing Code is preparing, let us examine how far ſucceſs has hitherto attended on its footſteps? What ſhare has it borne in that revolution which has already deſolated ſo many countries, and menaces ſo many others. How it engendered that diſaſtrous monſter called *Jacobin*, raging uncontrouled, and almoſt unoppoſed, in theſe days of horror and devaſtation.---In ſhort, what effects this Code of the Illuminces has produced, and what effects it may produce.---This will be the object of the *hiſtorical part* of the Sect, and of the IVth and laſt Volume of theſe Memoirs.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

APPENDIX.

Notes relating to ſome Paſſages contained in the two firſt Volumes.

I.

THE public has felt convinced how nearly it is concerned in the conſpiracies which form the ſubject of theſe Memoirs; and to this circumſtance it is, that I am indebted for the great ſucceſs they have met with, and the ſale of an entire Edition of 1000 Copies before the Third Volume was ſent to the preſs.* By ſuch an extraordinary mark of public approbation, I am naturally excited to vindicate theſe Memoirs from any aſperſions that might in the ſlighteſt manner impugn their authenticity. Not indeed that any ſuch danger is to be apprehended from a letter ſent to the Editors of the Britiſh Critic, and which its author only chooſes to ſign with the initials D. J. I am not, however, the leſs obliged to the anonymous writer; for, by treating what I have ſaid concerning Voltaire's death as calumny and vulgar report (though I had aſſerted nothing but what was grounded on juridical mi-

* The Engliſh Edition has found nearly a ſimilar demand, though the tranſlation was only undertaken after the French Original had been ſome time publiſhed.

notes depoſited at Paris in the hands of Monſ. Momet, Notary Public, and on the teſtimony of the celebrated Mr. Tronchin,) he affords me the opportunity of laying before the public the following letter from M. De. Luc, a name that needs no obſervation from me to enhance the value of its teſtimony.

Letter from M. De Luc *on the Death of Voltaire.*

"SIR,

"Your *Memoirs illuſtrating the Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm* having been the other day the ſubject of converſation, it was objected, that the deſcription of Voltaire (ſo prominent a feature in your Work) was ſo very diſſimilar to that given by the other hiſtorians of his life, that perſons at a diſtance from the ſource of information were at a loſs what judgment to form. The difference between your account of his death, and that which appeared in *a Life of Voltaire* tranſlated from the French by Mr. Monke, and publiſhed in London 1787, was particularly noticed, and incited me to conſult that work.* The Tranſlator deſcribes himſelf as *a young naval officer, who, while at Paris, wiſhed to employ his receſs from profeſſional duty, both to his improvement and advantage.* Nothing but the youth of Mr. Monke, and his want of experience, can excuſe his undertaking; for, to let his countrymen benefit by the proficiency he was making at Paris, he diffuſed among them, through the medium of this tranſlation, all that poiſon which was then ſo induſtriouſly emitted, to produce an effect now but too well known, and which I hope he does not at this day contemplate without horror.

"I will make no obſervations *on this Life of Voltaire;* you know from what ſource it came,* and how little capable it was of ſeducing any but heedleſs youths who, without any knowledge of the age they lived in, were ſtill ſuſceptible of a ſort of admiration for every thing that was *great,* though in vice and villany. As one of the artifices of impiety is to repreſent its champions *calmly* breathing their laſt in the bed of honour, I feel it incumbent on me to confirm what you have ſaid on one of thoſe circumſtances of the death of Voltaire which is ſo cloſely connected with all the reſt.

"Being at Paris in 1781, I was often in company with one of thoſe perſons whoſe teſtimony you invoke on public reports, I mean Mr. Tronchin. He was an old acquaintance of Voltaire's at Geneva, whence he came to Paris in quality of firſt phyſician to the father of the late Duke of Orleans. He

* I have ſeen this life of Voltaire. Mr. de Villette was the author of it: and Mr. Monke might juſt as well have exerciſed his talents in tranſlating Condorcet.

was called in during Voltaire's laſt ſickneſs; and I have heard him repeat all thoſe circumſtances on which Paris and the whole world were at that time full of converſation, reſpecting the horrid ſtate of this impious man's ſoul at the approach of death. M. Tronchin (even as phyſician) did every thing in his power to calm him; for the agitation he was in was ſo violent, that no remedies could take effect. But he could not ſucceed; and, unable to endure the horror he felt at the peculiar nature of his frantic rage, he abandoned him.

"So violent a ſtate in an exhauſted frame could not be of long duration. Stupor, the forerunner of diſſolution, muſt naturally ſucceed, as it generally does after any violent agitations generated by pain; and it is this latter ſtate which in Voltaire has been decorated by the appellation of *calm*. Mr. Tronchin wiſhed to diſcredit this error; and with that laudable view, as an eye witneſs, he immediately publiſhed in all companies the real facts, and preciſely as you have ſtated them. This he did to furniſh a dreadful leſſon to thoſe who calculate on being able in a death-bed to inveſtigate the diſpoſitions moſt proper to appear in before the judgment-ſeat of the Almighty. At that period, not only the ſtate of the body, but the condition of the ſoul, may fruſtrate their hopes of making ſo awful an inveſtigation; for *juſtice* and ſanctity as well as goodneſs are attributes of God; and he ſometimes, as a wholeſome admonition to mankind, permits the puniſhments denounced againſt the impious man to begin even in this life by the tortures of remorſe.

"But this inaccuracy reſpecting the death of Voltaire is not the only one with which the aforenamed author might be upbraided. He has ſuppreſſed many well-known circumſtances relating to his firſt diſpoſition to return to the church, and his conſequent declarations, which you have given on well-authenticated records, all anterior to that anguiſh of mind which his co-operators have wiſhed to ſuppreſs, and of which they themſelves were too probably the cauſe. They ſurrounded him, and thus cut him off from that which alone could reſtore tranquillity to his ſoul, by employing the few moments he ſtill had to live in making what reparation he could for the evil he had done. But this artifice could not deceive thoſe who were better acquainted with Voltaire's character; for, not to notice the acts of hypocriſy which earthly conſiderations frequently made him commit, thoſe of which the ſudden fear of a future ſtate have made him guilty are alſo known. I will give you an example of one, which was related to me at Gottinguen in December 1776 by Mr. Dieze, ſecond librarian of that Univerſity; and you may, Sir, make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

"During Voltaire's reſidence in Saxony, where Mr. Dieze

ſerved him as ſecretary, he fell dangerouſly ill. As ſoon as he was apprized of his ſituation he ſent for a prieſt, confeſſed to him, and begged to receive the ſacrament, which he actually did receive, ſhowing all the exterior ſigns of repentance, which laſted as long as his danger; but as ſoon as that was over, he affected to laugh at what he called his *littleneſs*, and, turning to Mr. Dieze, "My friend (ſaid he) you have ſeen the *weakneſs of the man.*"

"It is alſo to *human weakneſs* that the ſectaries of his impiety have attributed the paroxyſms of fear in him and ſome others of his accomplices. Sickneſs, ſay they, weakens the mind as well as the body, and often produces puſillanimity.—Theſe ſymptoms of converſion in the wicked at the approach of death, are, undoubtedly, ſigns of a great *weakneſs*; but to what is it to be attributed? is it to their underſtanding? certainly not; for it is in that awful moment that every thing vaniſhes which had clouded it during their life. That *weakneſs*, therefore, is to be wholly attributed to their internal *conviction* that they have ſinned.

"Led away by vanity, or ſome other vicious paſſion, thoſe men aſpire at creating a Sect: ignorance and the paſſions of other men ſecond their undertaking. Inebriated with their triumph, they perſuade themſelves that they are capable of giving laws to the whole world: they boldly make the attempt, and the hood-winked crowd become their followers. Having attained the zenith of happineſs for the proud and vain glorious ſoul, they abandon themſelves to all the wantonneſs of imagination and deſire. The world then, in their eyes, becomes a vaſt field of new enjoyments, the legitimacy of which has no other ſtandard but their own inclinations; and the fumes of an incenſe laviſhed on them by thoſe whom they have taught to ſcoff like themſelves at every law, perpetuates their delirium. But when ſickneſs has diſperſed the flattering cohort, has blaſted their pleaſures, and all hopes of new triumphs; when they feel themſelves advancing, abandoned and naked, towards that awful *eternity* on which they have taken upon themſelves to decide, not only for themſelves but for all thoſe who have been led away in the whirlwind of their fictions. — If in this terrible moment, when pride has loſt its ſupport, they come to reflect on the arguments on which they grounded their attack againſt the univerſal belief of a *Revelation* which was to ſerve man as a poſitive and univerſal rule in matters of faith — the *weakneſs* then of their arguments (which they dare no longer attire in the garb of ſophiſtry) ſtares them in the face; and nothing but the total extinction of their feelings can quell the terrors of a conſcience which

tells them that they are about to appear before the tribunal of the Author of that ſame *Revelation*.

" It is to point out this real *weakneſs* of the anti-chriſtian chiefs that we muſt labour throughout their whole hiſtory, for the benefit of thoſe who, without any further examination (and perſuaded that theſe opinions are grounded on deep reſearch) become their dupes and diſciples: It is, I ſay, incumbent on us to ſhow that thoſe men had not, any more than their ſectaries, any real *conviction*, and that their obſtinacy in their opinions ſolely proceeded from the narcotic fumes of the incenſe of their admirers. For this purpoſe it is my intention ſhortly to give to the public, in confirmation of what you have ſaid of Voltaire, all that my former acquaintance with him has brought to my knowledge. The times in which we live make it the duty of every man who has had a nearer view of the plots laid by the Sect againſt Revelation to unfold all the circumſtances of them, which are as ſhameful from their voluntary ignorance, as from their atrocity; and it is this ſentiment, Sir, which makes me partake in common with all true friends to humanity, of that admiration and gratitude which are due to you for your generous exertions in this charitable career.

" I remain, Sir, Your's, &c. &c.

" De Luc."

Windſor, the 23d Oct. 1797.

After ſuch a teſtimony, let people talk of Voltaire dying with the calmneſs of a Hero.

II.

In the Second Volume there is a paſſage of a different nature, (page 438,) but which has given riſe to objections far better grounded. It relates to Mr. Sinetty's arrival at Liſle as deputy from the *Grand Orient* of Paris. I know not by what miſtake he was ſaid to be an officer of cavalry, when in reality he was an officer of infantry. As to *the fact related*, it is of little importance in which he ſerved; but the miſtake might inculpate two other officers of the ſame name who ſerved in the cavalry, and whoſe loyalty and attachment to their King could never be affected by the Jacobin Miſſionary bearing the ſame name. This miſtake, however, has given riſe to much reſearch. Mr. Le Comte de Martange, (whom I mentioned as being in the regiment of La Sarre in 1776, and who has long ſince been a general officer,) was applied to, and in the firſt anſwer he returned appeared to have miſtaken the ſenſe of my Memoirs (indeed he only knew them by public report at that time,) thinking that I

had charged the Military Lodge of Liſle with having contrived and ſet on foot the Jacobin Conſpiracy. The reader will eaſily conceive how he muſt have treated ſuch an aſſertion; but ſo far was I from hinting at any ſuch thing, that I ſaid the officers of the regiment of La Sarre had taken this emiſſary for an *enthuſiaſt* and a *madman*, who on his ſide ſoon found that the officers were *not Maſons of his ſtamp*. The Count alſo ſays, that he never was acquainted with any other Sinetty than the officer of cavalry whoſe character is univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed by every body. Though it may be very poſſible for the Count to have loſt all memory of a perſon whom he had only ſeen twenty years ago for a few hours, nevertheleſs this is the only expreſſion that ſeems to denote that he was not preſent at the ſcene I have mentioned. I am intitled however to ſay, that the Count has ſince written a ſecond letter, in which he ſays that he has *read my Memoirs*, and that he has there found ſuch a concatenation of demonſtrations as tempts him to think that the perſon who gave me the information might have been miſtaken only as to ſome names or particular circumſtances. That theſe particulars do not invalidate the fact is evident, as the Chev. de Myon (an officer in the ſame regiment) has conſtantly refuſed to contradict it, notwithſtanding many preſſing ſolicitations to that effect. In corroboration of the whole, many officers who were then in garriſon at Liſle have, ſince the publication of the Second Volume, declared that they remembered the fact, though in the lapſe of twenty years they had forgotten the particular circumſtances. In ſhort, as an ultimate proof I will adduce the candour with which the perſon who thought himſelf moſt intereſted in getting the denial of the fact aſcertained declared that he was perfectly convinced of the truth of it. Thus, ſhould I loſe the teſtimony of a witneſs whom I had cited, I ſhall have replaced it by the verdict of an impartial judge. The fact is, however, that I had taken too many precautions to have been miſinformed on a fact with which I had long ſince been acquainted, but which I would print only on the teſtimony of an eye witneſs.

III.

I muſt farther inform my readers that frequent errors have been committed in the preſs among the figures in the quotations; and in Voltaire's Letters ſome Readers may be miſled by the variety of Editions. But I again repeat, that not a ſingle quotation has been made which is not to be found in the works quoted; and a general *Erraia* ſhall be given at the end of the Fourth Volume, in which the Dates ſhall be added to the Letters.

Library of Princeton Theological Seminary

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATING THE

Rev'd & R. Rodgers '82

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM,

WRITTEN IN FRENCH BY

THE ABBÉ BARRUEL,

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

THE HON. ROBERT CLIFFORD, F. R. S. & A. S.

Princes and Nations ſhall diſappear from the face of the Earth—and this REVOLUTION ſhall be the WORK of SECRET SOCIETIES.

Weiſhaupt's Diſcourſe for the Myſteries.

PART IV.——VOL. IV.

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY; HISTORICAL PART.

First American Edition, from the Second London Edition.

ELIZABETH-TOWN:

Printed by SHEPARD KOLLOCK for CORNELIUS DAVIS, No. 94, *Water-Street, New-York.*

1799.

OBSERVATIONS

On some Articles published in the MONTHLY REVIEW, *relative to the* "MEMOIRS ON JACOBINISM."

THERE are Reviewers of whose approbation I shall ever be proud, because I know the propagation of good principles to be the object of their labors. There are others, however, whose applause would always be hateful to me, because, under the mask of science, they disseminate the principles of Impiety and Rebellion. To which of these classes the *Monthly Review* may belong, I shall not pretend to determine, as I am not in the habit of reading it; but should be sorry to ground my judgment on the account which Dr. Griffiths, or his associates, have given of the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*. In the Appendix to his twenty-fifth Volume, he has loaded me with imputations which I should leave to the good sense of my Reader, were I engaged in a mere literary dispute; but I have denounced the most formidable conspiracy that ever was contrived against Religion and Society. I owe it, therefore, to my cause, and to myself, to prove which of us is most open to the charge of *unfairness*, of *dexterity, or of treacherous ingenuity*. Fortunately the task is not difficult.

Dr. Griffiths is pleased to pass a favorable sentence on my first Volume, treating of the *Conspiracy of the Sophisters against the Altar;* but he says, that the Conspiracy "of the Sophisters "of Rebellion against the Throne is so imperfectly supported "in the second Volume, that he must still ascribe the extinction "of Royalty in France much more to the course of local e-"vents in Paris, than to the previous concert and deliberate "wish of the leaders of the Revolution."—Certainly the Jacobins would not be sorrow to see such an opinion become prevalent, for they also claim the right of saying to Kings, if we attack your thrones you may thank yourselves; it was your perfidy and despotism, much more than the efforts of a Brissot or a Syeyes, that dethroned Lewis XVI; it was more owing to you than to Petion or Robespierre that he was led to the scaffold; and, above all, it was the tyranny of Lewis XVI. that engraved in our hearts that wish to exterminate every King on earth. Dr. Griffiths also finds it more convenient peremptorily to pronounce on the validity of the proofs which I adduce, than to submit any of them to his readers, lest they should draw a very different conclusion. Not a word does he mention of the Letters, of the Systems, of Holbach's Club, of the Central Committee, of the Emissaries of the Grand Orient, of the Declamations and formal Avowals of the adepts Le Roi, Condorcet, Dudin, and his fellow-reviewers of the Mercure. All this must lead us to believe, that Dr. Griffiths is difficult of conviction when he pleases to be so; and that he can with-

hold proofs when he is not in a humour to refute them. So many persons will take the word of their teachers for granted, that it is unnecessary for him to condescend to give his reasons. We shall see whether he will deign to notice Sir Horace Walpole, who so long since denounced the Conspiracy of the Sophisters of Rebellion. If Dr. Griffiths be determined to be blind, I cannot pretend to make him see.

2dly, Dr. Griffiths also declares, that my position "is wholly erroneous," when I say, *that Equality and Liberty form the essential and perpetual Creed of the Freemasons*. Here I was tempted to recognize a brother dupe, but he had his reasons for appearing to be better informed than I was. He then speaks of a communication opened between the Grand Lodges of London and Berlin 1776; and Berlin, he says, was at that *æra the very focus of convergence for every ray of modern Philosophy;* and then he asks, *were these embassies mere child's play; or were there Timoleons concealed in the Latomies* (Lodges)? I candidly confess, that had I known of these communications with the very center of Sophistry, so far should I have been from retracting my proofs of the Conspiracy of the Freemasons, that I should have given them a stronger turn. I can also assure him, that I would not have generalized to such an extent my exception in favor of the Masonry of the Grand Lodge of London, had I been informed that it could possibly have contained members so inimical to Kings as that *Timoleon* who assassinated his brother *Timophane*, for that same cause of hatred to Royalty in which the Elder *Brutus* became the executioner of his Children, and the Younger Brutus the murderer of Cæsar his benefactor. Let English Masons defend themselves against the imputations of Dr. Griffiths; but every reader will perceive, that the method he has adopted to prove that *my position was erroneous* is rather extraordinary; for, according to his assertions, if I am culpable, it is of having generalized my exception too much in favor of those to whom I tho't no guilt could attach.

When we proceed to the third Volume treating of the Illuminees, and I speak of their Conspiracy against all society, property, and sciences, then is he far more difficult of persuasion. It is here that I am guilty of *treacherous ingenuity*, of *partiality*, and of *unfairness*. Let the reader judge to which of us such imputations are the most applicable.

3dly, The Reviewer deduces his grand proofs against me from the manner in which I have translated two of Weishaupt's texts. I must own, that one of them gave me a considerable deal of trouble, not on account of the language; for the words are clear enough; but on account of the arrant nonsense, and, to me, irreconcileable contradiction of this text in the place where it stands. To have translated Weishaupt literally, we must have made him say, "*few wants; this is the first step towards Li-*
"*berty. It is for this reason that Savages and the Learned (or*
"*men enlightened in the supreme degree) are perhaps the only*
"*free men, the only independent men.*" I here saw a great error in stating our men of learning as those who have the *fewest*

wants, or as the freeſt, or as the moſt independent of Society. To enable them to attend ſolely to their ſtudies, they ſtand in need of a ſufficient fortune to relieve them from attention to temporal concerns. They ſtand in need of the labor of others to cloath, lodge, and nouriſh them. They are above all others dependent on ſociety for that ſtate of peace and tranquillity ſo neceſſary to the progreſs of ſcience. They muſt, therefore, be monſters of ingratitude if they do not recognize that public authority, without which ſciences muſt baniſh. Put the moſt learned member of the Royal Society into a deſert or a foreſt, and in another part put a country clown, and ſee which of the two will fare beſt, or ſtand moſt in need of the help of others.

But this is not all; Weiſhaupt poſitively aſſerts, that ſlavery is the offspring of the ſciences; and can it follow from ſuch a poſition, that the moſt ſcientific are the freeſt and moſt independent of men? As from a variety of other paſſages I knew that, according to the modern *Spartacus*, no men were really enlightened, unleſs it were the ſavages, or thoſe who wiſhed to carry us back to the ſavage ſtate; I tranſlated it thus:—— "*Hence few wants is the firſt ſtep towards Liberty.—It is* "*for this reaſon, that the ſavages are the moſt enlightened of* "*men, and perhaps they alone are free*;" but I took the precaution to add the German text, ("Darum ſind wilde, und "in höcſtken grad aufgeklärte, vielleicht die einzige freye "menſchen") that each reader might give the ſenſe he choſe to the original. Dr. Griffiths has done more, he has quoted that other text, in which Weiſhaupt literally declares ſlavery to be the offspring of the ſciences; he nevertheleſs makes Weiſhaupt ſay, *that ſavages and the fully enlightened are perhaps the only free men.* This certainly approaches nearer to a literal tranſlation, and the ſentence taken in the abſtract may be more correct; my tranſlation, however, is conformable to the ſenſe of the diſcourſe; but I have no objection to ſubſtitute that given by Dr. Griffiths, provided a N.B. be added, to warn the reader of the nonſenſe of it, and the groſs contradiction it contains.

4thly, Dr. Griffiths, or the writer he employs, next proceeds to the French.—— "The text of Weiſhaupt expreſly "ſays, *out of our preſent imperfect forms of civil union we* "*ſhall paſs into new and better choſen*; but the Abbé, in "order to attribute to him the perverſe project of perpetu-"ating anarchy, unfairly renders the paſſage as if we were to "paſs back into the ſavage ſtate." Then, as if he had it in his power to quote numberleſs examples of my unfair tranſlations, he adds, "On the topic of *Property*, ſimilar freedoms have "been uſed, with a not leſs *treacherous ingenuity*."

Upon my word Dr. Griffiths here fathers, with great facility, his own failing upon others. Sir, notwithſtanding the baſe and calumnious accuſations which you choſe to vent againſt me, I wrote to you as to a Reviewer upright in his intentions, yet liable to miſtake, but who, after ſuch violent imputations, would condeſcend at leaſt to inſert in a future number of his Review the explanation which I had ſent him. You denied me

this means of defence; I then told you, that I ſhould not leave the public in that error into which your Review might lead them, as in the preſent circumſtances the conſequences might be too dangerous. I requeſted a meeting in order to lay before you *the Original Writings*, and therein to point out evident proofs that your imputations were unjuſt. You refuſed theſe means of rectifying your miſtake. What, then, entitles you to better treatment than you have given to a man who was moſt certainly actuated by no other ſentiment than that of the public good, and whom you chooſe to calumniate in defiance of conviction?

It pleaſes Dr. Griffiths alſo to repreſent my letter (in which I informed him, that I would not leave the public in an error) as a riſible threat of denouncing him as an Illuminee (June 1798). He adds, that I am "*at full liberty to accuſe or compliment him by ſuch a deſcription.*" You may, Sir, take what I am going to ſay as a *reproach* or as a *compliment*; but, without pretending to ſay whether you are initiated in the ſecrets of Illuminiſm or not, this much I can aſſert, that no Illuminee could have ſhown leſs candor than has the author of the article to which I am about to reply.

So far was I from attributing any other intention to Weiſhaupt, than that which he really had, when he wrote theſe words, *Aus den ſtaaten tretten wir in neue klüger gewählte*, which I have tranſlated, *de ces ſociétés nous paſſons a des vœux a un choix plus ſage* (from theſe ſocieties we proceed to further wiſhes, and to a wiſer choice); and as this ſentence, taken abſtractly, has no ſignification either in German or French, I, in a note, called the attention of the reader to the ſentence that immediately followed, as explaining the nature of the *wiſer choice (Fr. Vol. III.)*——The Engliſh tranſlator has omitted this note, which, in reality was only added through an exceſs of precaution. But had he inſerted it what would it have proved? Nothing but an eſpecial care on my ſide not to attribute to Weiſhaupt any meaning that did not entirely coincide with the text. Am I to blame, if what precedes and what follows that ſentence evidently demonſtrate that this Sophiſter was endeavoring to lead us back to the ſavage ſtate?—I ſhould ſpare the Reviewer too much, or ſhould rather hold him out as an *Ignoramus*, were I to ſay that he could have been miſtaken as to the meaning of that ſentence. Here it is, with what precedes and follows it: "Nature drew men from the "ſavage ſtate, and re-united them in civil ſocieties; *from* "*theſe ſocieties we proceed to further wiſhes, and to a wiſer* "*choice.** New aſſociations preſent themſelves to theſe wiſhes;

* *The note in queſtion would anſwer to the word* choice, *Volume III. and is literally as follows:* "*To a wiſer choice;* "*this is the literal tranſlation of the text*, aus den ſtaaten tret-"ten wir in neue klüger gewählte. *The ſentence that follows* "*clearly enough expreſſes what this choice is.*" *I placed the German text between a parentheſis immediately after the word* choice; *and as the ſentence alluded to immediately followed, I*

" and by their means we return to the ſtate *whence we came*, " not again to run the former courſe, but the better to enjoy " our deſtiny." Since the Reviewer did not condeſcend to favor me with the interview I requeſted, that I might ſhow him the German text, I here print it, that he may get it tranſlated by whom, and where he pleaſes; and I defy him to ſhow that I have either altered or *warped* the ſenſe of that paſſage: "Die " natur hat das menſchen geſchlecht aus den wildheit geriſſen, " und in ſtaaten vereinight; *aus den ſtaaten tretten wir in neue* " *Klüger gewählte*. Zu unſeren wünſchen nahen ſich neue " verbindungen, und durch dieſe langen wir wieder dort an, " wo wir auſgegangen ſind; aber nicht um dereinſt den alten " zirkul wieder zurück zu machen, ſondern um unſere weitere " beſtimmung näher zu erfahren." Now I boldly aſk, whether natural ſtupidity can be carried ſo far, or whether any man can be ſo totally deſtitute of every idea of logic, as not plainly to ſee, that the ſtate from which Weiſhaupt ſays that Nature has drawn us, and to which it is leading us back by means of his (ſecret) aſſociations, is not the ſavage ſtate. Beſide, he adds, *Let us explain this myſtery;* and how does he do this? why, by dedicating more than forty pages to prove, that the object of Nature in *Secret Societies* is to eradicate even the very name of *People*, *Prince*, *Nation*, or *Country;* and this he poſitively tells us is *one of his grand myſteries*. This monſtrous Sophiſter alſo ſays, that *Original Sin*, the *Fall of Man*, was no other than their reunion into civil ſociety; and that *Redemption* is our reinſtatement in that ſtate which was anterior to ſociety. It is even thus that he pretends to explain the goſpel: it is thus that he explains the *rough ſtones*, *the ſtone ſplit or broken*, and *the poliſhed ſtone of Maſonry*.—And after this Dr. Griffiths and his co-operators will come and accuſe us of *unfairneſs*, *dexterity*, and *treacherous ingenuity*, becauſe we unfold the abſurdity of his favorite Illuminiſm! Let our readers aſſign thoſe epithets to whom in their opinion they belong.

5thly. What can the Reviewer mean by that great zeal which he ſhows for the characters of Weiſhaupt and Knigge, thoſe two prototypes of Illuminiſm? In order to juſtify them, he comes and talks to us of the *Theiſm* and of the opinions which they affected in their public writings, and acts the brother dupe, grounding his opinion on Weiſhaupt's giving the writings of the *Socinian Baſſedow* to his novices. What does all this prove to a man who is ſpeaking of the ſecret opinions of Knigge and Weiſhaupt, and who has demonſtrated the whole doctrine of their conſpiring myſteries; to a man who proves to you, by the very letters of Weiſhaupt and Knigge, that after the peruſal of the writings of the Socinian Baſſedow, theſe two atheiſts recommend and give to their adepts the writings of

looked upon the remainder of the note as perfectly uſeleſs, and omitted it; for who could have dreamt that any perſon could have cavilled at ſo clear a ſentence? I only tranſcribe the note in this place, that every reader may judge of Dr. Griffiths's candour.—
Tranſlator.

the atheiſt Boulanger, of the atheiſt Robinet, of the atheiſt Helvetius, of the atheiſt Diderot; and that Knigge even complains, that ſuch a ſuperabundance of Atheiſm would betray the tendency of the Sect too ſoon? *(Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 3, from Spartacus to Cato.—Vol. II. Let. 2. from Philo to Cato.)*—To what purpoſe, let me aſk, is all the ſtuff which the Reviewer has copied from the German Illuminees about the Jeſuits; all thoſe panic terrors which he affects about the return of Catholiciſm in a proteſtant country; as if proteſtants and perſons of every religion were not bound in one intereſt to counteract the plans of Illuminiſm? If Dr. Griffiths wiſhes to miſlead the Engliſh nation, as ſome of the adepts did for a time in Germany, let him learn that the trick is ſtale; that it will be in vain for him to copy Mirabeau or Bonneville, and, like them, cry up the alledged proofs of Jeſuits Maſonry diſcovered by the Illuminee *Lucian*-NICOLAI. We are on the ſpot, and can verify theſe grand proofs. We beg Dr. Griffiths to favor us with a ſight of that famous *Pelican* diſcovered at Oxford; and that he will not forget to tell us how it comes to paſs, that this Pelican *is replaced by a Sparrow-hawk*, whoſe feathers grow again, and *how a Sparrow-hawk, who thus reſledges itſelf*, evidently demonſtrates that *Jeſuits have long ſince been hidden in the Engliſh Lodges;* and that if great care be not taken, they are on the eve of ſallying forth to make a moſt terrible havock. He will alſo tell us how this demonſtration becomes evident, when we obſerve, that Sir Chriſtopher Wren (the architect who built St. Paul's) was profeſſor in one college at Oxford, and that the *Pelican* and *Sparrow-hawk* were found in another college. But I am ſorry to conſider, that, when Dr. Griffiths ſhall have ably developed all the grand proofs given by Nicolai, the Engliſh reader will be much tempted to rank the inventor and his panegyriſt in the ſame claſs.*

Let not Dr. Griffiths think that while we ſhrug our ſhoulders at this miſerable fable of Catholiciſm and Jeſuitiſm latent in Freemaſonry, we cannot produce ſubſtantial proofs that this fable was only invented to avert the attention of the inhabitants of proteſtant countries from the progreſs made by the Illuminees. We can ſhow thoſe leaders of Illuminiſm *Brunner*, the apoſtate catholic curate of Tiefenbach; the apoſtate *Nimis*, the *Chabot* of Germany; the adepts *Dorſch*, *Blau*, and *Wreden*, the famous Illuminees of Spire, Mentz, and Bonne, meditating and combining among themſelves the means of propagating this fable in Germany, juſt as Dr. Griffiths had done in England. We can produce the letter of the adept *Brunner* to *Nimis*, diſcovered among the papers of *Blau* and ſent by the officers who had ſeized them to the *Biſhop of Spire*. Dr. Griffiths knows many things concerning Maſonry and Illuminiſm; but he may probably be unacquainted with this letter; it would not be right that he ſhould continue ſo, as he will, by the in-

* *See Monthly Review, Auguſt*, 1798, *pages* 460 *and* 461—*See alſo the miſerable diſcoveries of Nicolai appreciated in a German work called the* Veil torn from Maſonry, *page* 318, *&c.*

formation be better able to judge of the part that he is acting, and of the services that he is rendering Illuminism.

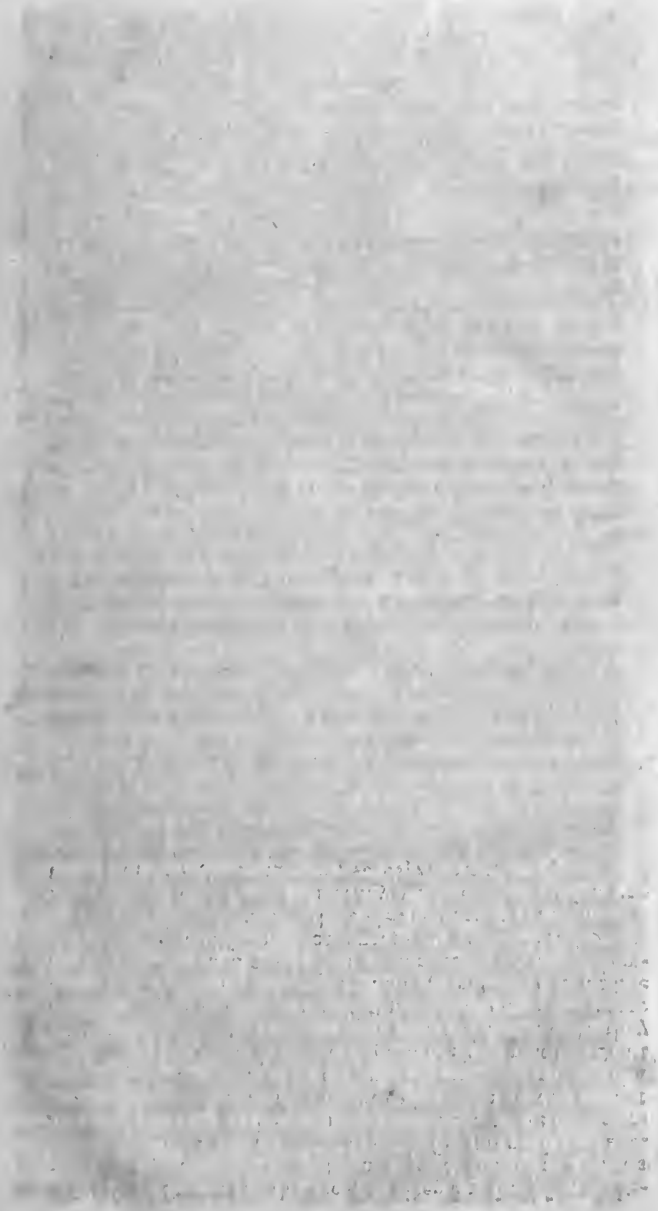
This dispatch is dated June 9, 1792, that is, just about the time when the coalition of the crowned heads seemed to menace Jacobinism with immediate destruction. The adepts are much occupied with inventing a plan for remodelling Illuminism, that it might acquire new vigor. In this plan a cloak is sought, which, hiding the grand machine, leaves its instruments at liberty to act without being seen, and to attain the object of the Sect without being suspected of meddling with Illuminism.

The cloak that was thus to favor the views of the brethren, was an *Academy of Sciences* formed of two classes of men, the one of men remarkable for their zeal in the cause of religion, the other of profound Illuminees. Honorary members were to be elected as protectors; *and if* (says the author of the plan) DALBERT *once gets to his government* (that is, if the Suffragan becomes Elector of Mentz) *he of all other princes would be the most proper for our object. We may perhaps unfold the whole of our plan to him, and make Mentz the central point of our academy.—To do away every idea of the hidden mysteries of this academy, it would be right that each member should wear on his breast a medal bearing the inscription* RELIGIONI ET SCIENTIIS (to religion and sciences).—*The better to conceal our secret object, we must be careful to engage all the learned Jesuits, such as* SATTLER, SAILER, MUTSCHELLE, *and other learned religious, that are perfectly orthodox, such as* GERBERT, *and* SCHWARTZUEBER.—*It would even be right if it could be bro't about, that the establishment of this academy should be announced to the public by a Jesuit, and not by one of us.*

Pray, Dr. Griffiths, has this plan come to your knowledge? Now listen to what the adept author of the plan says: "But if "people cry out against *hidden Jesuitism* and against the *pro-*"*gress of Catholicism*, it will be so much the better. That "would the better do away all suspicion of a secret association; "*one might* (and this is worthy of Dr. Griffiths's observation) "*one's self help to spread this false alarm.*" I here add the text, for the benefit of a translation from Dr. Griffiths, which if he gives, I hope he will also add the text, that the public may pronounce on *the treacherous ingenuity*: "Wurde über "heimlichen Jesuitism, oder über gröfere ausbreitung des "Katholicism geschrien, desto besser; dadurch würde aller "verdacht einer geheimen verbindung nur um so mehr be-"seitiget. Man konte sogar diesen blinden lärm selbst schlagen "helfen." When, Sir, you shall have duly meditated on this plan of the adepts, I should like to know what you could have done more to favor their views than you did in giving an account of Mr. Robison's work, of my work, and of the miserable production calling itself *A first Letter of a Free mason to the Abbè Barruel.* You will, doubtless, remark, that the date of this plan is June, 1792; so you cannot refer your readers to the *Illuminee* BOETTIGER to make them believe, that since the year 1790 there has been no farther question of Illuminism in Germany.

I flatter myself that you now coincide in opinion with me, and that you think it might have been better—1st, To have either spoken of the above works with more candor and politeness, or not to have mentioned them at all.—2dly, To have accepted the invitation that I sent you, that I might lay the original texts before you.—3dly, To have published the letter that I requested you would insert in your Review.—And 4thly, Not to have pretended that I had threatened to denounce you as an Illuminee. For really, Sir, I never felt the slightest inducement to pronounce whether the Illuminees had ever initiated yourself or your co-operators in their last mysteries.—You begin with granting that the conspiracy of the Sophisters against the altar really exists; and when you come to the Illuminees you tell us, "*that however extravagant may be the* "*opinions of some* LEADING MEN *among the Illuminees, the ave-*" *rage will of the party, the collected pursuit of the confederated* "*Lodges, appears rather to have had* SOCINIANISM *and* RE-" PUBLICANISM *than Atheism and Anarchy for its objects.*"—(June, 1798, p. 240.)—This is avowing at least that there exists in these Lodges a conspiracy against the God of the Gospel, and against the thrones of all sovereigns. This is also abandoning the chiefs or founders of the confederacy of the Illuminees. When you go so far yourself, Sir, as to grant all this, am I not entitled to ask what could induce you to accuse me of so much *treacherous ingenuity*, when you confess yourself that I might be in the right; for you must have seen that I distinguished the degrees; I have shewn by the very code of the Illuminees how in their first schools they only infused hatred for kings, and that species of Socinianism which borders so closely on rank Deism. This, I think, was sufficiently proving a conspiracy whose tendency well deserved the attention of the public. When I accuse the Sect of aiming at the wildest anarchy, I shew that this mystery was reserved to the profound adepts and chiefs, though their secret at present frequently escapes them before a public audience. Generally, Sir, they make the same avowals as you do. They are pleased to hear it said that Voltaire, and those men whom they denominate *great philosophers*, conspired against Christianity; and that other self-created philosophers of the Lodges conspired against kings.—This might contribute to make nations believe that it is not so very criminal a thing to engage in such conspiracies. But it is a more difficult thing to invent a plausible pretext for conspiring against all property and civil society; and for that reason more care is taken to conceal the ultimate views of their plots. Meanwhile, however, they cry down every author that dares to unmask these hideous conspirators. Was it under an illusion, or wittingly, that you followed so nearly the same method in reviewing the works of Mr. Robison and myself? Do not expect a decision from me. My object is, that the public should not be mislead to believe that I have exaggerated the mysteries of the Illuminees. I leave to that same public to judge whether any of the Reviewers are dupes or accomplices.

N. B. In ſupport of the account given by the *Monthly Review*, I am threatened with an anſwer from SPARTACUS WEISHAUPT. My rejoinder is ready for this perſonage alſo. Let him meet me at the archives of Munich, where his letters are preſerved. But as that might expoſe him to the peril of the gallows, I conſent that he ſhould act by attorney. Let him prove then that theſe letters are ſpurious; and that the Court and Magiſtrates of Bavaria impoſed upon the world, when they publiſhed thoſe letters, and invited perſons of every country to come and verify the originals; for all other apology on his ſide muſt be uſeleſs, and any anſwer on mine ſuperfluous. A complete anſwer to all his publications, as well as to his firſt apology, is already publiſhed in the code and hiſtory of his Illuminiſm, and all that I can poſſibly ſay with reference to his writings may be reduced to three words, *read and verify*.



PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

Object and Plan of this Volume.

CONCEIVED but a short time before the French Revolution, by a man whose ambition seemed confined within the narrow compass of the town of Ingolstadt and to the dusty folios of his schools, by what strange means did Illuminism in less than fifteen years, become that formidable Sect which, under the name of *Jacobin*, rides triumphant over ruined altars, shivered sceptres, and scattered crowns; over the wrecks of nations and their constitutions; over the bodies of potentates fallen beneath their poisons or their poignards, while they drag others in their train, craving a servitude termed *peace*, or branding themselves with the infamy of what they call an *alliance*?

Under this name of JACOBIN absorbing all the mysteries, plots, and combinations of every sectary against every religion, government, and society, by what artifice could Illuminism acquire that dominion of terror which forbids any sovereign within the astonished universe to say, To-morrow I shall continue seated on my throne; which forbids nations and citizens to say, that their laws and religion, their houses and property, will not be torn from them; which forbids the peaceful inhabitant to lie down to rest with any assurance that he will not rise in the morning beneath the shade of that symbol of blood called the *Tree of Liberty*, and threatened by the axe of the devouring guillotine? How is it possible, that the secret adepts of the modern *Spartacus* should be the invisible and exclusive movers of that long chain of crimes and calamities, that disastrous torrent of ferocity and rapine, which is called the revolution? How do they continue to direct those machinations which are to consummate the dissolution and misery of human society?

Object of this volume.

In dedicating this Fourth Volume to the investigation of these questions, I do not flatter myself with the hopes of illustrating them with all that precision, and of pointing out those particularities, which other men might have done who have had it in their power to follow the Sect of Illuminees into their dark abodes, without ever losing sight of the adepts or their teachers. The monster has

taken its courſe through wilderneſſes, and darkneſs has more than once obſcured its progreſs. Weiſhaupt had adopted the bird of night for his emblem, becauſe he courted darkneſs; but the ſcreechings of this ominous bird, rending the air in ſpite of him, diſcover his ſecret retreat. The venemous reptile is often diſcovered by the ſtench of its poiſon; the beaten and blood-ſtained track leads to the diſcovery of the cavern inhabited by brigands; and, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the wicked, an all-powerful God will ſometimes in his mercy permit a ray of light to ſhine on their tenebrous receſſes, which may ſuffice to develope their plots. Many horrid particulars, no doubt, have been loſt under the veil of darkneſs; but in claſſing thoſe which have come to my knowledge, I find abundance of proofs to trace the Sect wherever crime has pointed out its fatal influence. In vain does the black cloud hover round the ſummit of the volcano, the bituminous and ſulphurous vapors which it exhales, bear teſtimony of the interior combuſtions, till at length the eruption denotes the abyſs where ſo great a convulſion was generated.

Hence, without flattering myſelf with the hopes of ſeizing every link of that horrid chain of iniquity which muſt blacken the page of hiſtory when treating of the Sect, or of decyphering the aſſumed names of all its adepts, I ſhall proceed to lay before my readers what has already come to light. Aſſerting nothing but will bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, I ſhall ſtill find matter ſufficient to trace the progreſs of the Sect from its origin to that congreſs to which, at the preſent moment, it calls the vanquiſhed ſovereigns, not ſo much to quell the horrors of the field of battle, as to enjoy that dominion of terror which it deſpotically ſways without, and to prepare within new reſources to extend its triumphs; not ſo much to reſtore to nations the tottering remnants of their laws and religion, as to invent means of obliterating the very traces of either that may yet remain. I ſhall here attempt to lead the hiſtorian through theſe mazy windings leſt he ſhould loſe himſelf when in purſuit of the Sect. The reader has already ſeen (in our remarks on the Code) its oaths and threats againſt every religion, all ſociety, and property. Now, when reading of what the Sect has done, of the plots and machinations it has ſucceſsfully undertaken and executed, may nations and their rulers acquire new ardor, and be

ſtimulated to oppoſe their future projects with all the courage and all the means they are maſters of. It is to triumph over Jacobiniſm, coſt what it may, that nations are to ſtudy the records of this Sect, and not to ſink meanly into deſpair. I know I am but mortal, and that ere long I ſhall deſcend into the grave; and I calmly wait my diſſolution; but ſhould that conſideration prevent my weeping over the general diſſolution which threatens ſociety, after I have awakened my readers to the dangers which threaten them, only to ſee them ſinking once more into that apathy which portends ruin, under pretence that it is too late, that it is uſeleſs to reſiſt the fate which the Sect has decreed for all nations? God forbid that I ſhould hold ſuch language! Cannot the good be fired with that zeal which conſumes the breaſt of the miſcreant heaving for wickedneſs. Let the rulers of nations *will it*, let nations *will* to ſave their religion, their laws, their property, as this infernal Sect *wills* the deſtruction of them all, and ſucceſs muſt infallibly crown their endeavors. It is only in hopes of contributing to their ſucceſs, that I once more conſent to ſully my pen with the names of *Weiſhaupt*, of *Illuminee*, and of *Jacobin*, and to wade through their diſguſting annals.

The order to be obſerved in treating of the hiſtory of the Sect ſhall be regulated according to its moſt remarkable epochs. Plan of this volume.

The firſt ſhall ſhew Weiſhaupt laying the foundations of his Illuminiſm, preparing and initiating his firſt adepts, founding his firſt Lodges, trying his firſt apoſtles, and preparing every thing for great conqueſts.

The ſecond ſhall treat of that fatal intruſion which embodied thouſands and thouſands of adepts under Weiſhaupt's banners; and this epoch will be called the *Illuminization of Free-maſonry*.

Very few years ſuffice to extend theſe tenebrous and myſterious conqueſts; but the thunderbolts of heaven warn mankind of their danger. The Sect and its conſpiracies are diſcovered in Bavaria, and it ſpeaks of this diſcovery under the appellation *of its perſecutions*; nations and their rulers have been led to believe that it was the death-blow and extinction of the Sect.

Shrinking back, however, into its dark receſſes, with unabating ardor, it crawls from den to den until it attains thoſe of Philip of Orleans, who, joining the Sect with all

the adepts of his occult Lodges, gives it ſovereign ſway over the whole of French Maſonry. From this monſtrous aſſociation ſprung the JACOBINS, with all the crimes and horrors of the Revolution. This conſtitutes the fourth epoch of Illuminiſm; for as the lion, feeling his ſtrength ſufficient, ſallies from his den, roars loudly, and victims muſt be ſacrificed to him; ſo the Jacobins, or Illuminized Maſons, quit their lurking places, and with horrid yell announce to nations and their rulers that they may tremble, for the day of revolution is come. This is the epoch at which the Sect begins the execution of its plots. He only knows how low the earth is condemned to bend beneath their yoke, who in his vengeance permits the plague and other ſcourges to devaſtate empires until he has been avenged of an impious generation. I neither pretend to be a prophet nor deſcendant of a prophet; but in treating of the numerous crimes already committed by the Sect, it will be but too eaſy to point out thoſe that it has ſtill to commit, and that it will commit, if princes and their people diſregard the leſſons of that ſame God, teaching them the conduct they ſhould hold, in order to avert the impending ſcourge.

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THE

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY;

HISTORICAL PART.

CHAP. I.

First Epoch of Illuminism.

FOR many years past, and particularly since Freemasonry had acquired such repute throughout Europe, a multitude of petty secret societies had been formed in the Protestant universities of Germany, each having its lodge, its master, its mysteries, all modelled on those founded by masons coming from England and Scotland. Hence sprung those various Orders *of Hope*, *of Harmony*, *the Constantists*, *the Black Brethren*, and the like. The disputes and quarrels, nay, the disorderly behavior of these young brethren attracted, more than once, the attention of the magistrates; some few attempts were made to crush these meetings, but being made without energy they were of course useless. Governments had not sufficiently considered, that the most dangerous abuse of these societies was not so much the quarrels and the boyish battles which ensued, as the taste which they inculcated for societies impervious to the eye of the magistrate, and under the cover of which their secrets were so easily transformed into the mysteries of impiety and the plots of rebellion.*

* The sophisticated masons of France were not strangers to these boyish Lodges. A few years before the destruction of the Jesuits, one of these lodges was set on foot in their college of Tulle, stiling its members the *Chevaliers de la Pure Verité*, *(Knights of the Pure Truth.)* The Jesuits soon perceived whither this doctrine of *pure truth* and its secret meetings would lead. Before any other method for putting a stop to this new establishment was proposed, they resolved to try the power of ridicule which was almost infallible in France. Accordingly one of the masters undertook to compose a most sarcastic song on our young Knights, and copies were secretly dis-

It would, however, be difficult I believe to prove, that any ſyſtems or opinions militating againſt religion or governments had as yet been introduced into theſe puerile aſſociations. Many were even known to profeſs principles conducive to good manners and morality. The remedy may be found in the very ſource whence ſprung the evil, that is to ſay, from the conſtitution of thoſe univerſities, which, on the one ſide, leaves the choice of the different profeſſors in each branch to their ſcholars, and on the other does not ſufficiently provide for an honeſt teacher to place him beyond the powers of want or the temptations of avarice and vanity. Hence it followed, that maſters, little delicate as to the means of obtaining a nomination, and nearly deſtitute of talents, had only to ſhow great zeal for one of theſe little ſocieties, or invent ſome new myſtery more enticing than the reſt, and his Lodges immediately filled; the ſcholars formed parties for him; in a ſhort time his ſchools were as much flocked to as his Lodges, and contributions in his favor kept pace with his growing reputation. The fear of paſſing for a ſeducer of youth was a bar againſt his making uſe of theſe ſocieties for inſtilling bad principles into his young followers, however much he might have wiſhed it; and on the other ſide, the authority which he had acquired in the ſchools gave him a ſufficent power in the Lodges to thwart any perverſe intentions in the young adepts; and theſe oppoſite reaſons proved in general a ſufficient guard againſt the introduction of great abuſes.*

The time was not yet come, however, when proofs were to be acquired of the uſe to which the great conſpirators were to turn theſe myſterious nurſeries.

When public report ſpread the news in Germany of a new order of Illuminees having been founded in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt by Weiſhaupt, many people ſuppoſed it to be one of thoſe little college Lodges, which could no longer intereſt the adepts, when once they had finiſhed their ſtudies. Many even thought that Weiſhaupt,

tributed to all the young men who did not belong to the lodge. Scarcely could one of the juvenile Knights make his appearance without hearing ſome ridiculous line of this ſong hummed in his ears; and in a ſhort time ſquares, compaſſes, Lodge and all diſappeared.

* See the Memoirs of a Proteſtant Miniſter on the Illuminees.

who was at that time a sworn enemy to the Jesuits, had only founded this Lodge with a view to form a party for himself against those fathers who, after the destruction of their order, had been continued in their offices of public teachers at the university of Ingolstadt.* The Illuminees successfully availed themselves of this opinion on an occasion which we shall hereafter see to have been decisive as to their future existence in Germany. Had not the nature of their code and of their mysteries demonstrated views of far other importance both for nations and their governments, to have been the grand object of the founder, the Archives of the Sect would show beyond all doubt that from its first institution Weishaupt had conceived the hopes, and determined on means for extending the plots of the Sect to the utmost boundaries of Empires.

It was on the 1st of May, 1776, that Weishaupt laid the first foundations of his Illuminism. The list of adepts seized among their Archives shows his name inscribed on that day at the head of the Register; on the same day *Ajax*-Massenhausen and *Tiberius*-Merz were declared Areopagites.† It is true that he selected these two first adepts from among his pupils who were studying the law under him at the university of Ingolstadt; these were generally young men from eighteen to twenty, a most dangerous age, when the passions easily lay open the unguarded mind to the seduction of Sophistry. Weishaupt could not overlook so fair an opportunity of forming apostles, who, returning home when they had finished their studies, might, under his direction, continue the same career of seduction which he himself carried on at Ingolstadt. Atrociously impious, we see him in the first year of his Illuminism aping the God of Christianity, and ordering *Ajax*-Massenhausen in the following terms to propagate the doctrines of his new gospel: "Did not Christ "send his Apostles to preach his Gospel to the universe? "You that are my Peter, why should you remain idle at "home, go then and preach."‡

* See the Memoirs of a Protestant Minister on the Illuminees.

† Original Writings, Sect. IV.

‡ Hat doch Christus auch seine apostel in die welt geschickt, und warum sollte ich meinen Petrus zu hause lassen? *Ite et prædicate.—Original Writings, Letters to Ajax, 19th Sept. 1776.*

The modern Cephas had not waited for the orders of his master to give him proofs of his zeal. In the enthusiasm of his first fervor, and during the very month of his installation, he had acted the part of Insinuator to Xaverius Zwack.* We shall soon see him outwitted by his pupil; but so great a conquest covered a multitude of sins of which he was afterwards guilty. By the name of *Cato* we see Zwack pass under the direction of Weishaupt himself, and he soon became his favorite disciple. He may be said to have robbed his Insinuator of the honor of having founded the Lodges at Munich; and it was through the means of this new apostle that the Sect made that rapid progress which Weishaupt boasts of in his letter to *Tiberius*-Merz, 13th May, 1778:

"It is with great pleasure that I can inform you of the "happy progress my Order is making: knowing how "anxious you are for its welfare, and that you have pro- "mised to contribute to its success by all the means in "your power, I must inform you, that in a few days I shall "be able to found two Lodges at Munich. The first will "be composed of *Cato*, of Hertel, to whom I have given "the name of *Marius*, and of Massenhausen, whom we "call *Ajax*. These three will receive their instructions "in direct line from me. You also shall have a seat in "their council when at Munich. I have been obliged to "fix *Ajax* there, though he might have been of great use "to me; for he was the first to whom I opened myself "on the subject, and he also recruited *Cato* for me. Had "I to begin again, I certainly would not make choice of "him; but I have so clipped his wings that he can no "longer play off any of his intrigues. I don't leave him "in possession of a single halfpenny of our funds; they "are entrusted to *Marius*. Cato is the main spring "at Munich, and the man who conducts every thing. It

* In the Third Volume of these Memoirs, page 9, in the Note, it is said, "it is clear that *Zwack* was only initiated "*ten* months after the two adepts *Ajax* and *Tiberius*." In place of *ten* we should read *twenty-two* months, as I meant to speak of his installation among the Arcopagites, which only took place on the 22d of Feb. 1778. *(Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. IV.)*; but he had been received into the Order on the 29th May, 1776, as may be seen by the tablets of *Ajax*. Beside, these tablets, and the list just mentioned, do not perfectly coincide. The reason of this difference will be explained when treating of the first adepts.

" is for that reaſon that you muſt in future correſpond " with him. It is in this Lodge that all is regulated with " regard to the general direction of the order; but then " every thing is to be ſubmitted to me for approbation.

" The ſecond college (or Lodge) ſhall conſiſt of the " above-named brethren, of Berger, under the name of " *Cornelius Scipio*, and of a certain Troponero, whom we " have ſurnamed *Coriolanus*, a moſt excellent man for us, " about forty years of age, and who has been for a long " time concerned in the Hamburgh trade: He is an able " financier, and at this very time reads public lectures on " finance at Munich.

To theſe will ſoon be added Baader and Werſtenrie- " der, both profeſſors in the ſame town. This Lodge is " to attend to all local concerns, that is, to all that may " be of ſervice or diſſervice to us at Munich. *Claudius*, " one of *Cato's* couſins, and the young Sauer, an appren- " tice to a merchant, are in the Noviciate. Beieramer, " ſurnamed *Zoroaſter*, who was initiated a few days ago, " is going to try his luck at Landſhut, whither we ſend " him to ſee how it will be received there. Michel, un- " der the name of *Timon*, and Hohenaicher ſet off to the " attack of Freiſinguen.

" You are but little acquainted with the people of Aich- " ſtadt. It is enough to ſay, that (counſellor) Lang, ſur- " named *Tamèrlane*, is Director there. His zeal has al- " ready gained over to us *Odin*, *Taſſo*, *Oſiris*, *Lucullus*, " *Seſoſtris*, and *Moſes*. *This is going on pretty well, I* " *think*. I forgot to ſay, that we have our printer at Mu- " nich. We are now making a new edition, and at our " own expenſe, of *Alphonſus de Vargas* on the *ſtrata-* " *gems* and *ſophiſms* of the Jeſuits.* You ſhall ſoon re-

* This ſuppoſed *Alphonſus de Vargas*, whoſe calumnies againſt the Jeſuiſts Weiſhaupt renews with ſo much eagerneſs, is no other than *Gaſpar Sciopius*, far better known for the groſsneſs and virulence of his tedious diſcourſes againſt thoſe who dared differ from him in opinion, than by his erudition. He was particularly abuſive againſt *Scaliger* and *James* I. King of England; the latter had him anſwered in Spain by a ſevere baſtinado. This was alſo the man who revenged himſelf in ſo virulent a manner on *Caſaubon* and *Du Pleſſis Mornai*, his beſt friends, but who had contradicted him on a point of literature; in ſhort, the man who has been alternately called the *Attila*, the *Cerberus*, and even the *public executioner* of literature. See *Moreri*'s and *Feller*'s *Dictionaries*.

" ceive a copy of it. If you will send your contribution " in money to *Cato*, as you promised, I shall be obliged to " you. He will send you a receipt for it.

" If, through your zeal, and by your means, we could " obtain a footing in Suabia, it would be a great step " gained for us. Let me then beseech you to set to work. " —In FIVE YEARS *you will be astonished to see what a* " *progress we shall have made. Cato* is really *incompar-* " *able.* The greatest difficulties are over. *You will now* " *see us advancing with gigantic strides.* Do set to work " then. *It would be in vain for you to expect a better oc-* " *casion for acquiring power.* You are endowed with all " the necessary talents for such an undertaking; and to ne- " glect building in the Elysian Fields when the occasion " offers is to be doubly criminal. There are a vast num- " ber at Aichstadt; and could not your natal soil rival an " Aichstadt. With respect to myself, the services I can " render here can be but of little avail. Answer me soon; " make an extract of this letter as usual, and then send it " back to me, &c."

The grand object of such intimations on the progress of Illuminism was not so much to satisfy the curiosity of the adept, as to stimulate his zeal by the example of *Cato* and *Tamerlane*, those active recruiters for the Sect, the former at Munich, the latter at Aichstadt. Though he owned that *Tiberius* had not been altogether unserviceable to him, nevertheless Weishaupt did not think that he had made a sufficient return for the honor conferred on him in being nominated at once second Areopagite and second Apostle of the Order: It was with much concern (to make use of Weishaupt's expression) that he saw this apostle had neither *son nor nephew* in the order, that is to say, that he had not founded a Lodge nor recruited a single novice.* Wholly absorbed in his pleasures, Weishaupt had hitherto made but fruitless attempts to stimulate his zeal, nor had he succeeded better through Cato's means; but this news had the desired effect. These intimations on the progress of Illuminism finished by requesting *Tiberius* to seek out a proper person to be sent to found new colonies in Suabia. This fired the sluggard apostle with emulation: *Tiberius* undertook the task himself; and in a short time we find him represented in the

* Letter 3, to Cato.

annals of the Sect as at the head of a new colony at Ravensburg in Swabia, and as fulfilling perfectly the functions of his apostleship.*

But this zeal of *Tiberius*, as well as that of *Ajax*, was but of an intermittent nature. The latter had robbed the funds of the Order; and Weishaupt, speaking of him, complains that *he had done him more mischief both in men and money than three years could recruit again.*† As to *Tiberius*, he had so thoroughly imbibed the iniquitous doctrines which he was to infuse into the young adepts, and the scandalous publicity of his character militated so much against that hypocrisy which Weishaupt judged necessary for the propagation of his Illuminism, that we shall see him hereafter expelled the Order. Notwithstanding the seeming impropriety of such a choice for the two senior apostles, it was to them nevertheless that the Sect was indebted for the two colonies of Munich *Athens*, and of Ravensburg *Sparta*. As to Aichstadt *Erzerum*, Weishaupt himself was the founder. He profited of the first vacation he had from the schools to make an excursion to that town, and there employed all that time which the generality of professors dedicate to the recruiting of their health, after the labors of the past year, in the propagation of his doctrines. An assiduous scrutator, he sought among all ranks of citizens and of all ages those he could hope to captivate. The first person on whom he cast his eyes, was one of the principal magistrates, of the name of Lang. But a few days sufficed for this conquest, and this is the *Tamerlane* whose successes are so much extolled in the above-mentioned letter to *Tiberius*. He next began to exercise his talents as Insinuator with all the artifice and according to the laws laid down in the code, on men who bearing a certain character, and habitually residing among their fellow-citizens, could the more effectually influence the public opinion. He made an attempt to seduce the Chapter of that town, for it was from thence that he writes, "I even think that I shall be able to recruit two others, "and what is more two *Canons*. Can I but execute my "designs on the Chapter, then we shall have made a great "step."‡

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. to *Cato*, 25th Aug. and 2d Sept. 1778. † Original Writings, Let. 3, to *Cato*.
‡ Let. 3, to *Ajax*.

It does not appear that he ſucceeded with his two canons; but we ſee him on the other hand making numerous conqueſts. He begins by a certain Schleich, with whom he is much delighted, and who on his firſt admiſſion preſented the Order with whatever books Weiſhaupt choſe to ſelect from his library. Then comes a man ſurnamed *Lucullus*, who, while only in his noviciate, begins by Weiſhaupt's expreſs command to act the part of Inſinuator to the Baron Eckert, who was ſuppoſed to be a *great prize*. In ſhort there was a number of young men whom Weiſhaupt perſuaded to come and finiſh their educations at his univerſity, that he might be able to complete their initiation. Such was the ſucceſs he met with during the few months he remained at Aichſtadt; and he was ſo overjoyed with it, that he writes to *Ajax*-Maſſenhauſen, "I have moſt certainly done more during this "vacation than all of you have done together*." Though obliged to return to his public functions of teacher at the univerſity of Ingolſtadt, he left this new Lodge in poſſeſſion of ſuch a fund of illuminized inſtruction, that Aichſtadt was ſoon looked up to as the model of Lodges; and the predeliction which Weiſhaupt ever after retained for it is obſervable. He often propoſes it as an example to thoſe adepts who became lukewarm in the ſervice of the Sect. It was alſo the Lodge which he had the moſt groſsly impoſed upon as to the origin of the Sect, and which he moſt ridicules in his confidential letters to *Cato*-Zwack, when he ſays, "The greateſt of our myſteries muſt be the "novelty of the Order. The fewer perſons there are in "the ſecret, the better we ſhall thrive; at preſent you, and "Merz are the only two that know the ſecret, nor do I "mean to tell it to any one elſe for a long time to come. "*As to our fellows at Aichſtadt, there is not one of them* "*that knows it, nor is there one who would not ſwear on* "*his life and death that the Order is older than Methn-*"*ſalem*†."

On his return to Ingolſtadt, Weiſhaupt applied himſelf to the means of combining his functions of Doctor of Laws with thoſe of Founder of a Secret Society, whoſe future purpoſe was the total ſubverſion of every law. He fulfilled the former part of his duty with ſuch aſſiduity,

* To *Ajax*, Let. 4.
† Orig. Writ. Let. 2, to *Philip-Strozzi* or *Cato*-Zwack.

and with such an appearance of candor, that he was chosen Superior of the university. This new dignity only added to his hypocrisy. The same year, so far was he from losing sight of his tenebrous plots, that he formed a secret school, wherein he amply counter-balanced the lessons he was obliged to give in public; and by means of this new species of scholars he stored up abundant means for the propagation of his Illuminism. At once Superior and Professor of the university, he made use of this double title to inspire the parents of his scholars with new confidence. He converted his house into one of those boarding-houses where young men, perpetually under the eyes of their masters, are supposed to be better preserved from the dangers which threaten them at that age. Several letters demonstrate the intention of this monstrous pedagogue to offer his house and table to the young students of the university as a means of attaining his baleful ends. He solicited fathers and mothers to entrust their children to his care; and overjoyed at having obtained so precious a deposit, he exultingly writes to his adepts, "that the young Baron of Schroeckenberg, and the young "Hoheneicher, are to be boarded with him." He then adds, "*And these gentlemen also must swallow the bait that is thrown to them.*" When he had observed the great facility that this secret school gave him of seducing his disciples, he writes, "Next year also I will take boarders at my house, *always with a view to forward the "grand object.*"* Should it come to pass that he could not persuade the parents to intrust any of his young auditors to his care, especially when he had cast his views on them, he then had houses near him and in his interest, to which he would entice the young pupils, lest he should lose sight of them. It is on a similar occasion that he writes to *Ajax*, "I see no other lodging for you in our neighborhood but at my mother's. I should be excessively "happy if that would do for you; and more particularly "so, as she would make no difficulty in allowing you the "key of the house-door. I do not wish to force you to "go there if you can find a better; but *the great advantage of this would be, that I should always have a pretence for going to your chamber; and there we could*

* Orig. Writ. Vol. 1. Let. 1, to *Ajax*, Let. 20, to *Cato*.

" *more eaſily than at my houſe diſcourſe together without* " *any one's knowing a word of the matter. Our union* " *would be more ſecret.*"*

Let not the reader be ſurprized at ſeeing me deſcend to all theſe particulars. I am deſcribing the infant ſtate of a Sect, and the founder forming his firſt diſciples. Such means might be deſpiſed by ſome; but this was not the caſe with our prototype of rebellion; he ſcarcely appears to venture beyond the porch of his own habitation. Let the wolf alone; in the thickets of the foreſt ſhe ſuckles her young; they grow in ſtrength, and we ſoon behold them carrying the palpitating remnants of flocks to gorge the ravenous maw of her who taught them to devour. Scarcely had Weiſhaupt dedicated his ſecret ſchool for the ſpace of two years to his Illuminiſm, when his adepts, worthy of ſuch diſaſtrous plans, ſallied forth to ſpread the baneful poiſons. Let the reader judge of the importance of his means by the ſucceſſes attending on them; let him reflect on them while Weiſhaupt ſhall be his own hiſtorian in the following letter:

" In future," ſays he to his two famous Areopagites *Cato* and *Marius*, " you will aſſume a different tone with " *Timon* and Hoheneicher, as I have let them into the " whole ſecret; I have even diſcloſed myſelf to them as " founder of our Order; and I have done it for many rea- " ſons.

" Firſt, Becauſe *they are to be themſelves founders of* " *a new colony at Freyſinguen, their native country*, and " on that account ſtand in need of more particular inſtruc- " tions as to the whole tendency of the Order, which " were much too long to have been given by letter. I " profit of every inſtant while they remain with me to " prepare them for every thing.

" Secondly, Becauſe they muſt in the mean time inſi- " nuate the Baron D'E . . . and *ſome other ſtudents.*

" Thirdly, Becauſe H——" (this H—— is evidently the above-mentioned Hoheneicher, the very perſon of whom Weiſhaupt ſays, when enticing him to board with him, *He ſhall ſwallow the bait*) " is too well acquaint- " ed with my ſtyle of writing and of thinking, not to have " ſoon found out that the whole was of my own inven- " tion.

* Orig. Writ. Let. 5, to *Ajax*.

" Fourthly, *Becauſe of all my boarders of laſt year he* " *was the* ONLY ONE *who had not been made acquainted* " *with the whole buſineſs.*

" Fifthly, Becauſe he has offered to contribute to our " ſecret library at Munich, and *will furniſh us with ſeve-* " *ral important articles belonging to the chapter of Frey-* " *ſinguen.*

" And, Laſtly, Becauſe after three months more in- " ſtruction, which I have to give them, they will both be " enabled to render us the moſt important ſervices."*

From this letter we may evidently infer, firſt, that of all the young men who boarded with Weiſhaupt during the firſt year of his conſpiracy not a ſingle one eſcaped his dark deſigns: Secondly, that they were not only initiated in the myſteries, but even in the moſt profound myſteries, that, for inſtance, in which he reveals himſelf to be the founder of his Illuminiſm, which is pointed out in the Code as the laſt ſecret, and only to be imparted to the moſt conſummate adepts.† Thirdly, that before he had initiated his boarders into all his ſecrets, he uſed them as tools for the ſeduction of other ſtudents of the univerſity, whom he had not been able to entice to his table.—Fourthly, that at the very period when Weiſhaupt reſtores his pupils to their parents, their ſeduction is complete; and that when theſe young men quit the univerſity, as having accompliſhed the ſtudy of the laws of their country, they depart for their natal ſoil imbued with the principles and initiated in all the means by which they are to overturn thoſe very laws which they are ſuppoſed to have been ſtudying, and annihilate all religion, ſociety, and property.—Fifthly, the reader is not to forget the *important articles* which the young Hohencicher promiſes to ſteal from the library of the Chapter of Freyſinguen, and with which he is to enrich the ſecret library of the Sect. Such an action could only be a conſequence of Weiſhaupt's grand principle of morality, that *a uſeful theft could not be criminal*, or that thoſe ſame means which the wicked employ for an evil end are juſtifiable when employed for the attainment of a good end. It is the ſame principle which begins by plundering the libraries of the clergy, as the firſt

* Original Writings, Vol. 1. Let. 12, to *Cato* and *Marius*.
† See the Code, Vol. 3. Chap 12. on the Grand Myſteries, Page 288.

ſtep towards the plundering of their eſtates; which ſoon, under the pretence of general utility and neceſſity for the ſupport of the premeditated revolution, will invade the property of the Nobles and of the Rich, of the Merchant, the Huſbandman, and the Mechanic, pillaging all, and blaſting the moſt diſtant hope they may have conceived of preſerving the ſmalleſt remnant of their ſhattered fortune from the general wreck. When the hiſtorian ſhall come to treat of theſe great revolutionary ſpoliations, reverting to the prime ſource, he will find himſelf in the midſt of a Sect calling itſelf Illuminees, a ſchool of methodized robbers thieving by principle, whence Weiſhaupt ſends his apoſtles of depredation, and brigand adepts. Soon we ſhall behold them boaſting of other ſpoliations. The leſſons of the ſecret cavern ſhall ſpread around, and the adept, annihilating all property as well as blaſpheming all government and all religion, ſhall do homage to their maſter preſiding over his ſecret ſchool.

The two new adepts, formed with ſo much care to the arts of ſeduction, at length received their miſſion, and the town of Freyſinguen, under the appellation of *Thebes*, becomes the fourth colony. About the ſame time the adepts of the two Lodges at Munich ſhowed ſo much zeal for the propagation of the myſteries, that Weiſhaupt after having calculated on their and his own ſucceſs, did not heſitate at writing to them, "If you do but continue with "the ſame zeal, we ſhall in a little time be maſters of our "whole country*;" that is to ſay, of all Bavaria.

The reader muſt not, however, think that his views were circumſcribed to this Electorate; he ſoon writes to his Areopagites, deſiring them to make choice, from among the foreigners who were then at Munich, of perſons who might be inſtructed, initiated, and ſent to found new colonies *at Augſbourg, Ratiſbon, Saltzbourg, Landſhut, and in different parts of Franconia.*† At the time he wrote theſe inſtructions he had already ſent his miſſionaries to the *Tyrol* and into *Italy.*‡ The part, or rather the multiplicity of parts, which he acted at Ingolſtadt to enſure the ſucceſs of his undertaking are as inconceivable

* Orig. Writ. Vol. 1. Let. 26, 14th of November, 1778. *Wenn ſie ſo fortfahren, wie ſeit einiger zeit ſo gehört in kurzer zeit unſer vaterland uns.*

† Ibid. Let. 39. ‡ Ibid. Let. 36.

as they were real. He gives us a small sketch of his activity when he writes to Cato, proposing himself as a model: "Do as I do, avoid large companies. But do not think "of remaining idle if you wish to acquire any influence "in this world. Wait a while; the hour is coming, and "it will come soon, when you will have a great deal to do. "Remember Sejanus, who so well assumed the character "of an idle man, and who transacted so much business "without appearing to transact any; *erat autem Sejanus "otioso simillimus, nihil agendo multa agens;*"* never had a conspirator better laid down the precept or given the example than Weishaupt.

Apparently tranquil at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had a far better cloak for his conspiracies than Sejanus's idleness. A seeming assiduity in his duty, a great show of zeal and erudition in his expounding of the laws, easily misled people to believe that his whole time and talents were engrossed with the study of them; and, if we are to credit his own account, Ingolstadt had never witnessed a professor so well calculated to add new lustre to its university. The public functions of professor of the laws, and the secret arts of seducer in private, had not made him forget that he was also the founder of Illuminism, and that in this latter quality he had to form a code of laws, which were at once to annihilate every other law, all religion, and all property. At the time when he initiated his first adepts, he was far from having perfected that code of iniquity; and perhaps in the strict sense of the word Weishaupt had deviated from the common rules of prudence, in giving way to such ardor for the propagation of the Order, sending his apostles and initiating his disciples before he had completed the code of laws which was to regulate their conduct. But such an impetuosity cannot be considered in this prototype of rebellion as a want of foresight, or as an excess of confidence. He knew that years and experience were necessary to perfect that gradual system of initiations and of trials which his Novices were to undergo; and artfully to prepare those impious and sophisticated discourses to be pronounced by his Hierophants; in a word, to complete that concatenation of artifice which was to regulate the conduct of his Regents, Directors, and Areopagites. He could not endure the idea of sacrificing

* Let. 1, to Cato.

ſo many years to mere theoretic projects. He would, in his firſt eſſays, make conqueſts that were to enſure him ſtill greater ones on a future day, which he had already calculated. He knew his own talents too well to entertain the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs; he foreſaw how far he could perfect thoſe ſyſtems which he had as yet only conceived, and he wiſhed to have ready at hand a numerous clan of diſciples diſpoſed to receive his new goſpel, and apoſtles who ſhould need only to be initiated in his laſt myſteries, when his code, completed, was to be ſent to the tenebrous receſſes of his different colonies.

Such were his views, and ſuch the confidence he had in the tranſcendency of his own genius for wickedneſs, when he wrote at different times to his firſt adepts, "Do not "trouble yourſelf about future degrees. The day will "come when you ſhall view with aſtoniſhment what I "have done on that ſcore. In the mean time, *be it your* "*care to enliſt men for me, prepare knights for me, inſtruct* "*them, diſpoſe them, amuſe them, and leave the reſt to me.* "The whole of your buſineſs conſiſts in adding to the "numbers. Allow yourſelves to be directed, and obey "for a year or two longer, *and give me time to lay my* "*foundations, for that is the eſſential point; and nobody* "*underſtands that part better than I do.* If theſe foun- "dations are once laid, you may then do what you pleaſe; "*and though you were to try, I would defy you to over-* "*throw my edifice.*"*

This deſperate method of proceeding muſt have given riſe to many difficulties; but Weiſhaupt overcame them all. By proviſional regulations and private inſtructions he ſupplied the deficiency of this incomplete code, and he was equal to the taſk. The greateſt obſtacles he met with came from theſe very Areopagites from whom he had expected the greateſt ſupport. Villains will diſagree even in their villainy; and, impatient of the laws of the ſtate, they become impatient of the laws of their own leaders. Weiſhaupt wiſhed to take advantage of their views, but had no intention of imparting his to them; he knew his own ſuperiority in the black arts too well, he wiſhed for agents and not counſellors and co-legiſlators. Jealouſies and inteſtine broils roſe to ſuch a height, that any other

* Extracts from Let. 8, to *Ajax*, from Letters to *Cato*, and to the Areopagites particularly from Let. 59, Vol. 1.

but Weiſhaupt would have thought that his infant aſſociation muſt have been cruſhed in its very cradle; but he found means of weathering the ſtorm; now negociating, then deſpotically commanding; ſuppliant like, he enters into agreements, and ends by dictating conditions; prayers, excuſes, all are means with him to command ſubmiſſion; he even ſhowed himſelf diſpoſed to ſacrifice all the fruits of his paſt labors; he threatened to abandon his rebellious brethren to themſelves, and to undertake the direction of a new ſociety more powerful and ſtronger ſtill, in as much as he would render it more ſubmiſſive.* In the midſt of all theſe broils, he alone continued and perfected that code which would have required the talents of twenty Machiavels. Storms indeed appeared only to ſtimulate his ardor and activity; and he ſays himſelf, when writing to his dear *Cato*, "I am once more at open war "with all our people; *that does no harm, it enlivens the* "*machine*; but if I underſtand the part I have to act, I "can neither praiſe nor wink at faults committed. Mean "while our affairs go on very well; and provided they "follow my directions the general ſyſtem will have loſt "nothing."† *Night and day*, in the midſt of theſe broils, as he ſays, *meditating*, *writing*, and *combining*, all that could perfect, ſtrengthen, or propagate his Illuminiſm either in the whole or part, he nevertheleſs held his profeſſorſhip with applauſe, he overlooked his ſecret ſchool, he formed new adepts, and from his ſanctuary watched and overlooked his miſſionaries in their provinces and new colonies. By means of the *Quibus Licet's* he would deſcend into the minuteſt particulars of their conduct, direct them in their undertakings, point out to them what might be done, and reprimand them for what they had not done to promote his views. Voltaire's correſpondence under this head is immenſe; but it is not to be compared to Weiſhaupt's; not a letter of all thoſe ſeized by the arm of the law but bears the ſtamp of the conſummate conſpirator; not a letter that does not allude to the myſteries or to ſome new artifice; that does not point out the candidates to be enticed, the adepts to be advanced, animated, repreſſed, or reprimanded; in ſhort, the enemies who are to be guarded againſt and the protectors to be courted. His apoſtles

* Vol. 1, Let. 25, 27, 60; Vol. 2, Let. 11, 19, 21, &c. &c.
† Vol. 2, Let. 19.

are on the ſpot in their different miſſions, while he, from his head-quarters, appears to be better acquainted with thoſe who ſurrounded them than they are themſelves. He goes ſo far as to inform them of the rank, political or civil ſtation, and even of the private characters of thoſe whom they are to recruit; he gives them the means, mentions the perſons who are to ſecond them, and what companies they ought to frequent, in order to ſucceed in their undertakings; in fine, he animates, threatens, and reprimands his adepts, juſt as if they were ſtill boarding with him, though perhaps at many hundred miles diſtance.—Scarcely have they made any new conqueſt when he directs them in the ſame manner, and at once governs the main ſpring and every ſubſervient power throughout the whole Order. His correſpondence will ſhow him on the ſame day writing of the laws neceſſary for the further eſtabliſhment of his Order, of treaties to be made, of plans of commerce, and of the moſt impious commerce, to enrich his Illuminiſm. At length, with all the hypocriſy of a man who aſſumes the character of an idler, or at leaſt of one only fulfilling that which his public duty exacts from him, he aims at the ſupremacy over every conſpiring Sect. He gets himſelf received a Free-maſon, he dives into the ſecrets of the occult lodges of the Roſicrucians, and blends their conſpiring arts with his own.* He next forms an alliance, and from the bottom of Bavaria correſponds with thoſe federations which the free-maſons of Poland were preparing; and leſt any of theſe revolutionary arts ſhould be loſt, he makes large collections, which might be called the grand arſenal for the ſeduction of nations; and theſe are to become the foundations of ſecret libraries for the uſe of the adepts. He never loſes ſight of thoſe profits which accrue from the ſecret preſſes, which were perpetually diſgorging poiſon into the minds of the people.—For the further repleniſhment of his coffers, he ſets all the talents of his adepts to work; ſome are to contribute pamphlets, proſe or verſe, or journals, while others are to collect all the impious doctrines and calumnies of antiquity, or to compoſe libels on ſubjects which he gives them; and, for his own part, he undertakes to burleſque the Prophets and the Lamentations, and to convert the hiſtory of the church into a romance replete with calum-

* Let. 6, to *Ajax*, and Let. 36, to *Cato*.

ny.* The ſacred writings mention a Devil that was named *Legion*, from the innumerable evils he brought upon mankind; were we to conſider the fatal activity of Weiſhaupt in every impious and rebellious art, we ſhould be tempted to believe that he had been poſſeſſed by this evil ſpirit, and that it was to that devil he owed all his ſucceſs.

As yet the very exiſtence of the Order had not been ſuſpected at Ingolſtadt, though there were already in Bavaria alone, five Lodges at Munich; other Lodges and Colonies at Freyſinguen, at Lanſberg, at Burghauſen, and at Straubing. Weiſhaupt was on the eve of founding others at Ratiſbon and Vienna; many had been eſtabliſhed in Suabia, Franconia, and Tyrol. His apoſtles were working at the ſame time in Holland and at Milan. His Illuminiſm had not been founded three years, when he writes to *Cato* that he has more than *a thouſand adepts*.† He was much indebted to his own zeal and activity for ſuch a rapid progreſs. I cannot flatter the hiſtorian with the hopes of an accurate account of the whole Legion; but I can ſatisfy his curioſity, I think, with reſpect to thoſe who the moſt actively ſeconded Weiſhaupt, and who after their founder appear the moſt conſpicuous on the records of the Sect.

* Vol. 1, Let. 6, to *Ajax*, to *Cato*, 36, &c. To *Philip-Strozzi*, Let. 2, & paſſim, Vol. 2, Let. 22, et paſſim.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. 1, ſee Let. 25, to *Cato*, 13th Abenmeh, 1148, that is to ſay, 13th Nov. 1778.

CHAP. II.

Of the principal Adepts during the first Epoch of Illuminism.

Cato-Xaverius Zwack.

OF this legion of Conspirators, which, as early as the third year of Illuminism, Weishaupt computes at more than *a thousand*,* XAVERIUS ZWACK is certainly the most conspicuous among the adepts. He is stiled the *incomparable*; and the greater part of the letters printed in the *Original Writings* are written to him, particularly those which comprehend the clearest account of the mysteries; in short, his favor was such, that the founder of the Sect apostrophises him saying, "Now you are in a "post where nobody can be above you but yourself; you "are exalted above all the Brethren; an immense field "opens itself for you to exert your power and your influ- "ence, should we succeed in propagating our systems."† Such a distinction and such favor naturally suppose great merit. Happily, an incontrovertible monument exists which will direct the Historian in his judgment, and render unnecessary any further research. It is to be found at the end of the first Volume of the Original Writings, under the title of *Tablets relating to Danaus, written by Ajax, 31st December*, 1776. *Danaus* is the first characteristic name that was given to Zwack when only a candidate. The fact is evident, as in the first column of the Tablets we find the brother *Danaus* described by his own name: *Ajax*, that is, Massenhausen, acts the part of Scrutator. —Should this statement not be very flattering, we may at least conclude that the failings and vices of the adept are not exaggerated, since the Scrutator declares, that it is by the extreme intimacy and friendship in which he lived with the Candidate that he has been enabled to make this conquest, and terminates the tablet by stating the Candidate to be one of those Sages who has all the necessary qualifications to be admitted into the Order.—

* Original Writings, Let. 25, to *Cato*.
† Ibid. Vol. 1, Let. 27.

Theſe tablets are alſo a laſting monument of the rapid progreſs Weiſhaupt had made, even in thoſe early days of Illuminiſm, in the ſcrutinizing arts; nor will they prove an unfaithful ſtandard by which the Hiſtorian may judge of the merits of thoſe conſpirators, whom the founder ſelects as worthy of his moſt intimate correſpondence. Let us begin by ſuppreſſing that diſguſt which naturally drives the honeſt heart from dwelling on ſuch deſpicable engines of rebellion, remarkable only for their vices, and proceed from theſe tablets to depict the features which are in future to ſtand as the model for all thoſe who are to recruit Candidates for the Sect. Let nations and the people at large learn what a miſerable banditti of thieves and libertines pretend to regenerate them, and how baſely they are duped by them who ſtirred up the Revolution.

Deſcribed in the tablets of his Inſinuator.

The Tablets, whence Weiſhaupt is to learn the merits and demerits of the future *Cato* of his Order, are divided into ſeventeen columns, each relating to a different head. The name, the age, the civil dignity, the deſcription of his perſon, the civil and moral character of the candidate, are all treated of ſeparately. Then follow the ſtudies he is addicted to, the ſervices the Order may expect from him, the progreſs he has made, the degrees conferred on him, the ſecret manuſcripts or books left to him, the contributions he has paid; his friends, his protectors, his enemies, and the perſons with whom he correſponds, are each ſeparately treated of.

Under theſe columns is to be found a ſecond table alſo ſubdivided, and containing obſervations on the family, and particularly of the father and mother of the candidate, made by the ſame Scrutator. Combining theſe two tables we find, " That Francis Xaverius Zwack was ſon " of Philip Zwack, commiſſary of the *Chamber des Comp-* " *tes*, and was born at Ratiſbon: That at the time of his " initiation (29th May, 1776) he was twenty years of " age, and had finiſhed his college education."

I. Column.

" *The deſcription of his perſon.* He was then about " five feet high. *His perſon emaciated by debauchery*; his " conſtitution bordering on melancholy;* his eyes of a " dirty grey, *weak and languiſhing*;—*his complexion pale*

II. Column.

* Der ganze bau ſeines durch debauche mager gewordenen körper incliniert nun zum melancoliſchen temperament.

" *and fallow*;—his health weak, and much hurt by fre-
" quent diſorders;—his noſe long, crooked, and hooked.
" —Hair light brown;—gait precipitate;—*his eyes al-*
" *ways caſt towards the ground*;—under the noſe and on
" each ſide of the mouth a mole.

III. Column. " *The moral character, religion, conſcience.* His heart
" tender, and moſt extraordinarily philanthropic, but ſtoic
" when in a melancholy mood; otherwiſe a true friend;
" circumſpect, reſerved, *extremely ſecret*,—often ſpeaking
" advantageouſly of himſelf,—envious of other people's
" perfections—*voluptuous*, endeavoring to improve him-
" ſelf—little calculated for numerous aſſemblies—*choleric*
" *and violent*, but eaſily appeaſed—willingly giving his
" private opinions, *when one has the precaution to praiſe*
" *him, though contradicting him*—a lover of novelties—
" *on religion and conſcience widely differing from the re-*
" *ceived ideas; and thinking preciſely as he ought, to be-*
" *come a good member of the Order.*

IV. Column. " *His favorite ſtudies, and the ſervices he can render*
" *to the Order.* Moſt particularly addicted to philoſophy
" —having ſome knowledge of the laws—ſpeaking French
" and Italian very correctly—at preſent attempting to get
" himſelf placed in the foreign department—*a perfect*
" *maſter in the arts of diſſimulation; a proper perſon to*
" *be received into the Order*, as applying himſelf particu-
" larly to the ſtudy of the human heart."

V. Column. *Friends, correſpondence, company.*—Here the Inſinua-
tor names five or ſix perſons, friends to the candidate.—
Among them we find a certain *Sauer* and a *Berger*, both
of whom ſoon after appear on the regiſters of the Sect.

VI. VII. VIII. Columns. Theſe three columns contain the name of *Ajax* as In-
ſinuator—The day when the candidate was inſinuated—
and when received.

IX. Column. " *Of the means of gaining and leading the Candidate,*
" *and whether he is acquainted with any other ſecret ſo-*
" *cieties.*—Here it appears that Zwack was already con-
" nected with other ſecret ſocieties, which made the con-
" queſt rather more difficult.—*The intimacy of our friend-*
" *ſhip*, (ſays the Inſinuator) and particularly the care which
" I took to aſſume a myſterious tone and appearance, lev-
" elled many difficulties.—At preſent he expreſſes a great
" ardor and zeal for the Order.

X. Column. " *Predominant paſſions—Pride, love of glory, probity,*
" *eaſily provoked*—an extraordinary propenſity for mys-

" teries—*a perpetual cuſtom of ſpeaking of himſelf, and* " *of his own perfections.*"

In the eleventh column we are informed, that the candidate had received a *penſum* to fill up, or a diſcourſe to make, and that it was to be finiſhed on the 29th April, 1778. XI. Column.

The twelfth mentions the fortune and revenue of the candidate; but the Editor has left the figures in blank. XII. Column.

The two next ſhow, that the day on which Zwack engaged to pay his contribution for 1777 was the 29th of May, but for 1778 was the 1ſt of April. That on the 19th July 1776, he ſent a Dutch Ducat, and ſome time after two books on Chymiſtry. XIII. XIV. Columns.

The column in which the Inſinuator notes the progreſs of his candidate ſhows, that the ſecret books which had been given him to read were thoſe numbered 1, 2, 4, and 9—the orders which he had received are only numbered, as alſo *the leave given to recruit other Brethren.* As this column is made uſe of to note the ſucceſſive progreſs of the candidate, the Brother Inſinuator at length arrives at that period when Zwack has received all the information neceſſary to his admiſſion into the Order. He then declares, that it is time to impart more eſſential ſecrets to him and to promote him to higher degrees. XV. Column.

The ſixteenth column enumerates his enemies, and the reaſon of their enmities. In the laſt we find the names of his friends and protectors. XVI. XVII. Columns.

I ſhould not have inſiſted ſo much on theſe Tablets, had I not thought it neceſſary to give one ſpecimen at leaſt of theſe inquiſitorial inſtruments, in which Illuminiſm grounds the choice of its adepts, and the future ſucceſs of its conſpiracies.*

* Many readers may be curious to know what is contained in the ſecond table, ſubjoined to that which deſcribes the candidate. It is in ten columns, comprehending the names and rank of Zwack's relations, an account of their children, their fortune, their alliances, friends, and enemies; the company they keep, particularly the education they have received, and their moral character, which is called *their ſtrong or their weak ſide.* The Editor has thought proper to omit ſome articles in this table.—The two which appear to be the moſt perfect are on *the ſtrong and weak ſide* of Zwack's parents, who, according to the Inſinuator, have received an *antiquated education not worth much.* The father is deſcribed as " jealous of his honor, " honeſt, zealous in the diſcharge of his duty—apparently

When we reflect on the leading features of these tablets, what idea are we to form of Zwack's character? Inordinate debauchery, extreme fatuity, jealousy, dissimulation, and a sullen melancholy.—Such features are more than sufficient to banish him from all good company.—He also thinks on matters relating *to religion and conscience* as the adepts do; or, in other words, is a downright Atheist. With an insatiable thirst after *novelties*, he has all that admiration for secrecy which the revolutionist can desire. He, moreover, professes universal philanthropy for all mankind, that he may the better succeed in his plots against every social law; and this could suffice to obliterate all other failings in Xaverius Zwack, and constitute him the favorite adept.

Meanwhile the lessons of the Insinuator, together with that black melancholy which reigned in his heart, had nearly deprived Illuminism of the important assistance of this beloved adept. To despise death was one of the important lessons that we have seen given to the novices; and to die by their own hands rather than disclose the secrets of their teachers, was particularly instilled into them. Weishaupt had conceived this maxim in two words, *Patet Exitus* (the exit is free) *or destroy himself who will*, particularly if he finds himself unhappy in this life. It is a part of that convenient maxim afterwards decreed by the Jacobins, *That death was only an eternal sleep.* Full of this principle, and weary of his existence, our new candidate had persuaded himself, that should he die by his own hand he would die the death of a sage. He composed his work, entitled, *Thoughts on Suicide.* They are the

" harsh to his inferiors, but really loving them to excess—
" speaking to every body with a tone of authority and in a pe-
" dantic style—In his habits and speech impolitickly frank—se-
" cret, and sparing even to the want of necessaries when he can
" serve his Prince, zealously serving him without distinction of
" persons, to the risk even of losing all his employments—
" feeling, humane, mysterious, officious, and proud of his ex-
" perience—carefully attentive to the whole of his affairs."

As to the mother, " *she is a good housekeeper—absorbed in her* " *dear child Xaverius Zwack*, and so forth."——Many other things have been suppressed in this latter table. But there still remains more than sufficient to give all relations of Illuminees an idea of the methods used by the scrutinizing Brethren to pry into their most secret conduct, and to describe their most private interests to the Order.

ſentiments of an Atheiſt worn out with debauchery, and almoſt mad with impiety.* He made his will, and wrote the following letter to Brother *Ajax*.

" Munich, the 30th Oct. 1777.—Friend, I am on my " departure. It is the beſt ſtep I can take, Fare thee well; " doubt not of my probity, and let it not be doubted of by " others. Confirm the Sages in the judgment they are " going to form on my death, and look on thoſe who blame " it with pity. Be thou an honeſt man; think ſometimes " on me, and do not let me be forgotten by the ſmall num- " ber of our friends. Beware of pitying me.

ZWACK."

In a poſtſcript he bequeaths a ring as a keepſake to Brother *Ajax*, and begs him to forward a ſecond letter to the whole brotherhood of Illuminiſm; it is as follows:

" And you alſo, Brethren, I ſalute you for the laſt time; " I thank you for your good intentions towards me. I de- " clare to you, that I was worthy of them—I declare it " upon my honor, which is my only worth, *and which* " *alone I held ſacred*. Let my aſhes be honored by your " remembrance; *bleſs them, while ſuperſtition ſhall curſe* " *me*. Enlighten yourſelves mutually, labor to render " mankind happy, eſteem virtue and reward it; puniſh " crime, and behold with pity the failings of human na- " ture. On the brink of his grave, deſcending into it de- " liberately, and making choice of death through *convic-* " *tion*, through *demonſtration*, chooſing it *for his happi-* " *neſs*; it is thus that he makes his adieu, who ever re- " mains your friend and Brother,†

ZWACK."

Illuminiſm muſt have loſt its favorite adept, had he proved as conſtant in his reſolution as he was ſerious when he took it. No reaſon is given why he condeſcend- ed to live; but in like manner as Weiſhaupt has found a protector in the perſon of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, ſo has he been created a Privy Counſellor to the Prince of Salm-Kirbourg, and is his ordinary agent at the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar. At this preſent moment he is de- puty for the Houſe of Salm-Kirbourg at Raſtadt, at the General Congreſs of the Germanic Empire, treating of peace with the triumphant Illuminees of the French Re- public. He is accompanied by a Sieur Ambmann, a citizen

* See Original Writings, Vol. 1. Sect. 20. † Ibid.

of Darmſtadt, and an Illuminee like himſelf. Hiſtory, I ſuppoſe, will at ſome future time explain how he contrived to combine the intereſts of the Sect with thoſe of the Powers which he had ſworn to annihilate. But let us return to Zwack at a time when he little expected to be carried by the Brethren to that exalted ſtation where he was to decide on the fate of Sovereigns.

His *Thoughts on Suicide*, however, were not loſt on his ſiſter-in-law, for ſhe really ſought death, and, throwing herſelf from the top of a tower, daſhed her brains out.* But he, who had choſen to live, took umbrage at the great length of his noviciate, and at the many trials *Ajax* made him undergo. He writes directly to Weiſhaupt, who, taking him under his direction, begins by telling him that *Ajax* had impoſed upon him by not forwarding the letter he had written to the brethren; *but ſince he has impoſed upon you*, ſays the inſtructor, *trick him in your turn*; and the following was the method adopted on Weiſhaupt's propoſal. Zwack is eſtabliſhed Inſpector over his own Inſinuator;† and he then gave the moſt evident proofs that his character had been well drawn, when it was ſaid that *he was a perfect maſter of the arts of diſſimulation*; for although he now became the confident and boſom friend of *Spartacus*, and was conſequently initiated in all the myſteries of the Sect, he nevertheleſs continued to act the part of a Novice with his Inſinuator. He was not only at that time a member of the College of Areopagites, but alſo the ſuperior of it, and in a perpetual and direct correſpondence with Weiſhaupt. He acted his part ſo well, that *Ajax*, ſtill conſidering him as his ſcholar, thought to do him a great favor in ſhowing him a few of Weiſhaupts's letters; but they had already paſſed through the ſcholars' hands, as did every writing coming from *Spartacus* to *Ajax*.

This part which Zwack acted, of inſpecting him who thought himſelf his inſpector, explains that apparent contradiction between the tablets written by *Ajax* and the liſt of the firſt adepts, which is to be ſeen in the Original Writings.‡ In the former *Ajax* looks upon Xaverius Zwack as a mere candidate till the 29th May, 1778, and in the latter he is ſtyled an Areopagite on the 22d Feb.

* Ibid in the Note.
† Let. 1, to Philip Strozzi. ‡ Vol. I. Sect. IV.

1778, under the characteriſtic of *Cato*; and a few months after he appears to be the next in command after the *Spartacus* of the Order.* Never was an Inſinuator better undermined by his novice.

The different names under which this adept appears in the Original Writings has been a matter of ſome difficulty to many readers; but on paying attention to that predilection, always increaſing, which Weiſhaupt had conceived for this adept, the difficulty vaniſhes. At firſt Zwack had received the inſignificant name of *Danaus*; but no ſooner was *Spartacus* made acquainted with his hatred for kings, than he ſurnames him *Philip Strozzi*, after that famous Florentine Conſpirator, who, having murthered Alexander de Medicis, was afterwards taken in open rebellion againſt his ſovereign, and plunged a dagger into his own breaſt, reciting that verſe dictated by all the fury of vengeance:

Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor.

The ſuicide, though it did not take place, was equally meritorious in Weiſhaupt's eyes; and hence Zwack is created the *Cato* of Illuminiſm. It is under that name that he becomes the principal agent and beloved diſciple of the founder at Munich; and their mutual ſympathy in wickedneſs has perpetuated their intimacy.

Though he had not all the genius of Weiſhaupt himſelf, he was as much prone to the commiſſion of crime.—Scarcely had he entered the Order when, for his firſt eſſay, he declares himſelf a downright Atheiſt;† he, at the ſame time, makes known his hatred for kings, and his admiration of the people in rebellion againſt their pretended tyrants.‡ We may obſerve ſome of the firſt adepts aſtoniſhed at the immenſity of the crimes and diſaſters which Weiſhaupt was preparing for the univerſe; and it requires ſome management to prepare them for ſuch horrid plots. But his *Cato* is always ready for every thing. The incomparable *Cato* was *arrived at the height of his mys-*

* Letter 27, to Philip Strozzi.

† See his Diſcourſe on Societies, Original Writings, Vol. I, Sect. XXII.

‡ See his Thoughts on Suicide.

teries, and Weiſhaupt had but to enroll his code of iniquity, for his ſcholar could only be ſurpaſſed by the criminality of invention.

This ſympathy for impiety and wickedneſs, however, could not ſuffice for Weiſhaupt's policy. His views required a ſenate of Conſpirators; but a ſenate of agents, and not of equals. The better to be obeyed by the Areopagites, he commands them to meet at a diſtance from him; for he well underſtood the nature of ſecret ſocieties, and knew that his orders would be the better obeyed the more he enveloped himſelf in myſtery, and hid himſelf from public view. If, in ſpite of his invisibility, jealouſy ſhould ariſe on the part of the Areopagites, he will have an agent at their head, that *Cato*, who holds the exalted ſtation of preſident from him, and is therefore moſt intereſted to ſupport the authority of the founder, his protector. And it is to preſerve this preſident in his intereſts that we ſee Weiſhaupt uſing every artifice, and even ſupplication; "*ſupport me then*," he ſays; "do diſpoſe things ſo, "and prepare their minds, that my diſpoſitions may be "received."*

Weiſhaupt had no reaſon to regret his choice; for during all thoſe inteſtine broils which aroſe between him and his Areopagites on account of his deſpotiſm, Zwack always took the part of his benefactor, was the pacificator, and, ſtimulating their zeal for his plots and conſpiracies, brought them back to that reſpect due to the *Spartacus* of the Order. It is to him alſo that Illuminiſm is indebted for the progreſs it made in Munich. *Cato* was ſo zealous a Recruiter, that Weiſhaupt was obliged ſeveral times to repreſs his ardor. He wanted his aſſiſtance for the digeſting of his code, and for the government of the Order. In ſhort, the reſult of their correſpondence proves, that no Areopagite either entered ſo completely into his views, or ſo juſtly deſerved his confidence as *Cato*-Zwack.† And it may be ſaid with truth, that no conſpirator ever acted the part of a zealous ſervant of his prince with ſo much ſucceſs as this man. In the midſt of his plots of Illuminiſm, Xaverius Zwack found means of getting himſelf named *Counſellor to the Court, and Counſeller to the Regency, with a ſalary of twenty thouſand florins.* Wei-

* Original Writings, Vol. I. particularly Letter 55.

† See the Original Writings, Letters to *Cato*.

ſhaupt, overjoyed at his promotion, compliments him, ſaying, "Accept my felicitations on the new appoint-"ment. I could wiſh that all my Areopagites were privy "counſellors with ſalaries of twenty thouſand florins; but "I could alſo more ardently wiſh, that their employments "required but little time and labor, as they could then "apply more cloſely to the grand object."* The very letter in which Weiſhaupt compliments his preſident is one of thoſe to his Areopagites in which he enters into the particulars, and boaſts of the progreſs of his conſpiracy.

II. *Marius* or the Prieſt Hertel.

The ſecond of theſe Areopagites was a prieſt of the name of HERTEL, ſurnamed *Marius* by the Illuminees. It is of this perſon that Weiſhaupt writes to *Cato*-Zwack, "Our *Marius* is ſuperlatively reſerved. On moſt occa-"ſions he advances with the greateſt *circumſpection*; *and* "*with reſpect to religious matters let us flatter his weak-*"*neſs. His ſtomach is not ſtrong enough as yet to digeſt* "*the tougher morſels.* On all other ſubjects you may re-"ly on him. Do not give him too much work until he "has acquired the habit of buſineſs, and taken a liking "to the affair. If he be once brought in properly, he can "render the greateſt ſervices."†

Notwithſtanding all his *circumſpection*, Hertel ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be carried away into all the dangers of ſecret ſocieties, and fell a prey to their machinations. Since he had ſome conſcience left, Weiſhaupt thought that he could not turn it to a better account than by making him treaſurer to the Order, that he might by his economy and honeſty repair the numerous breaches that had been made in its funds by the thefts of *Ajax*. The illuminized *Marius* acquitted himſelf of his office much to the ſatisfaction of the founder. In recompence for his ſervices, the brethren get him nominated canonicate at Munich; and he was ſo much amuſed with this intrigue, that he wiſhes to divert *Cato* with a recital of it, but does not dare commit it to paper.‡ At the period when he came to take poſſeſſion of his canonicate, all thoſe *circumſpect* ideas of religion had vaniſhed. He deſcribes himſelf as going from the altar to the dens of Illuminiſm, as publicly in-

* Ibid. Vol. III. Letter 2.

† Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 7, to *Cato*, 27th March 1778.

‡ Ibid. Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.

veſting himſelf with an eccleſiaſtical benefice, while in ſecret he extols the great ſervices he has rendered to the brood conſpiring againſt the church; *but theſe alſo are ſervices*, he ſays, *too important to be committed to paper.** They are ſervices, however, which, I am ſure, no reader can miſtake, when he ſees him partaking with Zwack of Weiſhaupt's intimacy. In the correſpondence of the latter there are a multitude of letters to be found directed in common to Zwack and Hertel; there are alſo many inſtructions, both abſolute and proviſional, directed to the Areopagites; and in theſe, it is no longer the conſcientious but the apoſtate Hertel, who, after Zwack is to occupy the next place, and act the principal part.† It is this unfortunate prieſt who appears to have been more particularly charged with the care of ſtealing or buying for the uſe of the ſecret libraries all thoſe miſerable productions which might form an arſenal of impiety and rebellion for the corruption of all morals.‡ In ſhort, it is he whom *Spartacus* ſelects from among the brethren as the moſt proper confidant when premeditating that horrid infanticide mentioned at the beginning of the Third Volume of theſe Memoirs; and he behaves himſelf in ſuch a manner as to deſerve the thanks of the inceſtuous parent.§

III. *Celſus*-Baader.

We find a ſtill ſtronger proof of what horrid monſters were ſeated in this ſenate of rebellion in the perſon of *Celſus*-BAADER. Even before he is admitted into this aſſociation, we ſee him offering the depraved ſecrets of his art to murder the innocent offspring of inceſtuous parents; for he is that *Celſus* who had promiſed Weiſhaupt two years before to uſe all the powers of his art to preſerve his honor for him at the expenſe of the moſt horrid of crimes. Without doubt it is in return for theſe offers of his ſervices, that Weiſhaupt is ſo eager to number him among the adepts, and to grant him thoſe diſpenſations of which he ſpeaks when writing to Zwack: "If I could "but ſucceed in enrolling the Phyſician Baader, tell me "beforehand what diſpenſations and privileges we could

* Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.

† Ibid. Vol. 1. Sect. IX. ſee the Inſtructions for *Cato*, *Marius*, and *Scipio*.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 46, and Vol. II. Letter 3, &c.

§ Ibid. Vol. II. Letter 3 and 4.

" grant him among the Areopagites; for unleſs ſome dis-
" penſations were granted to him, we could not employ
" him ſo actively as I could wiſh."* This letter was ſoon followed by a ſecond, in which he expreſſes in ſtill clearer terms the high value he places on this conqueſt, and deſcribes the intrigues played off to enſure ſucceſs.—
" In order (he writes to his Athenians) to carry my plan
" into execution in *Athens* (Munich) I ſtand in need of
" two men—The one a *Nobleman*, the other a *Phyſician*.
" *Cato's* unremitting zeal will ſoon acquire the means, and
" he will ſoon make a conqueſt of what is wanting to us.
" The Count S (*Savioli*, whom *Cato* had juſt in-
" ſinuated) ſhall aſſume the characteriſtic of *Brutus*, and
" he is one of the moſt important conqueſts we could have
" made in *Athens*. The following ſhall be your method
" of proceeding with him. Let *Cato* continue to act
" with him as uſual, and particularly attend to his ſecre-
" cy. After that, let him read our *reformed* ſtatutes to
" the new candidate, and queſtion him whether he thinks
" them uſeful and proper. Should *Brutus* anſwer in the
" affirmative, *Cato* will aſk the Count whether he is ready
" to ſecond us in our labors; he will then tell him, that in
" conſideration of the important ſervices he has it in his
" power to render to the Order, by permitting us to make
" uſe of his name, we ſhall be much leſs ſevere with re-
" gard to him, in the uſual trials, and that he ſhall be
" immediately initiated into the higher myſteries. But
" as a preliminary ſtep he will be required either to de-
" liver Baader over to us, or ſome other perſon. That
" we are very well apprized that he is not to be overloaded
" with work, and that it is on that account he is diſpenſed
" from the uſual taſks preſcribed by our ſtatutes; that he
" will comply with them only as far as he pleaſes; and
" that we have made a particular choice of him to help us
" in the *Government of the Order*. Should he deliver
" Baader over to us, he ſhould alſo be entitled to the ſame
" diſpenſations, which are to be granted to no other per-
" ſon in *Athens*. You will read the *Degree of Minerval*
" to the Count with every thing that precedes; if he ſhows
" a liking and zeal for the cauſe, you will alſo read the
" *Degree of Illuminee*; and when you ſhall have acquired
" evident proofs of his zeal, and that he ſhall have made

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 29, of the 30th Dec. 1778.

" common cauſe with us by recruiting for us, you may " let him into the whole ſecret.—Hold a ſimilar conduct " with Baader."*

Whether the Brethren at Munich had already adopted this mode of acting, or whether they had followed ſome other of a ſimilar nature, is not known; but in a very ſhort time after we find Weiſhaupt's views on Baader accompliſhed; for on the 13th of December 1778, only three days after the foregoing letter, we find him inſcribed on the liſt of Areopagites. Ever after we find his name mentioned in the correſpondence as one of the moſt active adepts, and as one of thoſe who had the moſt deeply imbibed the horrid myſteries.†

Another reaſon which made Weiſhaupt more eager for this conqueſt, was, that Baader read public lectures on medicine at Munich, and therefore had an opportunity of ſeducing his young pupils, after the example of his maſter, who had ſo efficaciouſly and fatally made uſe of his influence to ſeduce the young ſtudents of the law at the Univerſity of Ingolſtadt.

IV. *Scipio-* Berger.

A ſimilar reaſon had made him ardently wiſh to initiate BERGER who alſo read public lectures at Munich, though I do not find on what ſcience. His characteriſtic is *Scipio*, and he was inſcribed on the liſt of Areopagites on the 28th July 1778. A Freemaſon before he became an Illuminee, he was ſome time before he could overcome his predilection for his former lodges, in ſo much even that he aſked for his diſmiſſal. *Spartacus* was furious at ſuch a preference. Without ſhowing his deſire of retaining the diſcontented Brother, and not having him ſufficiently in his power to make uſe of threats, he commands Zwack to declare to the Candidate in the *name of the Order*, that he was at full liberty to follow his predilection; but the ſame letter contains all that is to be hinted underhand to the diſcontented adept, all that was to be thrown out on the pre-eminence and advantages of Illuminiſm over Maſonry. The Profeſſor Berger was ſo perfectly convinced of this *pre-eminence*, that Weiſhaupt, *to give him the preference over all the other Areopagites*, only required of him *a little more activity*.‡

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let 33, 11th Dec. 1778.

† Vol. II. Let. 13, from *Spartacus* to *Ceſus*.

‡ Vol. I. Let. 46 and 56.

V. *Coriolanus* Troponero.

The want of activity was not a fault with which Illuminiſm could ever upbraid its adept *Coriolanus*. He was a merchant of the name of TROPONERO retired from Hamburgh to Munich. At the time of his initiation he did not employ his talents in that line which Weiſhaupt judged to be ſo uſeful for the propagation of his hireling doctrines. Zwack bethought himſelf of ſetting up this Troponero for a public lecturer on finance, and made the propoſition to *Spartacus*, who immediately anſwered, "It is a very good plan *both for him and for us, to make* "*Coriolanus read lectures on finance*; only, do you ſpare "no pains to get him ſcholars. *It is a fine occaſion for re-* "*cruiting young men*; nor would it be a bad plan if you "became one of his pupils yourſelf, in order to entice "others."* It does not appear whether Zwack reliſhed deſcending from the bench of the Areopagites to attend the ſchools of the new lecturer; but certain it is that the Archives of Illuminiſm bear teſtimony of the great ſervices rendered *by this Coriolanus*; and Weiſhaupt frequently extols his merits. He was particularly uſeful at all the receptions, aſſuming that air of ceremonious gravity ſo becoming in the Grand Maſter of a Lodge; and ſo well did he impoſe on the young adepts, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Occult Myſteries of the Roſicrucians, much leſs of thoſe of Illuminiſm.

VII. *Hanibal*, the Baron Baſſus.

VIII. *Diomedes*, the Marquis of Conſtanza.

About the ſame time we meet with the names of the two firſt Illuminized Noblemen whom Weiſhaupt had initiated into his laſt myſteries—the one *Hanibal*, the Baron BASSUS; the other *Diomedes*, the Marquis of CONSTANZA. Illuminized Barons and Marquiſſes, certainly, are a ſort of phenomena not eaſily to be conceived. That men who are never called by their names without being reminded of the great ſtake they have to loſe, ſhould property and the ſocial order be overthrown, that ſuch men ſhould plunge themſelves into the moſt horrid conſpiracy ever framed againſt both, can only be believed by thoſe who have attended to the amazing cunning of Weiſhaupt's Code and the artifice with which it is put in execution.—In ſhort the Archives of Illuminiſm, the letters, nay the apologies of theſe *titled* Illumineés, bear too ſtrong proofs of the fact, and muſt quaſh all objections. The Baron Baſſus, in his pretended juſtification, owns that he was the

* Ibid. Let. 3, to *Cato*.

perſon known under the characteriſtic of *Hanibal*;* and the letters of this *Hanibal* not only ſhow that he was an Illuminee himſelf, but alſo an apoſtle of Illuminization, giving an account to the Brethren of his ſucceſſes at Botzen in Tyrol, and boaſting of the important conqueſts he had made in that town, having enlisted and imbued the *Preſident*, *the Vice-Preſident*, *the principal Counſellors of the Government*, and *the Grand Maſter of the Poſts*, with the moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration for Illuminiſm.† — A little farther, the letters of this ſame *Hanibal* bear teſtimony of his having gone into Italy, and of his having initiated at Milan *his Excellency the Count W. . Imperial Miniſter*. Then, meditating new conqueſts, he proceeds to Pavia, in hopes of enliſting ſeveral of the Profeſſors of that Univerſity, and finiſhes by requeſting that the geography of the Order may be enlarged, that he may have a greater ſcope for his illuminizing talents.‡

With reſpect to *Diomedes*, or our illuminized Marquis, his letters alſo bear teſtimony of his enthuſiaſtic zeal in the ſervice of Weiſhaupt. He held this Arch-Conſpirator in ſuch great veneration, that, *with the exception of ſome few inſignificant weakneſſes*, he looked upon Weiſhaupt as the *moſt perfect*, *the moſt profound*, and *the moſt extraordinary mortal on earth*. The hours he had the happineſs of ſpending in his company were too ſhort in his opinion, but unhappily long enough to fire him with all that zeal which ſends him frantic to Deux Ponts, then to *Nauplis* or Straubingen, and at laſt to Munich, replete with all that hireling cunning with which the young candidates are to be ſo completely duped, that they are not *even to ſurmiſe that their credulity is to be impoſed upon*. So deeply are the true principles of the Sect rooted in his breaſt, that to revenge the Order on ſome Brother who, probably diſguſted with the abominable tendency of theſe myſteries, had made ſome diſcovery of them to the Magiſtrates, he writes to one of the brethren, "Oh the raſ-"cal! might not a perſon, or to be more correct, *would* "*it be a crime to ſend ſuch a Devil as this into the other world?*"§

* Page 6. † Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. XLV.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Sect. IV. Let. 1 and 2.

§ Oder Schurkl! Konnte man nicht, oder um beſſer zu ſagen, wäre es nicht erlaubt, ſo einen Teufel in die andere wel[illegible]

Neither do the Original Writings nor my private correſpondence inform me of the real titles of the Areopagite *Solon*-MICHT. He does not appear to have acted any very conſpicuous part in the hiſtory of the Order. He is only ſtated to have worn the eccleſiaſtical habit at Freyſinguen; happy for him if it is to this dreſs that he is indebted for his apparent nullity in Weiſhaupt's plots. IX. *Solon*-Mitcht.

Next appears HOHENIECHER under the title of *Alcibiades*, who, though ſeated in the conſpiring ſenate of the Illuminees, does not bluſh to hold a ſeat in the ſenate of Freyſinguen as counſellor. X. *Alcibiades* Hohenſicher.

The Eleventh of the Areopagites is *Mahomet* the Baron SCRÖCKENSTEIN. We ſhall ſoon behold him preſiding over whole provinces that are ſubject to Illuminiſm. A few days after his initiation we meet with another Areopagite characterized *Germanicus*. Not having been able to diſcover his real name, I will not give way to conjecture.* At this ſame period we find a numerous liſt of perſons of conſequence initiated in the lower degrees.—Such, for example, were the magiſtrate of Aichſtadt, *Tamerlane*-LANG, and the private ſecretary GEISER.—The characteriſtic of this adept does not appear; but Weiſhaupt's letter on the great acquiſition he had made in this adept ſufficiently demonſtrates the importance he attached to conqueſts of this nature, and how far he could turn them to the advantage of his Order. XI. *Mahomet* Baron de Scröckenſtein. XII. *Germanicus*.

This letter is of the 10*th Chardad*, 1148 (10th June, 1778); and it is worthy of remark, that it is the firſt letter which we find in the Original Writings dated according to the Perſian Æra. It is to his dear *Cato* that Weiſhaupt writes:—"The acquiſition we have made of the

zu ſchicken—*Original Writings, Vol.* I. *Sect.* XLIV. *Letters* 1 *and* 2.

* In order to diſcover the real name of an adept, it will often ſuffice to combine their letters, and particularly thoſe in which Weiſhaupt declares the characteriſtics to be given to candidates, with what is afterwards ſaid of them under their new names. The German Journals, and divers other writings in that language, my own private correſpondence with, and memorials that I have received from men who, living on the ſpot, have been enabled to procure more accurate documents with reſpect to theſe different perſonages, have furniſhed me with the means of diſcovering many others on whom no ſhadow of doubt can be entertained.

" private secretary *(secretaire intime)* Geiser is an event " of such consequence to us, that our affairs will soon as- " sume quite a different aspect. It obliterates that ap- " pearance (much too conspicuous) of novelty. It is for " this reason that we ought to mutually congratulate each " other and the whole Order. We may now expect to do " something great. By enticing men among us of his stamp " and of his consequence, we add great weight to our ob- " ject, and they are useful in keeping our youngsters with- " in bounds. Do not forget to thank and make my most " sincere compliments to the private secretary. Men of " his importance must have a right to choose their own " characteristics, their employments, and the species of la- " bor that they would prefer. You will remember to in- " form me of it, that I may take the proper steps in con- " sequence."*

In this class of Brethren of consequence, we must not forget *Brutus* Count SAVIOLA, *Sylla* the Baron MAGGENHOFF, and *Alexander* Count PAPPENHEIM. Meanwhile, till we come to treat of ministers and princes drawn into this vortex of sedition, let us hear Weishaupt develop his views, and observe him marshalling his troops; particularly when he takes measures to ensnare those noblemen whom he wishes to make the prime agents and the propagators of the very conspiracies to which they are to fall the first victims. On the *10th Pharavardin*, 1149 (31st March, 1779), he writes to his *Athenians* of Munich, " Have you not in all your town of *Athens* any " strangers who may be immediately admitted into the " Order, advanced as soon as possible to the degree of " *Minerval* and then simply instructed in the mysteries of " that degree? Such persons may, without any further " initiation, be sent to found the system in other countries " and make recruits; for example, at Augsbourg, at Ra- " tisbonne, at Saltzbourg, at Landshut, and other towns. " To meet with such persons it would be proper for you " to go into company, and to frequent assemblies and pla- " ces of public resort. Since you have done so many other " things you may very well do this. At *Erzerum* (Aich- " stadt) *and throughout all Franconia I could make a ra- " pid progress if I could but initiate two gentlemen of that " country whom I am well acquainted with, and who are*

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 13, to *Cato*.

" *men of great wit and much esteemed by the nobility there.* " This acquisition would soon procure us adepts from " among the nobility, men of wit who would recruit for " us in their own class throughout all Franconia.—When " we initiated any one at Athens to a new degree, these " two gentlemen might be called to assist at the ceremo- " ny, and would then become candidates for the higher " degree. The rank they hold, and their nobility, would " also be of use to curb the petulance of your young *Bru-* " *tus* and other gentry.—In short, *Tamerlane* (or the coun- " sellor Lang), who thinks that there are no other adepts " at *Erzerum* but those with whom he is acquainted, " would be thunderstruck at finding persons in a higher " degree than himself, though he had not the least idea " they belonged to the Order, and men also of whom he " has the highest opinion. Do reflect and deliberate on " this."*

In the following letters it appears that *Brutus* no longer needed any curb; for he becomes an apostle of the Sect, and sets off on an expedition from which Weishaupt augurs great success. He is even so zealous, that *Spartacus*, on the eve of dismissing several other adepts, mentions him as an useful member who is to be preserved,† and desires that he may as soon as possible be advanced to the degree of *Major Illuminee*.‡ To enable the reader to judge how far he was disposed to serve the Order, it will suffice to record the terms in which he expresses his gratitude for favors received, and the promises he makes in hopes of obtaining new ones. His letter to the *Most Excellent Superiors of Illuminism* is couched in the following terms:

" Most Excellent Superiors!

" Receive my most grateful acknowledgments for the " *third degree* with which you have just honored me.— " Every part of it is noble, grand, and beautiful; it has " perfectly answered the expectations I had formed of it " from the *second*. I shall most undoubtedly do every " thing that lies in my power to deserve your confidence. " In future rely on mine, and believe me to be perfectly " devoted to your service. Nothing in the world shall

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 29.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 58. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 13.

" ever withdraw me from my allegiance to your laws, or " make me ceaſe to be guided by you.

" You wrote to me ſome time ſince, deſiring me to ſeek " for no further advancement at Court, as I could not " expect any. I obeyed that order; but as the miniſters " of the regency have lately paid me ſome marks of atten- " tion, my affairs have aſſumed a different aſpect. The " ſerious illneſs of the Emperor having given riſe to the " idea of a vicarage of the Empire, Brother *Pericles* and " myſelf have been mentioned as counſellors in that court; " and I have great hopes of being made a privy counſel- " lor *(conſeiller intime)*. S . . . , has taken my cauſe in " hand, and I am indebted to the Brothers *Celſus* and *Al-* " *fred* for it. *If ever I get into power, the moſt excellent* " *Order will ſoon ſee how much I am devoted to it, and* " *how entirely I belong to it.* In the mean time I can but " expreſs my ſincereſt wiſhes."*

Though the advancement which had inſpired the Count *Brutus* with ſo much zeal for the Order left him ſtill at a great diſtance from the higher myſteries, he nevertheleſs had a brother who could not flatter himſelf that he ſhould arrive at even this *third degree*. The Inſinuator had made a diſtinction between them. The letter in which he announces their initiation to *Spartacus* will ſhow the reader what other ſervices the Order had to expect from ſuch kinds of adepts.

Cato writes to *Spartacus*: " Here are my new hopes " for the Order. After a long perſeverance I have at " length engaged the young S——— (Savioli). He will " deliver his brother over to us, who may ſet our affairs " agoing at Augſbourg. They are both rich. The firſt " I recruited as a *Sta bene*, that is to ſay, one who is ne- " ver to paſs the lower ranks. I alſo engage him becauſe " on certain occaſions he will lend us his houſe which is " very convenient for our meetings; and more particular- " ly becauſe, being rich, he can help us with his purſe.†

The ſame letter mentions a ſimilar *Sta bene*: " The " Brother *Livius* (RUDORGER) is in future to be looked " on as belonging to the ſame claſs. He frankly owned " to me, that he had neither the time nor inclination to " give himſelf up to our labors. But that he was willing

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. *Quibus Licet* from *Brutus*.

† Damit er an geld beytraget.

" to contribute towards the progreſs of the Order with " his purſe, and that he would even furniſh us with books " for our libraries, and inſtruments for experiments.—I " gave him to underſtand, that certainly he might remain " a member of the Order; but that he could only be claſs- " ed in future with thoſe who ſeconded its views with " their money."* Thus did Weiſhaupt turn the ſtupidity and ignorance, the impiety and money of his Marquiſſes, Barons, Knights, and Magiſtrates, to the advantage and propagation of his diſaſtrous plots.—He had already made converts of this nature in the imperial chamber of Wetzlar; for, as early as the 29th of Auguſt, 1778, we find that *Minos*, the Aſſeſſor DITTFURTH, inſcribed on the liſt of Illuminees, the ſame perſon whom we have already ſeen ſo zealous for the foundation of an illuminized ſiſterhood.† At firſt we find him under *a ſuſpenſion*, as not to be truſted by the Brethren;‡ but very ſoon his zeal makes him at once the admiration and laughing-ſtock of *Spartacus*. The reader muſt have already obſerved the art with which Weiſhaupt obliges every candidate to give the hiſtory of his life, with an exact deſcription of his paſſions and prejudices. The Aſſeſſor *Minos* complied with this regulation in ſo ſcrupulous a manner, that Weiſhaupt could not refrain from writing to the Areopagites in the following terms: " *Minos*, that man who bears ſo high a " character, is at preſent writing the hiſtory of his life.— " *He is as yet only arrived at his ſeventeenth year, and* " *has written ninety-three ſheets of paper. He is now for-* " *ty-five years of age.* This will be ſomething more than " a general confeſſion. You ſee what may be done with " men if one *does but know how to gain their confidence,* " *and to convince them of the excellency of the object.*"§ So completely did the imperial Aſſeſſor imbibe this principle and learn to convince others of it, that we ſhall hereafter ſee him raiſed to the dignity of Provincial.

However much Weiſhaupt may have wiſhed to make proſelytes among the great, we nevertheleſs ſee him recommending to his inſinuators to recruit more particu-

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. xxxii. Letter from *Cato* to *Spartacus*.

† Vol. III. of theſe Memoirs, Page 41.

‡ Orig. Writ. Sect. iv. See the Liſt.

§ Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 7 and 10.

larly among the *professors* and *schoolmasters*, as a sure means of gaining over to his views the youth of all classes. Hence it is that *Hermes Trismegistes*, whose real name was SOCHER, and who was superior of the college at Landsberg, receives the special commission to watch and guard against the Jesuits, as sworn enemies to the education he is to give to his pupils.* For the same reason does Weishaupt strain every nerve to fill his university of Ingolstadt with professors and prefects belonging to his Sect. He entreats the adepts at Munich to beset the ministers, and obtain the expulsion of all Jesuits, because these fathers had retrieved the four professors SCHOLLINER, STEINGENBERGER, WURZER, and SHLEGEL, from Illuminism; and because he had but three professors left in the university to resist Jesuitism.† The List of Professors soon swells to an alarming height in all towns where Illuminism makes any progress. On this black list we find *Armenius*-KRENNER; *Cortez*-LEMMER; *Pythagoras*-WESSENREIDER; this latter soon abandoned the Order when his characteristic was given to the Priest and Librarian DREXL; but as professor we find three to replace him, KUNDLER, LOLLING, and above all BAÏERAMMER, at first called *Zoroaster*, but afterwards *Confucius*. It is this adept that Weishaupt brings at length to Ingolstadt, that he might have for his colleague in the seduction of youth, a man that he himself had initiated in the black arts of his Illuminism.‡ This serves to account for that zeal with which he sends his adepts into all houses of education, and that solicitude with which he entreats *Cato* and *Marius* to seek out some brethren well drilled to the arts of Insinuators, who might be sent *to the* UNIVERSITIES *of Saltzbourg, of Inspruck, of Fribourg, and of other places.*§

To select the following will suffice to show to what extent these missionary professors succeeded, according to the views of the Order; *Saladin*-EKEL; *Thales*-KAPFINGER; *Timon*-MICHL; *Euclid*-RIEDL; all from eighteen to twenty years of age: SAUER, surnamed *Attila*; and the Emperor *Claudius*, or SIMON ZWACK, cousin to the incomparable *Cato*, were of the same age; an age sought after by Weishaupt, as he could the more

* Vol. I. Let. 28. † Vol. I. Let. 36, 30th Jan. 1778.

‡ See particularly Let. 24, Vol. I. § Ibid. Let. 40.

easily twine the young adept to vice. This docility was far from being the leading feature of his other adepts; they were not all enthusiastically wedded to his plots at this dawn of Illuminism; nor could he make them the passive instruments of his conspiracy. He describes the proselytes he had made among the aristocracy "*as rich, therefore* "*given to all the vices of their state; as ignorant, proud,* "*cowardly, and lazy in the superlative degree*; as only "seeking their advancement in the mysteries, in order to "gratify their curiosity, or even to scoff at the ceremonial "of the different degrees;"* and we wished to find men who would be struck with awe, and be fired with enthusiasm at the sight of these ceremonies. The style of reproach in which he writes to many other of the adepts clearly depicts a set of men destitute of all morals, and having no other views in the Order than to gratify their passions and their avarice; seeking none but their own interests, and often, through their dissolute and immoral conduct, exposing the *founder of the Order* to be looked upon as a *corrupter of youth.*† He was willing to have none but followers that could, like himself, gratify the most infamous passions in private, and who, under the mask of virtue, moderation, and wisdom, imposing on the public, would accredit his Illuminism. With respect to the founder, we have seen him already describing the turpitude of his morals, and the atrocious means to which he had resorted to preserve the mask of his pretended virtue; let us now hear him upbraiding his first adepts with the public depravity of their morals as being prejudicial to his Illuminism: "I have received," says he, "the most fatal in-"telligence from *Thebes* (Freysinguen). They have giv-"en a public scandal to the whole town, by admitting "into the Lodges that vile *Propertius, a libertine loaded* "*with debts, and a most detestable being.* In that same "town is to be found the Brother D——, who is nothing "more than a wicked fellow; our *Socrates*, who could be "of the greatest use to us is always drunk; our *Augustus* "has acquired the worst of reputations; the Brother *Al-*"*cibiades* is perpetually sighing and pining away at the "feet of his landlady; *Tiberius* attempted to lay violent "hands on *Diomedes's* sister, and suffered himself to be "caught by the husband; *heavens! what men have I*

* Vol. II. Let. I. † Ibid. Let. II.

" *there for Areopagites!* What! we sacrifice our health, " our fortune, our reputation, to the good of the Order; " and these gentry give themselves up entirely to their " pleasures and ease, prostitute themselves, give public " scandals, and still wish to be acquainted with all our se- " crets: From this instant I shall look upon *Tiberius* " (Merz) as erased from our list. O Areopagites, Are- " opagites! I would much rather have none at all, than " not have men *more active* and *more submissive*."*

This is not the only letter in which Weishaupt plainly shows what opinion he had himself of his horde of adepts. The following gives a clearer insight into the cause of the alarm he had taken from their public scandals, and their evil tendency for the general good of the Sect. After having told them, *With regard to politics and morals, you are as yet far behind indeed*, he says, " Judge yourselves " what would be the consequence, if a man such as our " *Marcus Aurelius* (he was a professor of Gottinguen, " and his real name was FEDER) were once to know " what a *set of men destitute of morals, what a set of de-* " *bauchées, liars, spendthrifts, braggadochios, and fools* " *replete with vanity and pride*, you have among you; " if such a man, I say, were to see this, what opinion must " he form of us! Would he not be ashamed to belong to " a society whose chiefs *promise* such great things, *and ex-* " *ecute so ill the most beautiful plan*; and all from obsti- " nacy, and because they will not suffer one tittle of their " pleasures; now frankly declare, am I not in the right? " Do you not think that, in order to preserve a man, such " as *Marcus Aurelius*-Feder, whose name alone is worth " the best part of Germany, I ought to sacrifice and re- " scind all your whole province of *Greece* (Bavaria) the " innocent as well as the guilty? And should I take such " a step, who would be to blame? Is it not better to cut " off the gangrened members, than to lose the whole bo- " dy? Can you be so void of all feeling, as to see a select " society of men dissolve, *and abandon the reformation of* " *the world*, and that on account of the vices you have " plunged yourselves into, and the scandal you give?— " That would be still worse than an Herostratus, worse " than all the wicked men of all times and of all ages.— " Those of you, gentlemen, therefore, who do not ap-

* Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 9.

" prove of this plan, who will not ſacrifice your eaſe and " miſerable paſſions; thoſe, in ſhort, who are indifferent " to the praiſes of the beſt of men, and who will not la- " bor with us *at making all mankind but one and the ſame* " *family*; thoſe, I not only pray, but conjure, at leaſt not " to impede our labors, and not to entail on the Order " the infamy and ſhame of their public ſcandals. *Such* " *conduct would be worſe than that of real aſſaſſins, worſe* " *than the plague.*"*

However well-founded Weiſhaupt may have been in making uſe of ſuch reproaches, the rapid progreſs made by his Illuminiſm ſhould have convinced him, that his adepts, in the midſt of their debaucheries, never loſt ſight of the grand object of his myſteries. The reader may judge of their progreſs by the following note; which, at the ſame time that it denotes their ſucceſſes, will ſhow in what manner they reported them to each other. This document may alſo begin to explain various myſteries of the revolution.

NOTE, *on the progreſs of Illuminiſm, found among the papers of* Cato-Zwack, *written in his own hand, and contained in the firſt volume of the Original Writings.*

" We have† at *Athens* (Munich), 1ſt, a regular Lodge " of *Major Illuminees*; 2dly, a leſſer meeting of *Illumi-* " *nees*, very well adapted to our purpoſes; 3dly, a very " large and remarkable *Maſonic* Lodge; 4thly, two con- " ſiderable *Churches*, or Minerval Academies.

" At *Thebes* (Freyſinguen) alſo there is a *Minerval* " Lodge, as well as at *Megara* (Landſberg), at Brug- " hauſen, at Straubing, at *Epheſus* (Ingolſtadt), and in a " ſhort time we ſhall have one at *Corinth* (Ratiſbonne).

" We have bought a houſe (at Munich) for ourſelves; " and we have taken our precautions ſo well, that the in- " habitants not only do not cry out againſt us, but ſpeak

* Original Letters, Vol. 2, Let. 10.

† This note begins with theſe words: *The number in Greece conſiſts of*—Whether *Cato* did mark the number or not, I know not; but the editor has left it in blank, and the ſentence is incomplete. Mr. Robiſon has inſerted the *number* 600; but as he does not give his authority, I ſhall content myſelf with tranſlating, and ſhall continue with Zwack.

" of us with esteem, when they see us going publicly to " that house, or to the Lodge. *Certainly that is a great* " *deal for this town.*

" We have in this house a Cabinet of natural history, " instruments for experimental philosophy, and a library; " and all this is daily augmented by the gifts of the Breth- " ren. The garden is to be turned into a botanical one.

" All the scientific journals are procured for the breth- " ren at the expense of the Order.

" By means of different pamphlets we have awakened " the attention of the princes and citizens to certain re- " markable abuses; we oppose religious Orders with all " our might; and we have good reason to be pleased with " the success of our endeavors.

" We have entirely new modelled the Lodge on our " plan, and have broke off all communication with Berlin.

" We have not only repressed all the enrollments of the " R. C. (Rosicrucians), but we have succeeded in casting " suspicions on them.

" We are in treaty for a strict and effective alliance " with the Lodge of —, AND WITH THE NATIONAL " LODGE OF POLAND."

Another NOTE, *written by the same hand, on the political progress of the Order.*

" Through the intrigues of the Brethren the Jesuits " have been dismissed from all the Professorships; we have " entirely cleared the university of Ingolstadt of them.*

" The Dowager Dutchess has modelled her *Institute* " *for the Cadets* entirely on the plan prepared by the Or- " der. *That house is under our inspection; all its Profes-* " *sors belong to our Order; five of its members have been* " *well provided for, and all the pupils will be ours.*

" On the recommendation of the Brethren *Pylades* is " made the *ecclesiastical fiscal counsellor.* By procuring " this place for him, we have put the church monies at " the disposal of the Order: and by means of these monies " we have already repaired the mal-administration of our " ——— and of ———, and have delivered them from " the hands of the usurers.

* Durch die verwendung der Br. Br. (Brüdern) wurden die Jesuiten von allen professor stellen entfernt, die Universität Ingolstadt ganz von ihnen gereinigt.

" With theſe monies alſo we ſupport new Brethren.

" The Brethren who are in orders have all been pro-
" vided with *livings* and *curacies*, or with preceptor's
" places.

" Through our means too, the Brothers *Armenius* and
" *Cortez* have been *made Profeſſors in the Univerſity of*
" *Ingolſtadt*. We have alſo got purſes for all our young
" candidates in the ſame univerſity.

" On the recommendation alſo of our Order, two young
" men are travelling *at the expenſe of the Court*. They
" are at preſent at Rome.

" The *Germanic ſchools* are all under the inſpection
" of the Order, and have no other prefects than our
" Brethren.

" *The Benevolent Society is alſo under our direction.*

" The Order has obtained an augmentation of pay and
" ſalaries for a great number of Brethren who are em-
" ployed in the *Dicaſteres* (that is to ſay, at the boards of
" Adminiſtration).

" *We have obtained four eccleſiaſtical chairs for as*
" *many of our Brethren.*

" We ſhall ſhortly be *maſters of the Bartholomew In-*
" *ſtitution for the education of young eccleſiaſtics.* All
" our meaſures are ready for that purpoſe. The buſineſs
" has taken a very favorable turn; *by this means we may*
" *ſtock all Bavaria with prieſts both clever and proper*"
(for our object).

" We have ſimilar hopes and views on another houſe
" of prieſts.

" Through inceſſant application, indefatigable efforts,
" and the intrigues of *different* — — by —, we have at
" length ſucceeded in not only maintaining the Eccleſi-
" aſtical Council, which the Jeſuits wiſhed to deſtroy;
" but alſo in aſſigning over to this council, to the colleges
" and univerſities, all thoſe goods which had ſtill remain-
" ed under the adminiſtration of the Jeſuits in Bavaria;
" ſuch as the inſtitution for the miſſion, the golden alms,
" the houſe of retreat, and the funds for the newly con-
" verted. Our Major Illuminees, to effectuate this, *held ſix*
" *meetings*; *ſeveral of them remained there whole nights*;
" and — —."

This latter article is alſo mutilated by the editor of the Original Writings. The Court of Bavaria did not think proper to publiſh the names of thoſe *different perſons* (mi-

niſters and others) who ſo well ſeconded Weiſhaupt and his adepts on this occaſion. The Jeſuits at leaſt ſtrongly ſuſpected the Count of SENSEIM to be one of the *different* —— ——, and thoſe of the Engliſh college of Liege, in particular, had reaſon to believe that he was one of thoſe to whom they were indebted for the loſs of a penſion of ten thouſand florins, which had always been paid to them by the Court of Bavaria. How far theſe ſuſpicions are grounded I do not pretend to ſay; but certain it is, that this Count Senſeim appears on the liſt of adepts under the characteriſtic of *King Alfred.* But without our entering into any diſcuſſion, the two notes I have juſt tranſlated clearly evince, that the adepts did not deſerve to be ſo frequently reprimanded for inactivity as Weiſhaupt ſeems to have thought.

What a ſtrong light is thrown on the ſecret hiſtory of the Revolution by theſe two notes, even in their mutilated ſtate! A large portion of the clergy, it is true, have been faithful to their duty; but Europe has been aſtoniſhed at ſeeing ſo many of them plunged into the moſt horrid ſcenes of impiety. We here learn from *Cato*-Zwack who thoſe falſe paſtors were. Theſe atrocious hypocrites are ſelected by the Sect, imbued with all the venom of its principles, and then uſhered into the boſom of the church under its baneful protection. It had ſaid to them, aſſume the appearance of piety and zeal, and pretend to believe in the ſymbol of the prieſthood, and we ſhall find means of inſtalling you in the livings of the church, and of making you the rectors and paſtors of the flock. You ſhall publicly preach the doctrine of the Goſpel, and your exterior ſhall coincide with the duties of thoſe ſtations; but in ſecret you ſhall ſecond our views, and prepare the way for us. It would be a futile objection to aſk how it was poſſible to find monſters whoſe depravity could make them conſent to act ſuch ſcenes of hypocriſy even in the Holy of Holies! We have the authority of *Cato*-Zwack, who tells us that they aſſumed the characters and functions of rectors and curates, of canons, profeſſors, and teachers in the *Catholic* Church. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſame game played with reſpect to the *Proteſtant* Church; and thus were both churches miniſtered to by wretches who had ſworn their deſtruction.

A ſimilar mode of proceeding was adopted for the deſtruction of the ſtate, and that at the firſt dawn of Illu-

miniſm. It is *Cato* again who informs us of the intrigues, views, and ſucceſſes of the Sect, inſinuating its adepts into the *Dicaſteres*, the councils, and boards of adminiſtration, which are paid by the prince and ſtate; he points them out as having gained acceſs into the councils of the prince and the ſtate, carrying with them all the treacherous plots of the moſt diſaſtrous conſpiracy againſt both prince and ſtate.

Many readers have been aſtoniſhed at ſeeing whole generations riſe imbued with the principles of the moſt rank jacobiniſm, and that from ſchools founded by princes for the inſtruction of youth; but *Cato* again ſolves the difficulty, when he ſpeaks of the *Inſtitution* founded by the Dowager Dutcheſs.

In ſhort, it will be incumbent on future hiſtorians to tell their readers whence were obtained thoſe treaſures ſpent in the propagation of the principles of the Sect, in the peregrinations of its apoſtles, and in the ſupport of its pennyleſs adepts; they will find the taſk already completed by the Sect itſelf, which tells us, *that its novices are ſupported at the expenſe of the public foundations*; that its miſſionaries are paid and ſent to foreign parts by the prince, who has been miſled to believe that he was ſending men in the purſuit of arts and ſciences. Moreover, does not the Sect betray itſelf, when introducing its adepts into the *adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical property*, and with that property paying the debts of its Lodges, ſupporting the apoſtles of its conſpiracies, re-eſtabliſhing its former clubs, and erecting new ones. Let the hiſtorian reflect on the conditions under which ſuch a multitude of adepts have been uſhered into livings and other employments, and he will ſoon perceive the funds of the Sect ſwelled to an immenſe bulk by thoſe ſhares which it preſerves for its own uſe out of all the emoluments which it has procured for its adepts either in church or ſtate.

But in this ſame note an enigma occurs of a quite different nature.——The reader may have obſerved *Cato*-Zwack at once exulting in having founded a *maſonic Lodge* at Munich for the Illuminees, and in the victories gained by the Illuminees over the *Roſicrucian Maſons*. —What can have given riſe to this contradiction, at the ſame time to imitate the Free-maſons, and to declare war againſt the moſt famous adepts of Maſonry. Theſe queſtions naturally lead us to the inveſtigation of the moſt

profound device that Weiſhaupt ever invented for the propagation of his plots. They relate to his firſt attempt, to the diverſity of the means uſed, his ſucceſs, and finally to his triumphant intruſion into the maſonic Lodges. In order to ſolve them, I ſhall, in the following Chapters, lay before my reader the moſt remarkable paſſages of the Archives of the Sect, or of the letters and avowals of the moſt celebrated adepts relating to that famous plan, the execution of which belongs to the ſecond epoch of the Sect; and unfortunately it may be too truly called the epoch of the Illuminization of Free Maſonry.

CHAP. III.

Epoch of the Illuminization of Free-Maſonry.—Weiſhaupt's attempts on the Maſonic Lodges.—Acquiſition of Knigge, and his firſt Services.

LET us, for a moment, ſuppoſe every thing that has been ſaid in theſe Memoirs relating to the nature, object, origin, and ſecret of Maſonry, to be no more than a conjectural ſyſtem; let it ſtill further be ſuppoſed, that the cloud which encompaſſes the origin and hiſtory of Maſonry is for ever impenetrable; let even the Brethren and their Maſters exalt ſtill higher the merits and glory of their anceſtry; yet, for the misfortune of our cotemporaries, the day is come when all this glory is ſullied—when the Orators of their own Lodges with grief exclaim,—"Brethren and Companions, give free vent to "your ſorrow; the days of *innocent Equality* are gone by. "However holy our myſteries may have been, the Lodges "are now profaned and ſullied.—Brethren and Companions, let your tears flow;—attired in your mourning "robes attend, and let us ſeal up the gates of our temples, "for the profane have found means of penetrating into "them. They have converted them into retreats for their "impiety, into dens of conſpirators. Within the ſacred "walls they have planned their horrid deeds, and the ruin "of nations. Let us weep over our *legions* which they "have ſeduced. Lodges that may ſerve as hiding places "for theſe conſpirators muſt remain for ever ſhut both to "us and to every good citizen."* Theſe complaints and awful lamentations are not mine; they proceed from the mouth of the venerable Maſter of a Lodge; they are contained in the funeral oration pronounced on Maſonry in preſence of the Brethren aſſembled for the laſt time in a Lodge in Germany, and ſighing over the ſorrowful deſtiny of their Confraternity. Unfortunately for the honor of the Brotherhood, their ſorrow was but too well-ground-

* See the diſcourſe of the Orator on the ſhutting up of a Lodge.

ed; and it is our duty to adduce proofs of it. Whatever may have been its myſteries heretofore, FREE-MASONRY *is now become criminal.* If it be not ſo in itſelf, it is become ſo through Weiſhaupt's means; it has brought about, or he has brought about through its means, the moſt diſaſtrous of all revolutions. This awful truth can no longer remain hidden. Hiſtory muſt ſound its trumpet, and let it adduce its proofs; for never has it yet given ſo awful a leſſon to nations on the fatal effects of ſecret ſocieties.

From the commencement of his Illuminiſm Weiſhaupt had foreſeen the great ſupport he could draw from the multitude of Free Maſons diſperſed throughout Europe, ſhould he ever be fortunate enough to form an alliance with them. "Let me tell you a piece of news," he writes to *Ajax* as early as the year 1777; "Before the next carnival I ſhall go to Munich, and ſhall get myſelf admitted a Free-maſon. Do not let this alarm you; *our buſineſs will not ſuffer in the leaſt; but by this ſtep we become acquainted with a tie or new ſecret, and by that means ſhall be ſtronger than the others.*"* Weiſhaupt accordingly received the firſt degrees of Maſonry at Munich, in St. Theodore's Lodge. At firſt he could only obſerve the bagatelle of an innocent fraternity, yet even then he perceived that *Equality* and *Liberty* were the groundwork of all the amuſements of the Brotherhood. He ſurmiſed further myſteries. In vain they aſſured him, that all political or religious diſcuſſions were baniſhed from the Lodges, and that every true Maſon was eſſentially a ſtaunch friend to his prince and to Chriſtianity. He had ſaid the ſame thing to *his Novices* and to *his Minervals*; and he knew too well what became of all theſe proteſtations in his Illuminiſm. He eaſily conceived that a ſimilar fate awaited theſe declarations in the higher degrees of Maſonry. Soon his faithful Zwack furniſhed him with the means of penetrating into the higher myſteries of Maſonry without ſubjecting himſelf to all the neceſſary trials. This latter adept had made acquaintance at Augſbourg with an Abbé of the name of MAROTTI. At one of theſe interviews Marotti *had initiated him into the higher degrees, and even into thoſe of the Scotch Lodges. —He had explained to him all the myſteries of Maſonry,*

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Letter 6, to *Ajax.*

absolutely founded, as he said, *on religion and the history of the church*. *Cato-Zwack* shews us, by the eagerness with which he announces his discovery to *Spartacus-Weishaupt*, how much this explication coincided with the plots of his impiety.* No sooner has Weishaupt (who on his side was making all possible enquiries) received the news of this interview, though no particulars were mentioned, than he immediately answers, "I doubt "much whether you are acquainted with the real object "of Masonry; but I have acquired some information on "that subject, which I mean to make use of in my plan, "and *which I reserve for our higher degrees*.† *Cato* soon sent a circumstantial account to his master of the *explanation* that had been communicated to him, and received for answer, "the important discovery you have "made at *Nicodemia* (Augsbourg), in your interview "with the Abbé Marotti, *gives me extreme pleasure*.— "*Profit of this occasion, and get all you can from him*."‡

In reading such passages of their most intimate correspondence, one is naturally led to ask what can occasion this extreme joy in the two most monstrous conspirators that have ever appeared on earth, at the mere discovery of the mysteries of the occult Lodges of Masonry, and of those even of the *Scotch* Lodges!—Has Weishaupt then been anticipated by the Masons in the explanation he had given of their symbols, and which he has actually inserted in his mysteries?§ Could there have pre-existed in these occult Lodges of Masonry an impiety and plots strangely preparatory for that infidelity and those plots of *Cato* and *Spartacus?*—The consequence is frightful, but is that a reason why nations should be blind and deny the testimony of truth; are we, for the honor of Masonry, to be silent on the hidden snares laid for them, and which will continue to be laid not only for them but for all nations in general.‖

Well satisfied with the discovery he had made, Wei-

* See *Cato*'s Journal, *Diarium des Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. I.

† Ibid. Letter 31, 2d Dec. 1778.

‡ Original Writings, Letter of the 6th Jan. 1779.

§ See Vol. III. of these Memoirs, *Degree of Epopt*.

‖ Ibid. Letter 32.

ſhaupt begins to preſs the eſtabliſhment of a Maſonic Lodge for his pupils of Munich. He immediately ordered all his Areopagites to get themſelves made Maſons; he laid his plans for ſimilar initiations at Aichſtadt; and in all the other colonies of the Order.* Notwithſtanding all his efforts, ſucceſs declared but ſlowly in his favor.—He was in poſſeſſion of the ſecrets of the Maſons, but they were not initiated in his.—The Roſicrucians ſaw with regret another ſecret ſociety riſing, which drew its members from their Lodges, which already began to bring their meetings into diſrepute by bragging that it alone was in poſſeſſion of the real ſecrets of Maſonry.—Notwithſtanding the impiety of the ſecrets of the Roſicrucians, and though their ſyſtems all had a ſimilar tendency with reſpect to the annihilation of Chriſtianity, ſtill the path they had choſen was quite different from that which Weiſhaupt had adopted. He deſpiſed all the nonſenſe of their Alchymy; above all he deteſted their Theoſophy. He laughed at the double principle, at the *good* and *evil* genii, and at all thoſe dæmons on which the Roſicrucian founds his Magic, Cabal, and Myſteries of ABRAC;† in ſhort, notwithſtanding all the benefit Weiſhaupt expected to reap from theſe myſteries, ſymbols and explanations of Maſonry, he treated with the moſt ſove-

* Let it be always remembered, that we continue to except the Maſons who only acknowledge the firſt three degrees; *but* EVEN THESE *ought never to forget, that it was preciſely their firſt three degrees which ſerved as* A CLOAK *to the grand intruſion of Illuminiſm.*

† The word *Abrac* is derived from *Abraxas*, which is only a ſet of Greek letters put together by BASILIDES, a famous Sophiſter of Alexandria, and an hereſiarch of the ſecond century, expreſſing the number of 365 *Intelligences* or ſpirits, which conſtituted his God. St. Jerome ſays, that *Abraxas* was the fictitious God of *Baſilides*, expreſſed in Greek numerals,

A B P A Ξ A Σ
1.2.100.1.60.1.200.

Baſilides grounded all his magic on the number of his genii; and hence the term *Science of Abrac* is uſed for the ſcience of Magic *(Vide Hieronimus adverſus Luciferum—Auguſtinus liber de hæreſiis—Tertullian de Baſilide.)* —MANES adopted many of his errors from this Baſilides, and particularly his *Eons* and his magic. Theſe *myſteries of Abrac* are mentioned in the Maſonic manuſcript of Oxford, which bears teſtimony that ſome Brethren were as much addicted to theſe *myſteries of Abrac* three hundred years ago, as many of our modern Roſicrucians.

vereign contempt every thing that is purely cabaliſtic folly and reverie in the Roſicruſians. He adopted all their means of impiety and laughed at their fooleries. It was the contention of impiety, fallen on the one ſide into the moſt abſurd Atheiſm, and on the other into the moſt miſerable ſuperſtition. Hence aroſe thoſe diſſentions and jealouſies mentioned by *Cato*-Zwack when tracing the progreſs of Illuminiſm; and it was for a long time doubtful which of the two competitors was to be crowned with ſucceſs. During the conflict we ſee Weiſhaupt daily inventing new means of triumph; but he was undecided as to the uſe he ſhould make of his victory.—"In the firſt "place, he writes to Zwack, "I ſhould have wiſhed to "ſend to London for a conſtitution for our Brethren; and "I ſhould ſtill be of that opinion if we could make our-"ſelves maſters of the Chapter (the Maſonic) of Munich. "You will do well to try. I can come to no determination "on that ſubject until I have ſeen what turn our affairs "take. Perhaps I ſhall only adopt a reform; or it may be "better to create a new ſyſtem of Maſonry for ourſelves; "or, may it not be tho't convenient to incorporate Ma-"ſonry into our Order, and thus to make but one body "of them both. Time alone can decide this."*

To relieve the founder from this ſtate of indeciſion, it was neceſſary that he ſhould become acquainted with a man who laid leſs ſtreſs on difficulties, and who knew how to cut them ſhort. The demon who wields the fiery ſword of revolutions throws a Hanoverian Baron in his way, of the name of KNIGGE. At this name every honeſt German Maſon will ſtart back, as at the man who corrupted *even* the fraternal bagatelles of the *firſt degrees* of Maſonry, and conſummated the depravity of their impious Roſicrucians. The honeſt Brethren, in their indignation, would almoſt forget Weiſhaupt to overpower Knigge with the whole weight of their hatred; and to heap on him alone all the opprobrium of the Lodges now become the great ſeminaries of Illuminiſm. The truth obliges us to ſay, that *Philo*-Knigge was no other than the worthy tool of *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt in this grand intruſion. That which was executed by the one had long ſince been conceived by the other; and, in all probability, had it not been for the profound combinations of the one, the wicked activi-

Philo-Knigge.

* Original Writings, Letter 57 to *Cato*, March 1782.

ty of the other would have proved fruitleſs in its attempts. —Unfortunately in the re-union of their baneful talents were to be found all the requiſites for the moſt conſummate conſpirators; in the one, for the directing of the moſt diſaſtrous of all Sects; in the other, for the propagation of its myſteries and the recruiting of its conſpiring bands.

Weiſhaupt, like Satan, profoundly meditated the deſtruction of mankind, while Knigge may be compared to thoſe Genii winged like the plague, ever hovering and impatient to receive the Orders of the King of Hell to bend their courſe wherever he will point out evil to be done. Weiſhaupt proceeds ſlowly in his combinations, weighs his reſources, compares the different eſſays, and, leſt he ſhould miſtake, defers and ſuſpends his choice. Knigge, in his levity, has ſooner acted than deliberated; he ſees where evil can be done; he does it, and is ready to ſound a retreat, ſhould his firſt attempts fail of ſucceſs. The one foreſees the obſtacles he may have to encounter, and ſeeks to evade them; the other proceeds boldly in ſpite of all, and looks on the time ſpent in reflection as ſo much loſt from the execution. The former is aware of every fault that can impede his progreſs; the latter proceeds heedleſs of the falſe ſteps he may have taken.

Encompaſſed with darkneſs, how great would have been the happineſs of Weiſhaupt could he but have been gratified with a ſight of the world in ruins, and that without being himſelf ſeen! The conſciouſneſs of his crimes would have been to him that grateful ſenſation which virtue raiſes in the honeſt heart. The power of doing harm is more dear to him, than a celebrity which might have proved fatal to the execution of his plots. Knigge, on the contrary, ſhows himſelf every where, meddles with every thing; his utmoſt ambition was to appear to have been the agent in whatever was done. Both are impious, and both have ſworn the overthrow of the laws; but Weiſhaupt from the very beginning had laid down his principles; he had followed them through all their conſequences; his revolution is to be the accompliſhment of them all; and he will think his attempt fruitleſs, ſhould a ſingle law, ſocial or religious, eſcape the general wreck. With Knigge, both his impiety and his plans of rebellion have had their gradual progreſſion: he ſucceſſively attended all the public and occult ſchools of the Infideli-

ty of the age. He can vary his means and adapt himself to the different characters he has to deal with. He also wishes for a revolution, but he will not lose the occasion of one that offers, in hopes of that particular one which he wishes to operate. Where he cannot form an Atheist, he will form a Deist or a Sceptic; as circumstances may require, he will act the part of any species of Sophister, or engage in any degree of rebellion. Weishaupt wishes to involve in universal ruin, religion, magistrates, society, and property, that he may instal his *nomade* clans, his *Men Kings*, and his *Equality* and *Liberty*. Knigge is content to destroy less, provided he despotically sways over all that has escaped destruction. In the silent shades of his retreat, the one has more accurately studied the nature of man, and has laid his plans for new-modelling human nature according to his views. The other is better acquainted with them from his habit of intrigue, and is easier pleased with the ascendancy he can require over them. In short, the former may be said to prepare his poisons with more art, while the latter retails them better; and between them they wield the mighty power of destruction.

When the common enemy of human nature brought these two fiends of rebellion in contact with each other, they had already acquired all those habits and means which must render their union fatal to mankind. The Hanoverian Baron had been cast upon the earth nearly at the same time that the Bavarian monster had been engendered. His whole life appears to have been but one continued preparation for the part he was to act in seconding Weishaupt, and particularly to open the gates of the Lodges from the North to the South, and from the East to the west, to receive the founder of Illuminism, and deliver over to him all those adepts who, trained by the higher mysteries of Masonry, had long since been prepared to receive those of the modern *Spartacus*.

Knigge informs us, that from his youth he had always had an invincible propensity towards secret societies; and that while a boy he had founded one of those little societies so common in the Protestant Universities, and of which we have before spoken. He had acquired this turn from his father, whom he had observed spending his time in the study of the Masonic Mysteries, and his money in the vain pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone. The father's

gold had vaniſhed in the crucible, and the ſon reaped nothing but the droſs. No ſooner had he attained the neceſſary age, than he got himſelf made a Freemaſon in one of thoſe Lodges called of the *Strict Obſervance.* He roſe to the degree of *Templar*, that is to ſay, of thoſe Maſons who, ſtill flattering themſelves with the hopes of recovering the poſſeſſions of that once celebrated Order, diſtribute in the mean time the different titles formerly borne by thoſe Knights. Knigge became one of theſe Brother Commanders under the title of Eques a Cygno *(Knight of the Swan).* Contrary to his expectations, he found this to be but an empty title without any emolument. Wiſhing to make up for this deficiency, and ſtill more actuated with the deſire of acquiring that importance in the Lodges at leaſt, which he could not acquire elſewhere, he made himſelf the diſciple of the famous Mountebank SCHROEDER at Marbourg. When in company with this Schroeder, or the Caglioſtro of Germany, *What man*, as he ſays himſelf, *would not have been fired with zeal for Theoſophy, Magic, and Alchymy?* Theſe were the myſteries of the Maſons of the *Strict Obſervance. Violent, fantaſtical*, and *reſtleſs*, as he deſcribes himſelf, he at the age of five and twenty was a firm believer in all theſe myſteries; he even practiſed all the evocations of ſpirits, and other follies of ancient and modern Cabal. Soon he began to doubt whether *he really believed or ought to believe* in all this ſtuff. *He flattered himſelf* with the hopes that, in the midſt of theſe enchantments and magic ſpells, *the chaos of his ideas would ſubſide.* To gain knowledge, and put his mind at eaſe, he would willingly have gained admiſſion into every Maſonic Lodge. He found means of getting admitted into the higher degrees, *procured the rareſt and moſt myſterious manuſcripts*, and even ſtudied all their different Sects.* Then, as if he wiſhed to convert himſelf into a vaſt emporium of every error, he applied to the doctrines of the modern Sophiſters, and thus plied his unfortunate brain on the one ſide with all the delirious conceits of Cabaliſtic Maſonry, and on the other with the impious doctrines of the ſelf-created Philoſophers. His attempts at fortune were ſimilar to thoſe he had made for the acquiſition of ſcience, nor was he more ſucceſsful.—A courtier without

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 24.

favor, he deſerts his Prince to take the direction of a Play-houſe; thence he accepts a commiſſion in the ſervice of the Prince of Heſſe Caſſel; but is ſoon diſmiſſed, in conſequence of the violence and reſtleſſneſs of his temper.—He then turns author, and writes violent declamations againſt the Roman Catholics; then, in conſequence of ſome hope of preferment (I know not what), he makes a public profeſſion of their faith; but, not ſucceeding as he hoped, he deſerts them, abuſes them more ſcurrilouſly than ever, takes part with the Proteſtants, but writes in favor of Deiſm.* Such had been the reſtleſs education of the man who was to prove the moſt worthy ſupporter and the moſt active co-operator that Weiſhaupt yet had found.

By a ſtrange coincidence, juſt at the very time that theſe Conſpirators met, Knigge had been projecting a conqueſt of Maſonry, and had formed ſuch plans for an univerſal conſpiracy, that he ſcarcely leaves the honor of invention to Weiſhaupt. The account given by Knigge will beſt explain this coincidence.

It was in the year of our Lord 1780; and a general aſſembly of Maſons had been convoked at Willemſbaden for the next year, under the protection of the Duke of Brunſwick and of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. "On "the news of this," ſays *Philo*-Knigge, "I caſt an eye "on the immenſe multitude of brethren: I obſerved it to "be compoſed of men of all ſtations in life, of noblemen, "of men of great riches, of great power, and alſo of Bre-"thren poſſeſſing great knowledge and activity. I ſaw "theſe men all actuated by one common ſentiment, tho' "I could not very well conceive the object of their union. "I ſaw them all bound by an oath of the moſt profound "ſecrecy, without being able to form any better idea as "to the object of it. I beheld them divided in their opi-"nions, nor could I comprehend on which ſide the error "lay; ſtill leſs could I ſurmiſe what had been the grand "obſtacle that had impeded the advantages which man-"kind had reaſon to expect from Freemaſonry.—Never-"theleſs how great would theſe advantages have been, if "diſtinguiſhing actions from ſpeculations, opinions had "been left to each individual, while a regular ſyſtem of "conduct was followed, perpetually tending towards the

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 25.

" advantage of humanity in general, *and of the Brethren* " *in particular!* Had they agreed on a ſyſtem of laws " for the mutual and general ſupport of each other; to " raiſe depreſſed or obſcure merit; to ſecond with all the " power and influence of Maſonry all plans for general " utility; *to favor the advancement of the Brethren; to* " *meaſure out the different employments in the State to* " *the Brethren, according to their capacities, and in pro-* " *portion as they ſhould have profited of the advantages* " *to be reaped from* SECRET SOCIETIES *in the arts of* " *knowing men and of governing them without con-* " *ſtraint.*"*

" Meditating and muſing on theſe ideas," continues " Knigge, " I had reſolved on all my plans of reform, " and had ſent them to Willemſbaden. I received polite " anſwers; they promiſed to take my work into conſide- " ration at the general meeting, that was about to be held. " But I ſoon had reaſon to believe, that the benevolent " and diſintereſted views of the illuſtrious chiefs and pro- " tectors of Maſonry would be but very ill ſeconded; that " partial views and diſcordant intereſts would play off " every artifice to make the ſyſtems of particular Sects " predominate; and I foreſaw how difficult it would *be* " *to make one cap fit ſo many heads.* Meanwhile I com- " municated my plans to different Maſons, and repeated- " ly expreſſed my fears; when, in July 1780, I made ac- " quaintance with *Diomedes* (the Marquis of Conſtan- " za) in a Lodge at Frankfort on the Mein, who had " been ſent from Bavaria by the Illuminees to eſtabliſh " new Colonies in the Proteſtant States. I informed him " of my views with reſpect to a general reform of Free- " maſonry; and that, perfectly convinced of the inutility " of the meeting at Willemſbaden I had reſolved to work " at the eſtabliſhment of my ſyſtem ſeconded by a few " Maſons my particular friends, and who were ſpread " throughout Germany. After having heard me explain " my intentions, why," ſaid he, " ſhould you give your- " ſelf the trouble to found a new ſociety, when there al- " ready exiſts one which has undertaken all that you wiſh " to do, which can in every way gratify your thirſt for " knowledge, and open a wide field for your activity and " deſire of being uſeful; a ſociety, in ſhort, which is in

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 28.

"poſſeſſion of all the ſciences and all the authority neces-
"ſary for the accompliſhment of your object."*

The Marquis was correct; for there exiſted a moſt ſtriking coincidence between the plots of his maſter and thoſe propoſed by Knigge to raiſe depreſſed or obſcure merit, and ſuccor ſuffering virtue; to teach the adepts the art of knowing men; to conduct mankind to happineſs, and to govern them without their perceiving it.—Like Knigge, Weiſhaupt alſo had invented that inviſible concatenation which, proceeding from the tenebrous meeting of his lurking ſenate, was to extend its ramifications over every claſs of citizens, and, dictating laws from theſe dark receſſes, the Brotherhood was to leave no art untried to cauſe them to be promulgated by the councils of the Prince.† Thus far the two Archconſpirators follow the ſame plan; but the truth is, that Weiſhaupt only ſeeks power to deſtroy, and gives laws but to annihilate every law; while *Philo*-Knigge will look upon nations as ſufficiently free, provided he can but ſubject their magiſtrates and rulers to the decrees of the Maſonic Lodges; though the Liberty, therefore, ſought by the one be the death of ſociety, that of the other will be its eternal ſhame. Two ſuch men could not long remain ſeparate; pride may give riſe to temporary diſagreements: but they will co-operate ſufficiently for the miſery of mankind.

Knigge could ſcarcely expreſs the joy and aſtoniſhment with which he learned that the plans he had conceived were already executing. He threw himſelf into the arms of the Illuminizing Apoſtle, and immediately received the degrees of Candidate, of Novice, and was even admitted into the *Minerval* Academy. Weiſhaupt ſoon felt the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, though in Revolutionary Impiety he found Knigge even more advanced than he wiſhed. This latter immediately ſet to work for the Illuminees with as much zeal as if he had been proſecuting his own plan, and took upon himſelf the miſſion on which *Diomedes* had been ſent. Never had Illuminiſm beheld ſo active and ſo inſinuating a

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 32.

† Original Writings, firſt Statutes of the Illuminee, and Inſtructions for the Regent.

Recruiter. The liſt of Novices and Brethren was ſwollen with amazing rapidity, nor did he, like Weiſhaupt, merely enliſt youths coming from the College, but men who had attained the age of maturity, and whoſe impiety was already known to him.—He more particularly ſelected thoſe whom in the Lodges he had obſerved to have a greater propenſity for the Occult Myſteries.

Weiſhaupt in his firſt ſurprize could not help admiring his new Apoſtle; and thus extols him to his Areopagites: "*Philo*-Knigge alone does more than all of you "put together could even hope to do. . . . *Philo* is the "maſter from whom you all ſhould take leſſons. . . . "Give me only ſix ſuch men, and I will engage to change "the whole face of the univerſe."* The grand point which gave Weiſhaupt ſo much pleaſure was the *diſcovery of that generation of men* who were already prepared for his plots, and which in part diſpenſed with the laborious education he had found neceſſary for the preparation of youth; and indeed we ſoon after ſee him inſtructing his recruiters to follow Knigge's method of proceeding.† Nor was he leſs pleaſed to ſee the Sect daily gaining ground, and that without any violence, in thoſe very Lodges which he wiſhed ſo much to reduce under his ſubjection. This rapid ſucceſs, however, gave riſe to difficulties which muſt have diſguſted any other man; but Knigge was exactly the perſon to remedy them.

Tricked by the Apoſtolic Marquis, as the latter had been before by Weiſhaupt, with regard to the antiquity, omniſcience, and power of Illuminiſm, Knigge had only been admitted as yet to the preparatory degrees; nor had he the leaſt ſuſpicion that the remaining degrees had no exiſtence but in the brain or portfolio of the modern *Spartacus*. He expected grand myſteries; he aſked for them, both in his own name and in the name of the Old Maſons who were not to be treated like boys from the college in their *Minerval* Academy.—Weiſhaupt had recourſe to all thoſe ſubterfuges by which he had heretofore ſucceeded in keeping his pupils in ſuſpenſe with reſpect to the higher myſteries; and the more he extolled them by aſking for new trials the more preſſing Knigge

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 56, and Laſt Obſervations, P. 49.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 7.

became, who told him that such trials might be *necessary in the Catholic countries, but were by no means so in the Protestant ones*, where the spirit of Philosophy had made a much greater progress.*—Weishaupt continued to shift his ground, and Knigge became more pressing in his demands.—The old Masons, famous for decyphering the hieroglyphics, asked for some which might answer to the enthusiasm with which he had inspired them. They threw out hints of abandoning him as an impostor who had deluded them with idle promises, unless he kept his word with them; and Illuminism must have been irreparably undone had so many Brethren abandoned him under that persuasion. These perpetual solicitations at length forced Weishaupt's secret from him: "His letters (says "Knigge) at length informed me, that this Order, pro-"fessedly so ancient, had no other existence than in his "own head, and in the *preparatory classes* he had esta-"blished in the Catholic countries; but that he had a "large quantity of excellent materials for the higher de-"grees. In making this avowal he begged me to pardon "his little finesse; for (said he) I have sought in vain af-"ter worthy co-operators; no person has ever entered so "deeply into my views as you have; nor has any person "seconded me with so much activity. He told me, that "I was a man sent from Heaven to second him in his "undertaking; that he threw himself upon my honor, "and was willing to give me up all his papers; and that "in future, not looking upon himself as my superior, he "would be content to work under my direction; that the "Brethren were expecting me in Bavaria, where all the "necessary steps could be agreed upon, and that they were "ready to pay my expenses there."†

Had Weishaupt thought Knigge to be a man less to be depended upon, this would have been the only error we should have seen this conspiring genius fall into. He must have been the only man on earth who could have looked upon his higher degrees and means of seduction as incomplete. The mysteries and the discourse for the degree of Epopt were finished; all that has been laid before the reader on this degree was already composed; ‡ Knigge

* Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.

† Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.

‡ See the original of this discourse in the Original Writings, Vol. II, Part II.

may have ornamented the impiety and disorganizing principles; but neither Knigge nor all the powers of hell could have added to them. The same may be said of the means of seduction. All the cunning of the *Insinuators* and *directing Illuminees* is to be found either in his first degrees, or in the instruction for the Provincials; his irresolution can only be attributed to the immensity of his powers for seduction which no other person but himself could conceive. Hence he was led to suppose that what he had done was incomplete, because he thought he could do it still better. In a word, had he sent his code as it was, Knigge would have profited of what had been completed, and would never even have surmised that he could have perfected it. Elated to a great degree at the idea of extricating from a difficulty a man whose plots and systems so perfectly coincided with his own, he hastened to his succor. He had soon run over all the papers that Weishaupt entrusted him with; made his appearance at the Council of the Areopagites; and in a few days got the better of all their irresolution with respect to the division of classes and degrees, and of the higher and lower mysteries. The chief point, and which in these circumstances required an immediate decision, was to know what rank should be given to the Freemasons in the Order, as a mode of facilitating the general intrusion into the Lodges. Knigge had already proved that they might entirely rely on him as to the number of Masonic brethren to be gained over to Illuminism; his vote carried the point, and the *Intermediary Class* of Masonry was irrevocably determined.

About this time the Deputies of the Lodges flocked from all parts to Willemsbaden. It was an object of great importance for Weishaupt and his Council, that no steps inimical to their views on Masonry should be taken at that assembly.—To obtain an account of all their proceedings, *Philo* had taken care to have *Minos* named a deputy. As to himself, he preferred being in the neighborhood of the congress, there to watch its motions, and only to act by his agents. He had received full powers from Weishaupt and the Council of Areopagites to take such steps as circumstances might require.

The article which required the greatest expedition was, to complete the higher parts of the code, and to decide on what degrees were to be given to the Masons, who were

too far advanced in the myſteries to be ſubjected to the trials of the Minerval School; and Knigge had ſpeedily executed this firſt part of his miſſion. His active pen had ſoon made choice of its materials from Weiſhaupt's portfolio. According to his agreement with the Areopagites, he left all the preparatory degrees, ſuch as *Novice*, *Minerval*, and *Minor Illuminee*, which had already been conferred on ſeveral of the adepts, in their primitive ſtate. It had alſo been agreed, that the *firſt three degrees* of Maſonry (now become the intermediary degrees of Illuminiſm) ſhould not be touched. He united the *Major* Illuminee to the Scotch degrees. In the degree of *Epopt* and Regent, he condenſed every ſeditious and impious principle, as well as every article that he could find in Weiſhaupt's works; and hence aroſe that aſtoniſhing code already inveſtigated in the foregoing volume.

It was not long before Weiſhaupt again gave way to his irreſolution; for he was always inventing ſome new art of ſeduction; but while he was deliberating Knigge was acting. The ſucceſs of the ſecond part of his miſſion, or his views on the Maſons of Willemſbaden, entirely depending on the final determination of the myſteries for the degrees of *Epopt* and *Regent*, Weiſhaupt was preſſed once more, and, approving the whole, *he ſigned and ſealed them with the grand ſeal of the Order.*

Knigge now had only to attend to his miſſion at Willemſbaden. We ſhall ſoon follow him to that Congreſs of Maſonry; but we muſt firſt explain to our readers of what ſpecies of men this grand aſſembly was compoſed; and what the great agents were, that had already prepared the ſucceſs and enſured the triumph of the new myſteries over thoſe of Freemaſonry.*

* For the whole of this chapter, ſee the Laſt Obſervations of *Philo*, from P. 55 to 123; alſo his firſt Letter to *Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. II. and his convention with the Areopagites, Ibid.

CHAP. IV.

Congreſs of the Freemaſons at Willemſbaden—Of their divers Sects, and particularly of that of the Theoſophiphical Illuminees.

IT was by no means the deputies of an inſignificant ſociety that were flocking from all parts of the univerſe to Willemſbaden. At that period, many maſons conceived their numbers to amount to *three millions* of brethren; and the *Lodge de la Candeur* at Paris, in its *Circular Letter of the 31ſt May*, 1782, ſuppoſes that France alone contained *one million*. Doctor Stark (one of the moſt learned writers of the Order) in his work on the ancient and modern myſteries, poſitively ſays, that at the loweſt computation *the number of maſons at that time muſt have amounted to one million.** Let the hiſtorian abide by this eſtimate, let him be ever ſo partial, yet at the ſight of theſe deputies ſent by a *Secret Society* compoſed of at leaſt a million of adepts, all flocking to their myſterious congreſs, what ſerious reflections muſt ariſe, and how important the conſideration both to nations and their rulers!

What inconceivable motive is it then that draws forth theſe agents and deputies from all parts of the globe, from Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, agents of men all bound by the oath of ſecrecy, both as to the nature of their aſſociation and the object of their myſteries? What intentions can actuate, what plans are brought by theſe deputies of ſo formidable an aſſociation ſecretly ſpreading its ramifications around us, throughout town and country, creeping into our habitations, and encompaſſing empires? What do they meditate, what are they going to combine either for or againſt nations? If they thus convene for the general good of humanity, and the welfare of nations, whence do they derive their right of deliberating on our religion, morals, or governments? Who has entruſted them with our intereſts? Who has ſubject-

* Chap. 15.

ed the world to their decrees and their pretended wiſdom? Who has told them that we wiſh to act, to think, or to be governed according to their deciſions and ſubterraneous machinations; or in their language according to their *induſtrious and ſecret influence.*

Should their plans be conſpiracies, ariſing in a wiſh to change the nature of our worſhip and of our laws, inſidious Brethren, perfidious citizens, by what right do you pretend to live among us as children of the ſame ſociety, or ſubject to the ſame magiſtrates?

But ſhould it neither be for nor againſt nations, ſhould their only object be to draw more cloſe the bonds of their fraternity, to propagate their benevolence, and their general love of mankind, then will I anſwer, Amuſe the populace with ſuch bubbles, *ad Populum Phaleras!* What! you that live on the banks of the Thames or of the Tagus, in the plains watered by the Tiber or Viſtula, are you to emigrate to the Rhine or to the Elbe, there in the dark abodes of Maſonry to coaleſce and deliberate with men whom you have never before ſeen nor will ever meet again? There is great occaſion for you to go there to learn how to love and ſuccor thoſe with whom you daily cohabit! The Engliſhman, the Ruſſian, or the American, is to go and bury himſelf in a German Lodge to learn how to be charitable at home!—The voice of nature and of the Goſpel then is only to be heard within the ſecret receſſes of Maſonry? Or are we to be told, that men have braved the dangers of the Ocean and croſſed whole empires to aſſiſt at a fraternal banquet, there to drink a toaſt given in a *zig-zag* or a *ſquare*; or perhaps to chant ſome hymns ſacred to innocent Equality; and that for theſe harmleſs amuſements they ſhould have choſen a den only worthy of the deepeſt conſpirators! Let them find other pretences, or not wonder of being ſuſpected of conſpiring. Such language every citizen, every magiſtrate, every ſovereign, was entitled to hold to theſe deputies flocking to Willemſbaden. Happy would it have been for Maſonry had ſuch language been held; for it might have ſaved the Brethren the eternal ſhame of having become the vile inſtruments and accomplices of Weiſhaupt.

Had any religious body, had even the Biſhops of the church, held a general meeting, the civil power, without doubt, would have uſed its right of ſending its commiſſa-

ries to such a meeting, and they would have been instructed to watch, lest under pretence of debating on ecclesiastical affairs, the right of the state should be infringed.—But all governments permitted the masons peaceably to proceed to the congress of Willemsbaden. The brethren even had passports from the civil powers. For more than six months did these deputies deliberate in their immense Lodge, without any sovereign harboring the least suspicion as to his own safety, or that of his people. They all relied on those princes who were themselves initiated in the mysteries of Masonry; they were in all probability ignorant that *Brethren of that rank are but partially admitted to the secrets of the Sect*; nor were they aware, that great names are only cloaks under which secret societies often conspire against their very protectors. They had not conceived, that the *only means of escaping* the vengeance of such societies was TO TOLERATE NONE, not even those that are known to be innocent; for the conspirator, ever watchful, can have no more favorable opportunity of assuming the garb of innocence, than in these secret recesses, where sooner or later he will find means of involving the undesigning members in his criminal plots.

General state of Freemasonry when the Meeting at Willemsbaden took place.

Sovereigns were equally ignorant of the state in which Masonry was at the time of the too famous meeting of Willemsbaden; had they but known it, the utmost severity might have become a duty on them. To judge by the writings of the Sect, it never had been less disposed to a reform, which some it would seem wished to promote, and which Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, a Scotch Baronet, had attempted to bring about forty years before; nor is it clear that the reform he had attempted was favorable to religion. In order to unite the efforts of the Brethren towards some useful object, he had conceived the plan of an Encyclopædia, which was to have been executed by all the learned Masons of the world.* If the posthumous works attributed to Ramsay are really his (such as *The Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion and of Revelation*, printed under his name in 1749, six years after his death) I could not venture to say, that he had not forgotten the greater part of those lessons which he had received from Fenelon, or that the Masonic En-

* See Der auf gezogene vorhang der Frey Maurery, P. 302.

cyclopædia would have been a better work than that executed by the Sophiſters D'Alembert and Diderot; neither would I vouch that any reform was intended at that time in the ancient myſteries of the Lodges, other than the introduction of many antichriſtian errors, together with thoſe of the Metempſichoſis. But, whatever may have been the reform projected by Ramſay, every thing denoted that that which the Brethren were about to accompliſh at Wilhemſbaden would be no other than the conſummation of the myſteries or plots of the Roſicrucians, *(See Note at the end of the Chapter)*. In reality, theſe myſteries as well as thoſe of the Scotch Knights had only been new modelled, the better to meet the wiſhes of the Sophiſters, and of the Impoſtors of the age. In France alone, under the ſucceſſive protection of the Princes of Clermont, of Conti, and of the Duke of Orleans, all Grand Maſters of the Order, the *Clermontois Brethren*, the *African Brethren*, the *Knights of the Eagle*, the *Adept*, the *Sublime Philoſopher*, were ſo many national inventions added to Maſonry; and all theſe degrees were ſteps towards our Revolution. In Germany we ſee *Roſa* combining all theſe French inventions with the ancient Scotch myſteries; the Baron *Hund* and *Shubard* ſubdividing Maſonry into the *Strict Obſervance* and the *Lax Obſervance*. Under the name of *Templar Maſons*, it daily beheld new degrees invented, more and more threatening to Kings and Pontiffs, who had ſuppreſſed the Templars. There alſo appeared the Phyſician *Zinnendorf*, and with him were introduced the modern *Roſicrucians* from Sweden, and their new myſteries of the *Cabal*, while the impoſtor *Jaeger* was propagating his at Ratisbon.

There was not one of theſe new maſonic Sects that did not revive ſome ancient ſyſtem of impiety or rebellion. But the worſt of the whole clan was a ſort of *Illuminees* calling themſelves *Theoſophs*, whom I find continually confounded by ſome people with thoſe of Weiſhaupt.—They are certainly no better; but they are a different Sect. The neceſſity under which I lie to diſtinguiſh them, leſt the hiſtorian ſhould be miſled, obliges me to trace them to their origin, and to give a ſhort account of their myſteries.

All the *Theoſophical Illuminces* of this age in England, France, Sweden, or Germany, have drawn their princi- The Theoſo-

phical Illuminees, or Swedenborgian Masons.

ples from the *Baron Emmanuel Swedenborg*. This name, to be sure, does not seem to denote the founder of a Sect. Swedenborg became one, perhaps, without dreaming of any such thing, and through one of those extraordinary incidents which Providence in an age of impiety permits to humble the pride of our Sophisters. He was son of the Lutheran Bishop of Skara, and was born at Upsal in 1688. After having passed the greater part of his life in the most incongruous pursuits, as a Poet, a Philosopher, a Metaphysician, a Mineralogist, a Sailor, a Divine, and an Astronomer, he was attacked by one of those violent fevers which leave the organs of the human frame in a very deranged state.* His meditations or rather reveries, took the form of those speculations to which he had formerly been addicted, on the Infinite, the Creation, the Spirit, Matter, God, and Nature. All on a sudden he thought himself inspired, and sent by God to reveal new truths. The following is the account he gives of his apostleship.

"I was one day dining very late at my hotel in London, and I ate with great appetite, when at the end of "my repast I perceived a sort of fog which obstructed my "view, and my floor was covered with hideous reptiles. "They disappeared, the darkness was dispersed, and I "plainly saw, in the midst of a bright light, a man sitting "in the corner of my room, who said in a terrible voice, "*Do not eat so much.* At these words my sight was be-"dimmed; but I regained it little by little, and then "found that I was alone. The next night, the same man, "resplendent with light, stood before me, and said: *I am* "*the Lord, Creator, and Redeemer; I have chosen you* "*to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of* "*the sacred Scriptures. I will dictate what you shall* "*write.* This time I was not affrighted; and the light, "though very vivid, did not affect my sight. The Lord "was clothed in purple, and the vision continued for a "quarter of an hour. This very night the eyes of my "*interior* were opened and enabled to see into heaven, "into the world of spirits, into hell, in which places I

* I do not see that any of his adepts have mentioned this illness; but indeed I am not surprized at it. I quote it on the authority of a Physician, who learned it from several other Physicians of London.

" found many of my acquaintances, some who had been " long since dead, others only a short time."*

This vision would appear more worthy of a man to whom one might say in a less terrible voice, *Do not eat so much*, but rather, indeed, *Do not drink so much*. Swedenborg declares it to have been in the year 1745. He lived till 1772, perpetually writing new volumes of his revelations, travelling every year from England to Sweden, and daily from earth to heaven or to hell. It requires exceeding great patience to wade through all these works; and when one has studied them, it is difficult to form an idea of their author. In this Theosophical Illuminee some will behold a man in a constant delirium; others will trace the Sophister and Infidel; while others again will take him for an impostor and hypocrite. Is it the madman, the visionary madman in the regions of Folly, that is sought? Let the reader follow him in his frequent journies to the world of spirits, or let him have the patience to hear him tell what he has seen. On one side he shews us a paradise perfectly corresponding with the earth, and the angels doing every thing in the other world that men do in this. On the other, he describes heaven and its plains, its forests, its rivers, its towns, and its provinces; he then proceeds to the schools for infant angels; to the universities for the learned angels; to fairs for the commercial angels, and particularly for the English and Dutch angels. The spirits are male and female; they marry, and Swedenborg was present at a marriage. This marriage is celestial; " but," says he, " we are not to infer " that the celestial couples are unacquainted with voluptuousness. . . . The propensity to unite, imprinted " by the Creator, exists in the *spiritual bodies*, as it does " in the material bodies. The angels of both sexes are " always in the most perfect state of beauty, youth, and " vigor. They enjoy therefore the utmost voluptuousness " of conjugal love, and that to a much greater degree than " it is possible for mortals."†

From this delirium let us proceed to the impostor.—The whole life and writings of Swedenborg depose against him. To begin with his writings, it is always God or

* See the Preface to the Abridgement of Swedenborg's Works.

† Swedenborg on the celestial Jerusalem—of the spiritual world—of the English—of the Dutch, &c.—Art. Heaven.

an angel that ſpeaks. Every thing that he tells us he has ſeen in heaven himſelf, and he is at liberty to go there as often as he pleaſes. He has ſpirits at his command; and they reveal to him the moſt ſecret tranſactions. The Princeſs Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, ſends to conſult him why her brother the Prince of Pruſſia had died without anſwering a certain letter which ſhe had written to him. Swedenborg promiſes to conſult the deceaſed. The following day he returns, and addreſſes himſelf as follows to the Queen: "Your brother appeared to me laſt night, "and ordered me to inform you, that he had not anſwered your letter becauſe he diſapproved your conduct, because your imprudent politics and your ambition were "the cauſes of the effuſion of blood. I command you "therefore in his name to meddle no more in ſtate affairs, and particularly not any more to excite troubles "to which you would ſooner or later fall the victim."—The Queen was aſtoniſhed; Swedenborg told her things that ſhe alone and the deceaſed could know; and the reputation of the prophet was much increaſed. For my readers to form their judgment, it will be ſufficient for them to know that the letter the Queen had written had been intercepted by two ſenators, who profited of this occaſion to give her the above leſſon through the medium of Swedenborg.*

Take another trait of the Impoſtor:—The Counteſs of Mansfield is afraid of having to pay a ſum of money a ſecond time, the receipt being miſlaid at her huſband's death. She conſults Swedenborg, and in the name of the deceaſed he comes to acquaint her where the receipt was to be found: He could very eaſily give the information

* See Mr. Rollig's letter in the *Monat Shrifft* of Berlin, January, 1788. When the diſciples of Swedenborg ſaw Mr. Rollig's letter appear, they gave a new turn to the ſtory. It was no longer the Queen queſtioning Swedenborg about the letter; ſhe ſimply aſked, *Whether he had ſeen her brother?* Swedenborg is ſaid at the end of a week to return to the Queen, and tell her things that ſhe believed herſelf to be alone converſant with, after the deceaſe of the Prince. This contrivance gives a whole week in place of a day to prepare the trick. I now learn a third; according to De Mainauduc, the letter was ſcarcely written when Swedenborg, without even ſeeing it, divines the object and dictates the anſwer before hand. When this ſcheme is exploded, it is to be hoped that the brethren will invent another.

to be ſure, for he had found the receipt in a book which had been returned him by the Count. It was the Queen Ulrica who gave this natural explanation of the fact; yet ſhe is nevertheleſs quoted by the diſciples as an authority to prove the miracle.* Certainly we have ſhown enough of the impoſtor; but the important perſon for our conſideration is the Illuminizing law-giver, the Sophiſter of Impiety; and Swedenborg's character partakes much more of this than is generally ſuppoſed. His manner would lead us to think that his hypocriſy was not inferior to his impiety. Never did any man ſpeak more of the love of God and of the love of his neighbor; never did any perſon more frequently quote the Prophets and the Scriptures; or affect more reſpect for Chriſt and more zeal for Chriſtianity; never did any one better aſſume the character and tone of a ſincere, religious, and upright man: Nevertheleſs, I muſt ſay, never did any man ſhow more duplicity and impiety; never did any one conceal the moſt reſolute deſign of annihilating Chriſtianity and every Religion, under the maſk of zeal, more completely than he did. Let all his followers proteſt againſt this aſſertion; to expoſe the *two ſyſtems* of their maſter will amply ſuffice to juſtify the imputation. I ſay *two ſyſtems*, becauſe as Swedenborg always had *two ſenſes*, the one *internal* and *allegorical*, the other *external* or *literal*, to explain and overthrow the Scriptures; ſo he has alſo *two ſyſtems*, the one apparent for fools and dupes; the other ſecret and hidden, and reſerved for the adepts; the one tending only in appearance to reform Chriſtianity on the reveries of Deiſm; the other leading to all the Impiety of Atheiſm, Spinoſiſm, Fanaticiſm, and Materialiſm.

I lament with my readers, that ſuch is the nature of our revolutions, that to know and unfold their cauſes it is neceſſary to ſtudy manifold Sects, and wade through diſguſting ſyſtems. Few people are aware of the multitude of Antichriſtian, impious, and tenebrous factions that had overrun the earth to prepare the advent of our diſaſters. I myſelf for a long time deſpiſed theſe *Theoſophical Illuminees*. But I found them at Wilhemſbaden; and the part they acted at firſt in concurrence with Weiſhaupt,

* Preface to the Abridgment of Swedenborg's Works—the Edition of them by Pernetti—Eſſay on the Illuminees written by Mirabeau, Note 8.

and afterward in union with him, obliged me to investigate their Sect; and my reader must have a short and precise idea of each of their two systems. The first, which I call *apparent*, is compiled for men who still wish to preserve the words God, Religion, Spirit, Heaven, and Hell; but who, swerving from Christianity, are abandoned by the Almighty to all the absurdities and follies of *Anthropomorphism*. For such persons Swedenborg has invented *two worlds*, the one *invisible and spiritual*, the other *visible and natural*. Each of these worlds has the *form of a man*; together they compound the universe, which has also the *form of a man*.

Swedenborg's apparent system.

on worlds.

The spiritual world comprehends *Heaven*; *the World of Spirits, and Hell*. This Heaven, World of Spirits, and Hell, are formed *to the Image of Man*, that is to say of God himself.

on God.

For God is also man; *indeed it is only the Lord* or God, *that can be properly called man*.—This God man is *uncreated, infinite, present every where by his humanity*—Though God and Man at the same time, he is but of one nature, one essence, and particularly *but one in person*.—It is true, there is a God the Father, a God the Son, and a God the Holy Ghost, but Jesus Christ alone is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as he manifests himself by the creation, redemption, or sanctification; and *the Trinity of persons in God*, according to Swedenborg, *is an impiety which has produced many others*.

This doctrine against the Trinity is one of those articles to which the Sophister and his disciples most frequently advert, and particularly insist upon, even in their Catechisms for children.

on Man.

Though we are to believe the existence of but one nature and of one person in this *God-Man*, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, yet in each man we are to conceive two distinct men; the one *spiritual* and *interior*, the other *exterior* and *natural*. The *Man-spirit or interior*, has a *heart*, *lungs*, *feet* and *hands*, and all the different parts of the human frame, which belong to the *visible* and *exterior* man.*

* Every thing that is said here of this system is extracted either from the Works of Swedenborg, which I have in my possession, such as his *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem*, *his Spi-*

There are also three distinct things in every man, *the body, the soul, and the spirit.* We are all acquainted with the body, and Swedenborg makes no change in it; but his *spirit* is that *interior man*, who has *a heart, lungs, and a spiritual body* entirely modelled on the natural body. But the *soul*, that is the man himself, *children receive from their father; the body is the envelope and is of the mother.*

Notwithstanding this body, this spirit, and this soul, *every thing that man thinks or that he wills is infused into him through the influence of Heaven or of Hell.* "He imagines that his thoughts are actually his own, and his volition in himself and from himself, while nevertheless the whole is infused into him. If he believed the real fact, he would not then appropriate evil actions to himself, for he would reject them from himself to Hell, whence they come. Neither would he appropriate to himself good actions, and for that reason would pretend to no merit from them. He would be happy; he would see according to the Lord, the Good and the Evil;"* or, in other words, he will find that he is master neither of his thoughts nor actions; that he is deprived of free-agency, and that he can neither merit nor demerit.

This poor being who so grossly mistakes himself when he believes himself to be thinking or acting of himself, has also fallen into a multitude of other religious errors, because he does not rightly understand the sacred scriptures. In the Books of Revelation every thing is *allegorical*, every thing has two senses, the one *celestial, spiritual, interior*; the other, *natural, exterior, literal.* It is from not having understood the spiritual and celestial sense that Christians have believed in the Son of God made Man, and in his death on the Cross for the Redemption of mankind. Swedenborg, one day present in Heaven at a great council, heard and repeats these words of an angel, who was a great divine: "How is it possible that the Christian world can abjure sound reason, and rave to such a degree as to establish the fundamental

ritual World, his Apocalypse Revealed; or from divers abridgments of his Works in French and English, made by his disciples.

* Extract from the New Jerusalem and from the Arcana, *Art.* INFLUENCE, No. 277.

" principles of their belief on paradoxes of such a nature, " which evidently militate against the divine essence, the " divine love, the divine wisdom, the omnipotence, and " the univeral presence of God? What he is supposed " to have done, a good master would not have done against " his servants, nor even a wild beast against its young!"* The same angel told him many other things, which overturn all the remaining articles of the Christian belief.—One point in particular he asserts, which must give pleasure to the wicked, when he teaches them to scoff at Hell, particularly when he says, *that it is contrary to the divine essence to deprive a single man of his mercy; that the whole of those doctrines are contrary to the divine nature, which the Christian world does not seem to be aware of.*†

Another part of the doctrine which must be also very acceptable to the wicked, is the state with which Swedenborg flatters them in the other world, and the time he gives them after death to gain Heaven. According to his new Gospel, the instant that man believes to be that of his death, is the moment of his resurrection; and no other resurrection is allowed of. At that very instant *he appears in the spiritual world under the human form*, exactly as if he was in this world; under *this form* he becomes an angel, and no other angels exist but those who become so at their departure from this world. All these angels inhabit the world of spirits, and are received there by other angels, who instruct them in the *spiritual sense* of the Scriptures. They are allowed till the age of thirty to learn this *sense*, and to repent in the world of spirits.—But lest we should revert to the delirious Illuminee, let us hasten to that part of his doctrines which constitutes the grand hopes of his disciples on earth. After having expounded all the mysteries of Christianity according to his spiritual and allegorical sense, that is to say, after having substituted his doctrines to those of the Gospel, Swedenborg informs them, that the day willcome when the whole of his doctrine shall be received in this world.—

His New Jerusalem.

This happy day will be that on which the *New Jerusalem* shall be re-established on earth. This New Jerusalem will be the reign of the new church, of Jesus Christ

* See Abridgment of Swedenborg, *Art.* REDEMPTION.
† Ibid.

reigning alone over the earth, as he formerly did over our forefathers before the deluge. It will be the golden age of true Chriſtianity; and then the revolution foretold by Swedenborg will be accompliſhed with his prophecies.

Such is that which I have denominated the *apparent ſyſtem* of the Baron de Swedenborg. My readers may eaſily obſerve, that ſuch tools in the hands of the adepts muſt ſuffice to eradicate true Chriſtianity from the minds of their dupes, and to make their New Jeruſalem a plea for thoſe revolutions which, in order to recall ancient times, are, in the name of God and of his prophet, to overthrow all the altars and thrones exiſting under the preſent Jeruſalem, that is to ſay, under the preſent churches and governments.

From the midſt of this chaos of delirium, and theſe prophecies of rebellion, let us bring forth that other ſyſtem, which appears to have been reſerved to the profound adepts. It is that of Materialiſm and of the pureſt Atheiſm. This ſyſtem is occult in Swedenborg's works, but it is wholly contained in them. Here we ſhould no longer have to deal with the prophet in delirium, but with the moſt artful Sophiſter, were I not aware that ſuch hypocriſy is not entirely incompatible with a diſordered mind. I will explain: it ſometimes happens, that the minds of men will rave on certain queſtions, though perfectly ſenſible and reaſonable on others. There are alſo madmen who will conſtantly purſue their object; their principles may be extravagant, but they never loſe ſight of their conſequences. They will even reaſon on them, and combine them with all the art of the moſt ſubtle Sophiſter.—I think it is in this claſs that Swedenborg is to be ranked; I believe it, becauſe not only his writings, but many circumſtances in his life, ſerve to confirm the conjecture. For example: at Stockholm, after having made a general officer (who came to pay him a viſit from Mr. Euler, the Prince of Orange's librarian) wait in his antichamber for a conſiderable time, he at length came to him and made his excuſes, by ſaying, Indeed, General, juſt at that moment St. Peter and St. Paul were with me; and you eaſily apprehend, that when one receives ſuch viſitors one is in no hurry to diſmiſs them.—My readers muſt as eaſily conceive the opinion the General formed of the Baron, and the account he gave of him to Euler.

His hidden ſyſtem.

At another time, on a journey from Stockholm to Berlin, one of his companions, awakened by a noiſe which Swedendorg was making, and thinking he was ill, went into his room. He there found him in bed, faſt aſleep, very much agitated, and in agreat heat, repeating in a loud voice the queſtions and anſwers of a converſation which he dreamt he was holding with the Virgin Mary. The next day his fellow-traveller aſked the Baron how he had ſlept the night before; he anſwered, "I had yeſterday "aſked a favor of the Virgin Mary in the moſt preſſing "manner; ſhe paid me a viſit this night, and I had a long "converſation with her."

The firſt of theſe facts will be vouched for by Mr. Euler; and with reſpect to the ſecond I think it is as well founded.

We will now ſhow how theſe anecdotes are blended with the hiſtory of a Sect that has powerfully contributed towards our Revolution.

Swedenborg, anterior to the derangement of his mind, had formed a ſyſtem leading to Materialiſm; and this continued deeply rooted in his mind after his illneſs. He then added his male and female ſpirits, and ſome extravagances of the ſame nature. With reſpect to the remainder of his ſyſtem, he follows up his principles in a conſequent manner, and unfortunately the whole tends to Materialiſm. Sophiſters and infidels, no doubt, ſoon perceived that they could make a tool of this unfortunate man; they ſet him up as a Prophet, and his reveries were oppoſed to the truths of Chriſtianity. Let us for a moment attend to his moſt zealous and artful apoſtles. It is thus that they ſpeak of his firſt works, in order to captivate the reader's mind in favor of his ſubſequent writings. "According to the diſcoveries made by the Baron "de Swedenborg, every human body conſiſts of ſeveral "orders, of forms diſtinct among themſelves, according to "the apparent degree of purity reſpectively belonging to "each; that is to ſay, in the inferior degree is to be found "the baſis or receptacle of the ſecond degree, which is "more pure and more *interior* than the firſt. In the "ſame manner, the ſecond ſerves as the baſis or receptacle for the third, which is more elevated, and is the "pureſt and moſt *interior* of the three. It is in the latter "that reſides *the human ſpirits, which is an organized "form* ANIMA, *correſponding with the corporal ſpirit*.

« ANIMUS, and vivifying it, while it derives its own life « directly from the ſpiritual world."*

After having ſeen this famous diſcovery of the maſter, and on which the diſciples lay ſo much ſtreſs, let us inquire what are the true ſignifications of, or real expreſſions appropriate to this *human ſpirit* or *organized form*, which Swedenborg calls the *ſoul*; or to this *corporal ſpirit* denominated *animus*. This *ſoul* and this *ſpirit* will be found to be no other than organized matter, one of thoſe *bodies* which is called the *germ*, and which are as much matter, both in the animal or vegetable reign, as the body, the branch, or the fruits they produce. It is eaſy then to conceive what Swedenborg means by *form* or *ſoul*, or by that *ſpirit* which has lungs, feet, and all the different parts of the human body. The ſoul is *organized matter*, and the ſpirit is *living matter*. Terms may be changed, but in fact nothing is to be found but matter, and a monſter of hypocriſy, who, after the example of the ſoul, will reduce his God to matter alſo. To prove this aſſertion, let the following propoſition be noticed—*God is life, becauſe God is love—Love is his eſſence, wiſdom his exiſtence—The heat of the ſpiritual Sun is love, its light is wiſdom.*† What a deal of twiſting and turning to ſay, that God is no more than the heat and light of a *Sun* ſuppoſed to be *ſpiritual*; for if God is *love and wiſdom*, and that this *love and wiſdom* are only the *heat and light* of this Sun, is it not evident that God is nothing more than the heat and light of that Sun. When, therefore, the reader ſhall, in Swedenborg's works, meet with expreſſions ſuch as theſe, *God is life, becauſe God is love, and he alone is life*, he will naturally ſubſtitute *God is life becauſe he is heat*; *he alone is life becauſe life is only ſupported by heat*; and he will have Swedenborg's real meaning. This might ſtill leave ſome idea of a ſpirituality, if this Sun, whoſe light and heat are God, was really ſpiritual; but for the ſolution of this queſtion let us again appeal to Swedenborg, and we ſhall find that the *ſpiritual ſun* is nothing more than *atmoſpheres, receptacles of fire and of light, the extremity of which produces the natural*

* Dialogues on the nature, the object, and evidence of Swedenborg's theological writings, London 1790, page 24 and 25. ——Alſo the Animal Reign, and the Economy of the Animal Reign, by Swedenborg.

† See the Abridgment of Swedenborg, *Art.* GOD.

ſun. This alſo has its *atmoſpheres, which have produced by three degrees material ſubſtances.—Theſe ſame atmoſpheres of* the natural ſun, *decreaſing in activity and in expanſion, ultimately form maſſes whoſe parts are brought together by the preſſion of weighty ſubſtances that are fixed and at reſt, and which we call matter.** In clearer and more intelligible language, here will be the Deity and its generations according to Swedenborg. In the firſt place, a Sun, ſuppoſed ſpiritual, forms itſelf in the higher regions of the moſt ardent and luminous fire: the heat and light of this fire is God. This God, in this ſtate, as well as this Sun, is nothing more than matter in a ſtate of expanſion, agitation, fire, and incandeſcence. As long as matter remains in theſe burning regions, Swedenborg does not chuſe to call it matter, but the *ſpiritual ſun.*—Particles leſs ſubtle, or not ſo much heated, are carried to the extremity of theſe regions. There they cluſter together, and the *natural ſun* is formed. They are not matter as yet; but the groſſer particles of this ſecond ſun unite together at the extremity of its atmoſpheres; there they clump together, cool, thicken, and form heavy maſſes, and at length acquire the appellation of matter. Theſe particles are no longer God, or the ſpiritual ſun, becauſe they are no longer in a ſtate of fire. What then is this God of Swedenborg, if it is not fire, or all matter in a ſtate of fire, ceaſing only to be God, when it ceaſes to be burning and luminous? And what abominable hypocriſy is this, where, under the cloak of thus changing the terms, the moſt downright materialiſm is preached?

Let my reader form what opinion he pleaſes as to the man who has broached ſuch impious abſurdities; he muſt never forget that there exiſt men always ready to adopt the moſt extravagant errors. Some becauſe they are unable to diſtinguiſh a ſophiſm, others again becauſe their impiety leads them to rejoice at every new blaſphemy.—Swedenborg has met with diſciples of both theſe deſcriptions; and hence aroſe two diſtinct Sects, the one public, the other occult. The firſt comprehends thoſe men ſo eaſily impoſed upon by hypocriſy, and by their own credulity; they had called themſelves Chriſtians and adored Jeſus Chriſt; but when Swedenborg had called his God *heat and light*; or his *ſpiritual ſun* by the name of

* Ibid. *Art.* CREATION.

Jeſus Chriſt, they ſtill continued to think themſelves the followers of Chriſt, though they were only the Spectators of Swedenborg's reveries. He evidently is the declared enemy of the principal myſteries of revelation, particularly of the Trinity, and of the Redemption of mankind by the Son of God dying on a croſs for the ſalvation of ſinners; he nevertheleſs talks a great deal about revelation; he aſſumes a devout tone, and with his *allegorical* and *ſpiritual ſenſe* would appear rather to reform than to deſtroy all; and his followers do not perceive that with his allegorical ſenſe he is only repeating the arguments of the Sophiſters againſt revealed religion, in order to renew all the follies and impieties of the Perſians, Magi, and Materialiſts.* They tell theſe poor people of his miraculous viſions, of his prophecies, and of his diſcourſing with the angels and ſpirits; they are ignorant of the firſt principles of criticiſm, and believe in all theſe marvellous ſtories of Swedenborg, juſt as children do in the hiſtory of Raw-head-and-bloody-bones told them by an old nurſe.

The *new Jeruſalem* in particular has gained over many proſelytes to Swedenborg. I obſerve in one of the moſt famous abridgments of his works, that ſo early as the year 1788, *the ſingle town of Mancheſter contained* SEVEN THOUSAND *of theſe illuminized Jeruſalemites, and that there were about* TWENTY THOUSAND *in England.*† Many of theſe beatified beings may be very well intentioned; but with this new Jeruſalem they daily expect that great revolution which is to ſweep from the earth every prince and every king, that the God of Swedenborg may reign uncontroled over the whole globe.‡ And that revolution, which they ſaw burſting forth in France, was nothing more in their eyes than the fire that was to purify the earth to prepare the way for their Jeruſalem.

* Some readers, I know, will be ſurpriſed to ſee me charge with materialiſm a man who talks ſo much of the ſpirit, ſoul, God, and religion. But I muſt requeſt them to weigh the proofs adduced before they decide againſt me. Had I been writing another ſort of work I might have prolonged the diſcuſſion; but I think I have ſaid ſufficient to prove, that Swedenborg never acknowledged any other ſpirit but matter, or the elementary fire.

† Ibid. Preface to a note, Page lxviii.

‡ See his Apocalypſe Revealed.

Should they ſtill remain in the dark as to the menacing tendency of ſuch doctrines for every ſtate, let them learn it from the revolutionary Sophiſters. They have publicly declared the hopes they have conceived of thoſe *Sects that are ſpringing up on all ſides, particularly in the north of Europe* (Sweden) *and in America.* They even in plain terms expreſs their expectations grounded on the *great number of Swedenborg's ſectators and commentators.**

And indeed if we do but caſt our eyes on thoſe that are moſt admired by the Sect, we ſhall find all the grand principles of the revolutionary Equality and Liberty, and thoſe Jacobinical declamations againſt the Great, the Noble, and the Rich, and againſt all governments. We ſhall find, for example, that their *Religion*, or their new Jeruſalem, *cannot be welcomed by the Great, becauſe the Great are born tranſgreſſors of its firſt precept.* Neither can it be approved by the Nobles, becauſe *when mortals aſpired at nobility, they became proud and wicked.* Still leſs can it be admired by thoſe who do not delight in the confuſion of ranks, becauſe *the pride of ranks produced inhumanity and even ferocity*; and even long before the revolution we ſhall ſee the adepts inculcating that grand principle of anarchy and revolution, that *the law is the expreſſion of the general will*, and thus preparing the people to diſregard every law that had been made heretofore, either by their ſovereigns, their parliaments, or their ſenates; encouraging them to ſound the alarm, to overthrow them all, and to ſubſtitute the decrees and capricious conceits of the populace in their ſtead.

But all this revolutionary concatenation as yet only characteriſes *the dupes* of the Sect of Illuminizing Jeruſalemites. The profound adepts had taken refuge in the dens of the *Roſicrucian maſonry.* Thoſe were their natural aſylums, the greater part of the tenets perfectly coinciding with thoſe of the ancient Roſicrucians. After the example of their Doctors, Swedenborg tells us, that his doctrines are all of the higheſt antiquity, and ſimilar to thoſe of the Egyptians, the Magi, and the Greeks; he even aſſerts them to be anterior to the deluge. His new Jeruſalem has alſo its JEHOVAH, its *loſt word*, that has

* Preface to the *Phyſical Obſervations*, anno 1790, by La Metherie.

been at length revealed to Swedenborg. Should any perſon be tempted to ſeek it elſewhere, he muſt go in queſt of it among thoſe clans where Chriſtianity and political laws are not known.* Swedenborg tells us, that it might be found in the north of China, and in Great Tartary, that is to ſay among that ſpecies of men who have preſerved the moſt of that Equality, Liberty, and Independence, which the *learned* Jacobins pretend to have been anterior to civil ſociety, and which moſt certainly is incompatible with it. Here then it appears, that Swedenborg's views coincide with thoſe of the occult lodges, aiming at the overthrow of every religious and civil law, and at the downfall of every throne. His God *heat* and *light*, his God fire and ſpiritual ſun, his twofold world and twofold man, are only modifications of the God light and the twofold principle of Manes. The Roſicrucians muſt then have found in Swedenborg's ſyſtems what they ſo much admired in the Manichæans. Their Magic, Evocations, *Eons*, Cabal, &c, were to be traced in the male and female ſpirits. In ſhort, what numberleſs adepts muſt not this *new Jeruſalem*, or revolution, carrying man back to primitive Equality and Liberty, have found in the occult Lodges? It was there indeed that Swedenborg's myſteries become connected with thoſe of the ancient Brethren. Theſe new or compound adepts ſtyled themſelves *Illuminees*. Notwithſtanding the Atheiſm and Materialiſm of their maſter, they, after his example, perpetually talked of God and of ſpirits; they even affected to ſpeak much of God, and people were perſuaded that they believed in a Deity; hence they received the denomination of *Theoſophical Illuminees*. Like the writings of their founder, their hiſtory is a mere labyrinth of impiety and impoſture. It will ſuffice for our readers, at

* Swedenborg's expreſſions are, De hoc *verbo* vetuſto quod ante verbum Iſraeliticum in Aſia fuerat, referre meretur hoc novum; quod ibi adhuc reſervatum ſit, apud populos qui in Magna Tartaria habitant. Locutus ſum cum ſpiritibus et angelis qui in mundo ſpirituali inde erant, qui dixerunt quod poſſideant verbum, et quod id ab antiquis temporibus poſſederint—Quærite de eo in Chinâ et forte invenietis illud apud Tartaros. (*Apocalipſis Revelata, Chap.* 1. *No.* 11.) Is not this a continuation of that ſame plan, always holding out nations plunged in the moſt ſavage ignorance, and a perpetual prey to anarchy, Equality and Liberty, as the models to which we ought to look up?

this period, to know that their head-quarters was at Avignon;* that they had a famous lodge at Lyons; that they were ſpreading chiefly in Sweden, and were making progreſs in Germany. Their myſteries at that time had mingled with thoſe of the Martiniſts; or it might be more correct to ſay, that the Martiniſts were only a reform of the Swedenborgians; and in France the appellations of Illuminee and Martiniſt were ſynonymous. In Germany they began to diſtinguiſh themſelves under the names of *Peilaletes* and *Benevolent Knights*. But whatever may have been their aſſumed names, they moſt certainly of all the modern Maſons were the neareſt of kin to Weiſhaupt. Syſtems and means may have differed ſufficiently to excite jealouſies; but on both ſides we find the ſame determined wiſh for a revolution as antiſocial as it was anti-religious. They were equally ardent in their deſire of multiplying their adepts, by a general intruſion into the Maſonic Lodges. Both Sects had their deputies at Willemſbaden, and I will deſcribe their mutual conteſts and ſucceſſes in the following Chapter.

* In a work under the title of *The Red Lodge diſcovered to Sovereigns*, I read, that "the Rite of the Theoſophical Illumi-"nees appears to have taken its origin at Edinburgh, where "*the Red Lodge* was formed by a ſciſſion from the *Blue Lodge*; "that this Red Lodge (of the Theoſophical Illuminees had "immediately eſtabliſhed a ſubordinate Lodge at Avignon." *(Page 9 and 10.)*—I ſhould have been very glad to have found proof of this origin, as at preſent it reſts on the bare aſſertion of the author. Be that as it may, however, the Illuminees of Avignon are ſufficiently well known in France. Ever ſince the year 1783, that Lodge has been looked upon as the parent ſtock of all thoſe that have ſince ſpread over France with their abominable myſteries.

And here I think it right to ſay, that this *Red Lodge diſcovered to Sovereigns* is by no means the work that I mentioned in my ſecond volume under the title of *Depoſitions made by Kleiner*. The extracts made from this latter work, and which are in my poſſeſſion, give me reaſon to think, that it contains details of a very different nature. The author there ſpeaks as an eye-witneſs; and, among other things, gives the tradition current in his Lodge, and with reſpect to the leſſons that Weiſhaupt is ſuppoſed to have received from a certain Kölmer.—Theſe depoſitions would be a valuable document; and it is, perhaps, on that very account that the Illuminees have deſtroyed it. At leaſt I am obliged to ſay, that, notwithſtanding the numerous inquiries which I have made, I have not been able to procure it.

Note to CHAP. IV. *vide Page* 81.

I think it incumbent on me in this place to mention the obſervations which I have heard, and the ſtrictures that I have received from divers Maſons, on what has been ſaid of their degrees in the ſecond volume of theſe Memoirs. According to ſome of the Brethren, *I have ſaid a great deal too much;* according to others, *I have not ſaid enough.* The reader will eaſily conceive, that the former conſiſts of thoſe Brethren in whoſe favor an exception has been made, as too honeſt and upright to be admitted to the higher myſteries; and that the latter are men who, after having been admitted into the occult Lodges, bluſh to think that they could ever have deſerved ſuch an admiſſion. Both are entitled to my thanks; I alſo owe them an anſwer; more particularly thoſe German obſervers, who have been kind enough to ſend me ſome very important diſcuſſions on Maſonry, and whoſe learning can only be equalled by their politeneſs. They are perſons of too accurate underſtandings not to perceive that their negative teſtimony muſt naturally vaniſh before the poſitive evidence of thoſe who confeſs the whole. A very ancient Maſon, ſpeaking of a particular Lodge of which he had been a member, told me, "He was perfectly "aware, that ſeveral Maſons, reſpectable for the purity both "of their religious and political principles, and of their gene-"ral conduct, had often attended a certain Lodge; but that *he* "*alſo knew what precautions were taken when they were pre-*"*ſent;* and further he could aſſert, that the generality of the "Brethren belonging to that Lodge had been the moſt ardent "promoters of the Revolution. Some of them had held high "ſtations in it, and one of them had become miniſter." Theſe *precautions taken* are more than a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe who have not ſeen any thing improper, tho' admitted to the Lodges.

In the ſecond place, my German obſervers, though they wiſh to juſtify the inſtitution and views of Free-maſonry, candidly confeſs, *that Maſonry has been corrupted for more than theſe three hundred years paſt;* and this is more than ſufficient to prove the intrigues to which it has been ſubſervient.

The principal objection made by theſe gentlemen is, that I have confounded Free-maſonry, which has but three degrees, with the new and ancient Roſicrucians, and other degrees of modern creation. My anſwer is, that if ALL *Maſons* are not *Roſicrucians*, ALL *Roſicrucians* are *Maſons;* that I have made the proper exceptions for the firſt three degrees; but that will not hinder theſe firſt degrees from being, as they really have been for this long time, a noviciate for the Roſicrucian degrees. I will not diſpute upon terms; let any perſon give me a name by which I may call this body of *Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, Maſters, and Roſicrucians*, and I will with pleaſure admit it; but till that be done I muſt ſpeak ſuch a language as my readers can underſtand. In ſhort, I know that Maſonry formerly exiſted without Roſicrucians; but I ſhould be glad to

fee it proved, that thofe occult myfteries now removed to the Roficrucian degrees did not belong to the firft three degrees. I think I could prove that they did; and the inference would be, that Maſonry at no time could have been free from thofe dangerous myſteries or real plots. At preſent it ſuffices for my object, to have proved what the Maſonry of the preſent day is; and that is moſt certainly demonſtrated by the very nature and the authentic documents of its higher degrees. To the proofs already adduced I am now enabled to add (if I chofe it) memorials, letters, and formal declarations of repenting Maſons, certainly not men whofe teſtimony could be queſtioned. One of theſe is a worthy magiſtrate, who, admitted a Free-maſon about the year 1761, had paſſed a great part of his life in the dark receſſes of Maſonry. The other is a military man, at preſent as zealous for his religion as he formerly was for the myſteries of Maſonry. The firſt declares, that what I have ſaid of Maſonry is true, but that I have not ſaid *all*. The latter writes me word, that I have rather *ſoftened* than exaggerated the occult degrees. In fact, the former gives me a clearer inſight into the three *Roſicrucian* degrees; the firſt is entirely *Chriſtian;* the ſecond is denominated the *Founders*, or the *Cabal;* the third is that of the *Natural religion*. The particular object of this third degree was, 1ſt, to avenge the Templars; 2dly, to ſeize on the iſland of Malta, and to make it *the firſt ſeat of natural religion*. He told me indeed things ſcarcely to be credited. For example, and theſe are his words, "That about the "end of the year 1773, or in the courſe of 1774, the Lodge of "which he was Maſter received a letter from the *Grand Orient*, "purporting to be a copy of a letter which it had received "from the King of Pruſſia. It was only to be communicated "to the *Knights of Paleſtine, the Knights Kadoſh*, and the "*Scotch Directory*. This letter was tranſmitted to us by the "*correſponding Lodge;* and though it had already been read "in ſeveral Lodges, it only contained three ſignatures. It ex"horted us, *in order to fulfil the oath we had taken*, to ſign an "obligation to march at the firſt requiſition, and to contribute "both by our *perſons and our moral and phyſical powers*, to the "conqueſt of the iſland of Malta, and of all the former poſſeſ"ſions, ſituated in the two hemiſpheres, which had formerly "belonged to the *anceſtors of the Maſonic Order*. The object "*of our eſtabliſhment at Malta was the poſſibility of converting* "*that iſland into the ſeat of natural religion*." I objected to the author of this memorial, that if I wrote this account nobody would believe me. Let people believe or not, as they pleaſe, he anſwered, I *both ſaw and received the letter;* my Lodge, however, refuſed to ſign it:—I alſo ſay, let it be believed or not, I have the memorial and can atteſt, that the author is a man much and deſervedly eſteemed by all who know him.

The ſecond Obſerver, who is alſo a repenting Maſon, informs me, 1ſt, That in the hypotheſis I had advanced on the origin of Maſonry, I had only copied one of the Maſonic Traditions, which taught that *Manes* was the real founder of Maſonry. 2dly, That "in the Lodges of the Knights *Kadoſh*, af-

" ter all the oaths, ceremonies, and trials, more or leſs terri-
" ble, wicked and impious, three Manikins are ſhown to the
" Candidate, repreſenting *Clement* V. *Philippe Le Bel*, and
" the *Grand Maſter of Malta*, each attired in the attributes of
" their dignities. The unhappy fanatic is here to ſwear eternal
" hatred and death to theſe three proſcribed perſons, *entailing*
" *that hatred and death on their ſucceſſors in their default.* He
" there ſtrikes off the three heads, which, as in the degree of
" *Elect*, are real when they can be procured, or filled with
" blood if fictitious. He does this, crying out *vengeance, ven-*
" *geance!* &c." It is evident that I had ſoftened the barbarity of this decree, for I had ſpoken but of one head to be ſtruck off, when in reality there are three. I am not at liberty to name theſe two Memorialiſts; but two other witneſſes I may name. —The firſt is the Count de Gilliers, who, living on intimate terms with great and profound Maſons, had ſo well laughed them out of their ſecrets, that he gained admiſſion into the Lodges without undergoing any trials; and he makes no difficulty in ſaying, that he has been an eye-witneſs to three-fourths of what I have ſaid. The other, the Count D'Orfeuille, gives me leave to ſay, that though he was for a long time the Maſter of a Lodge, he can obſerve but very ſlight differences between the Roſicrucian degrees which he has given and ſeen given, and thoſe which I have deſcribed.

I am at preſent in poſſeſſion of twenty original Maſonic degrees; and of four accounts of the *Roſicrucian* degrees, two in manuſcript and two printed. The firſt was ſent me from Germany, the ſecond from America, the third was printed in France, and the fourth in England. They differ conſiderably from each other: but all of them coincide in about fifteen lines, preciſely the moſt impious, thoſe which contain the Maſonic explanation of INRI. The account which I followed in my ſecond volume was that publiſhed by the *Abbé Le Franc* in his *Voile Levé*, and his *Conjuration decouverte*. Several Maſons had informed me, that he had accurately delineated the proceedings of the Lodges; but I am now able to ſay whence he had procured thoſe Maſonic decrees whoſe ceremonies he had ſo well deſcribed; and I learned it in the following manner:— One of theſe reſpectable Eccleſiaſtics who have found a retreat in the generoſity of the Engliſh nation from the perſecutions of his countrymen, and who to the greateſt ſimplicity of manners joins the knowledge and practice of his duties, Mr. De La Haye, Curate of Fié in the dioceſe of Mans, hearing that I was writing on Free-maſonry, was kind enough, before he had ſeen my work, to ſend me ſome Memoirs that he had written on the ſame ſubject. When he came to aſk me my opinion on them, I told him, " that, allowing for difference of ſtyle, his work had
" long ſince been printed, and the Jacobins in return had maſ-
" ſacred the Author at the Carmes on the famous ſecond of
" September." I then ſhowed him the Abbé Le Franc's work, who had added but little to his, and both had fallen into the ſame error in attributing the origin of Maſonry to Socinus — This worthy eccleſiaſtic anſwered me, " That he had been

"perfectly unacquainted with the existence of the Abbé Le "Franc's work, but that he could easily account for its coin- "cidence with his. I had, said he, several Free-masons in my "parish. In my neighborhood in particular was that unfortu- "nate Fessier, a famous Brother of the Lodge at Alençon, since "become such a terrible Jacobin, and the intruded Bishop of "Séez. Several of these Masons renounced their errors; and, "as a proof of their total renunciation of the Lodges, they "gave me up all their papers and Masonic degrees. I had made "a digest of these degrees. Mr. Le Franc, who was at that pe- "riod in our diocese, pressed me to publish them; but I did "not dare do that, for fear of the Masons, and I rather chose "to give a copy of the whole to Mr. Le Franc, requesting him "to use it as he thought fit. Mr. Le Franc went to Paris; the "Revolution took place; and he doubtless thought it would "be useful to publish the work I had given him, having first "improved it by the polish of his style; and he certainly has "done it better than I could. If his work has done any good, "I am happy that he published it; but I am very sorry to re- "flect that it caused his death."—This latter sentiment, and the fear left I should suspect the Abbé Le Franc of a breach of confidence, seemed solely to occupy this worthy man's mind. I could not help praising Mr. Le Franc for having had more courage in publishing the work than he had had; and he had besides given it the style of a Man of Letters. The point, however, most interesting for our object is, to find in this anecdote a new proof of the authenticity of the degrees published by the Abbé Le Franc, which I had quoted with so much confidence. The testimony of repenting Masons is far more to be relied on than the assertions of those who continue to be dupes or persist in their errors.—I address this note to those readers who may still entertain any doubt of the authenticity of the degrees as I have published them. I also declare to the adepts, that nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to see an answer founded, not on nonsence and scurrilous abuse, but on good reasoning. I am perfectly aware, that a very excellent work on Masonry might be made. Their Letters and my Answers, with other materials that I have by me, may, perhaps, at some future time, furnish the subject for such a work.

CHAP. V.

Knigge's Intrigues and Succeſſes at the Congreſs.—Official Reports of the Superiors of the Order.—Multitude of Maſons illuminized at this Period.

First means employed by Knigge to gain over the Congreſs.

OF all the general aſſemblies that had been held by the Maſons for theſe laſt twenty years, whether at Brunſwick, Wiſbaden, or in any other towns in Germany, none could be compared with that of Wilhemſbaden, either for the number of the deputies or the variety of Sects of which it was compoſed. One might ſay, that all the incoherent elements of Maſonry had been thruſt into one den. Knigge informs us, that he had had the honor of being deputed by his ancient brethren; that he might have taken his ſeat and been preſent at the deliberations; but, foreſeeing the iſſue of it, he thought he could more uſefully ſerve the cauſe of his new Illuminiſm by directing the part that *Minos*-Dittfurt was to act in the interior of the Meeting, while he himſelf would hover around and obſerve the exterior. His firſt plan of attack was to gain the *Templar Maſons of the Strict Obſervance*, with whoſe ſecrets he was well acquainted, and he had frequently attended their Lodges, that he might thro' their means enſure a majority of votes. Had he ſucceeded in this plan, Weiſhaupt's code would have been decreed at this general congreſs, and would have become at once the ſtandard law for millions of Maſons ſcattered throughout the globe, who would thus have been illuminized and ready to ſally forth from their lurking places at the command of their Antiſocial Chief.

When deſcribing this plan of attack, Knigge takes care to inform his readers why he abandoned it:——"I own "(ſays he) that I always retained a certain predilection "for my former brethren of the *Strict Obſervance*; I "had already illuminized ſo great a number, that I was "in hopes of uniting their ſyſtem with ours. My inten- "tion moſt certainly could never be to deliver up to the "Congreſs all our papers, and thus to put ourſelves at "the mercy of the deputies. I had not received ſuch pow-

" ers from thoſe who ſent me. *And beſide, we, who did* " *not ſeek after that power that gives greatneſs, rank, or* " *riches; we, who did not ſeek to reign in ſplendor and* " *in the eyes of the public; we, in ſhort, whoſe conſtitu-* " *tion was to act in ſilence and with ſecrecy;* how could " we go and make ourſelves dependent on an Order ſo " deſtitute of unity in its ſyſtems.

" I made, however, an offer of my ſervices; I made it " both in writing and by word of mouth; and all the an- " ſwer I received was, that I might ſend or preſent my " papers to the Congreſs, and that they would judge of " thoſe parts that were to be approved or rejected."*

Stung to the quick at ſuch contempt, Knigge conceived himſelf abſolved from all his oaths, and from every duty toward his ancient brethren. Abandoning all hopes of conquering the whole body, *he reſolved to attack them one by one, and then to gain over the whole body, Lodge by Lodge.* He agreed with the aſſeſſor *Minos* to direct their whole attention in future toward two points; the firſt, to hinder the aſſembly from paſſing any reſolutions detrimental to the intereſts of their Illuminiſm; the other, to facilitate its intruſion into the Lodges, and that with ſo much art that no degree, nor any Grand Maſter, could be an obſtacle to the domination of the Bavarian Brethren; and that means ſhould be found ſooner or later to unite the code of the Illuminees with that of the Maſons. —Such was the object of the miſſion entruſted by Knigge to his co-adept *Minos*, whom he charged to get the following reſolutions paſſed: " 1ſt, A ſort of union of all " the Maſonic ſyſtems in the firſt three degrees, ſo that a " Maſon admitted to theſe three degrees ſhould be ac- " knowledged as a true brother by every Lodge of what- " ever claſs or ſyſtem it might be.—2dly, That in com- " mon Maſonry no mention ſhould ever be made of the " higher degrees or of the unknown Superiors.——3dly, " That all tranſmitting of money to the Maſonic Supe- " riors ſhould be forbidden.——4thly, That a new code " ſhould be prepared for the brethren.—5thly, That eve- " ry Lodge ſhould chooſe its own Superiors and Direc- " tory, that is to ſay, ſhould declare to which Grand " Lodge they choſe theirs ſhould be ſubject."†

* Laſt Obſervations of *Philo*, Page 83.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1132, or January 1783.

While *Minos* was thus following his inſtructions within, Knigge was without, acting the part of Inſinuator and Scrutator. "I ſought to know, (ſays he in the ſame report to the Areopagites) and I knew what turn things were taking in the aſſembly. I knew all the different ſyſtems that different parties wiſhed to make predominate; I then entered into a correſpondence, which I ſtill continue, with the Chiefs of Zinnendorf's party.* I alſo founded the Chiefs of other parties by various means. Several came of themſelves and diſcloſed themſelves to me, entruſting me with all their ſecrets becauſe they knew that I was ſolely actuated by a wiſh for the general good, and not by perſonal conſiderations. In ſhort, ſome of the deputies learned *(I know not how)* that our Illuminiſm was in exiſtence. They *almoſt all* came to me to entreat me to admit them;—I thought it proper to exact the *reverſal letters* (of our candidates) from them, commanding them to keep abſolute ſilence on the ſubject; but I took care not to entruſt them with the leaſt part of our ſecrets. I only ſpoke to them of our myſteries in general terms, during the whole time that the Congreſs continued."†

This method of proceeding, and the art with which he inſinuated that Maſonry, undoubtedly, was in poſſeſſion of myſteries of the higheſt importance; but that the profound Maſons, who were in poſſeſſion of ſuch myſteries, were not to be met with at the congreſs, greatly augmented the curioſity and ſtimulated the ardor of the deputies for his Illuminiſm. The care with which he took the *reverſal letters*, the character of candidate, the promiſe he exacted at the ſame time of all theſe deputies not to ſecond any propoſition detrimental to the new brotherhood, were ſufficient to enſure him againſt any reſolutions that might be entered into by the meeting. Beſide, the diſpoſitions he obſerved in theſe deputies were ſufficient to ſtrengthen his hopes. "I owe them the juſtice to ſay," he continues in his report, "that I found *the greateſt part of them in the beſt diſpoſitions*; that if their con-

* This ſyſtem of Zinnendorf was an incoherent medley of the Scotch and Swediſh degrees, of the Knights Templars, of the *Confidants of St. John;* and at that time was the predominant ſyſtem in Germany.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1122, or January 1782.

" duct was not effective it was for want of having been " nurtured in a better ſchool.* It was with plea- " ſure I obſerved, that if the *excellent intentions* that had " brought theſe men together *from all corners of Maſon-* " *ry*, were not more efficacious, it was becauſe they could " not agree on principles. *Moſt of them* appeared to be " ready to follow any ſyſtem that they judged conducive " to give to their Order that utility and activity that was " the object of all their wiſhes."†

Whatever may be the partiality of the hiſtorian for the Maſonic Brotherhood, it will be impoſſible for him to invalidate this terrible evidence of Knigge againſt their choſen and privileged members; againſt thoſe whom the Order judged moſt worthy of repreſenting it in ſolemn congreſs. No man can miſconceive the ſignification of *beſt diſpoſitions* or of *excellent intentions* in the mouth of *Philo*-Knigge. They evidently demonſtrate men who needed only to be made acquainted with the means of working a revolution of impiety and anarchy, to undertake it. This vaſt Brotherhood of Maſons muſt, at this period at leaſt, have been ſorely affected in its higher myſteries. It was prepared for conſpirators even of Weiſhaupt's ſtamp.

Certain of ſucceſs, Knigge ſeems to have left the aſſembly to its diſorderly deliberations; and notwithſtanding the imprudence with which he taxes *Minos*, the latter ſucceeded in obtaining the decree of the principal particulars agreed between them. It was forbidden that any brethren ſhould call each other Heretics *(Verketzern)*. It was decided that the firſt three degrees alone ſhould be looked upon as eſſential to Maſonry. Commiſſaries were named to digeſt certain regulations, the plan of which had been given by the aſſembly, as well as of a general code. The choice of the higher degrees and of ſyſtems was left to the deciſions of each Lodge. The reſt of the deliberations were as boiſterous as might be expected from the variety of Sects. I have before me a manuſcript account of this aſſembly written by a very learned Maſon, and it contains nearly as much lamentation as it does inſtruction. Among other things I find, that the Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick was proclaimed Grand Maſter of all Maſonry, and that few members recognized him as

* Ibid. † Laſt Obſervations, Page 85.

ſuch. Again I ſee, that it was wiſhed to abrogate the ſyſtem of the *Templar Maſons*, whoſe abominations and ſecrets had been expoſed by ſome falſe brother in a work called *The Stone of Scandal*, but that few Lodges would obey the abrogation. Moreover an attempt was made to quaſh all Sects and Schiſms; but they neither could be overpowered, and confuſion continued to prevail with redoubled force.

Let us however obſerve, that if any ſyſtem can be ſaid to have gained a preponderance it was that of the *Philaletes*, a ſort of ſpurious offspring of Swedenborg. The moſt famous Illuminees of that ſet, *Wilhermoz*, *St. Martin*, and *La Chappe de la Henriere*, had made an attempt to connect themſelves with the Hero of Crevelt and Minden; it is even aſſerted, that he was miſled by their appellation of *Philaletes* and of *Benevolent Knights*. Strong, however, in his protection, neither they nor their agents ſpared any pains to carry the day at Willemſbaden; they were well ſupported, and victory muſt have infallibly declared in their favor, had not Knigge already gained over ſo many of the deputies. Hence the reſult of this too famous congreſs was to have been the delivery over of all the Maſonic Lodges, and, with them, of all the governments of Europe, to two Sects of Illuminees, the moſt impious and the moſt diſaſtrous in their views, and moſt unrelenting in their zeal for the overthrow of every religion and of every government whatever.

I know not into which of theſe two ſects the Count de Virieux had been initiated; but either might have ſuggeſted the manner in which he deſcribed the reſult of this Maſonic Congreſs. On his return to Paris, being complimented by the Count de Gilliers on the ſublime ſecrets he had been in queſt of at Willemſbaden, and preſſed a little by the ſarcaſtic ſtyle with which the Count was wont to jeer the Brotherhood, he at length anſwered, "I "will not tell you the ſecrets I bring; but what I think I "may tell you is, that it is all much more ſerious than "you think. *The fact is, that a conſpiracy is now con-* "*triving, and that with ſo much art and of ſo profound* "*a nature, that it will be very difficult for Religion and* "*Nations not to ſink under it.*" Happily for Mr. de Virieux, ſaid Mr. de Gilliers when he told me this anecdote, the Count had a great fund of probity and uprightneſs. What he had learned on his miſſion ſo diſguſted

him with the myſteries, that he abandoned them and became a very religious man. It was to this event that his great zeal againſt the Jacobins may be attributed.

Unfortunately for all nations, theſe plots did not inſpire the other Maſonic Deputies with a ſimilar horror. The Congreſs being terminated, *Philo*-Knigge haſtened to reap the benefit of his intrigues; and his harveſt was much more plentiful than he expected. On the breaking up of the aſſembly, the deputies flocked to him to beg admiſſion to the myſteries. Such candidates needed no long noviciate, or tedious trials in the minerval ſchools; they were to be conducted quickly to the myſteries; and Knigge admitted them to the degrees of Epopt and Regent, *which they all received* (he tells us) *with enthuſiaſm.** "All of them *were enraptured* with our degrees "of Epopt and of Regent; all were enchanted with theſe "*maſter-pieces*, for ſo they ſtyled theſe degrees. Two "only made ſome ſlight obſervations on certain expreſ-"ſions, that may be eaſily changed according to local cir-"cumſtances, and particularly in Catholic countries."†

Were it not that all honeſt Maſons would ſink under grief and aſtoniſhment, I ſhould conjure them to weigh for a moment theſe words, *all were enraptured, all received them with enthuſiaſm*; all Elect, Roſicrucians, Templars, Brethren of Zinnendorf, Brethren of St. John, Knights of the Sun, Knights Kadoſh, Perfect Philoſophers; all hearken, and receive with enthuſiaſm thoſe oracles of the Hierophant which caſt ſuch light on their antique myſteries, and, expounding the meaning of their *Hiram*, their *Mac Benac*, and their *Poliſhed Stone*, ſhow that they contain nothing more than that primitive Equality and Liberty, as well as that Morality, which entirely conſiſt in the art of annihilating princes, governments, religion, and property! When theſe Deputies ſhall return to their *Orients*, and ſpread themſelves throughout the Maſonic Directories and Provinces, will not theſe original plots be intruded on your Lodges under the pretence of myſteries? Fly then ſuch dens of ſedition; and

* Die höberen graden wurden mit enthuſiaſmus au fgenommen.

† Jeder mann war zufrieden—Meine Leute waren entzückt über dieſe meiſter ſtücke. *Laſt Obſervations, Pages* 125 *and* 132—*and Original Writings, Let.* 1, *of* Philo *to* Cato.

learn once for all, that those men in whom you place such confidence are profound conspirators abusing your confidence, just as they will that of princes at a future day.—View then this pretended Brotherhood as a hoard of conspirators, who have long waited only for the baleful genius of a Weishaupt to launch out into all the crimes of revolution.

From the period when these Masonic Deputies were illuminized, the Bavarian Sect assumed a menacing aspect; and its progress is so rapid, that the universe will soon be overrun with Conspirators. The center of action may be said to have been at Frankfort, where Knigge resided; and he computes the number of persons he had illuminized, and nearly all of whom were Masons, at five hundred.* There is scarcely a town in his neighborhood, but has its Epopts and Minerval Schools; Franconia, Swabia, the Circles of the Higher and Lower Rhine, Westphalia, &c. swarm with them.

The towns of Vienna and Berlin almost immediately showed that Austria and Prussia were falling a prey to Illuminism. Tyrol had been already infected, and the same apostle had proceeded to carry it into Italy. In the north adepts were making their attacks on the Lodges of Bruxelles and of Holland, while others were preparing *to introduce Weishaupt's mysteries into England.* In Livonia they had gained footing; and treaties were making in Poland, to throw the whole power of the Confederations into the hands of the Illuminees. If the day of France was not yet come, it was because they entertained deeper views on her; but the day was to come, and all Europe shall now know why it has been deferred.

It would be of little avail for me to have produced Weishaupt's code, were I not also to produce demonstrative evidence of its progress and continuation. History will demand that I prove the existence of this Sect, its mysteries, and conspiracies, ranging from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, enlisting under its banners that multitude of hands which it needed to work revolutions. To effectuate this, I shall again appeal to their own annals; they are mutilated, it is true; but notwithstanding that, they are menacing, and they are demonstrative.

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. from *Philo* to *Cato*.

In the very year after the congreſs of Willemſbaden we find five provinces completely organized according to the Laws of the modern *Spartacus*, under the general direction of *Philo*-Knigge, and in full correſpondence with the illuminizing Areopagites.† Even during the time of the congreſs we find in the *Original Writings* not only ſimple letters on the progreſs made by a few candidates, but official reports, and ſtatements made by the Provincials of their provinces, relating to the progreſs of their novices, of their initiated, and of their emiſſaries.

Official Reports.

Let us caſt our eyes on theſe documents, for none can be better authenticated. Perhaps I might have done well to have tranſlated the whole of them; but tho' I abridge them, they will ſtill retain the whole force of evidence.

I. Of the Province of Panonia.

The firſt of theſe reports is from *Mahomet*.‡ This Provincial of a new ſpecies was the Baron SCHROECKENSTEIN, the ſame whom Weiſhaupt ſo early as the firſt year of his Illuminiſm, enliſted at Aichſtadt, and whom he claſſed among thoſe fooliſh Ariſtocrats who were *to ſwallow the bait*. The Baron ſo completely ſwallowed the bait, that in ſix years we find him one of the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy. The Province he preſided over in the Illuminized Geography was denominated *Pannonia*, comprehending the diſtricts of *Morea* and *Latium*, which compriſe the Lodges of *Olympia*, *Damietta*, *Tibur*, *Hiſpalis*, *Damaſcus*, *Sichem*, *Nicomedia*, and *Surentum*. I find that his reſidence is at Aichſtadt; and he informs the Areopagites, that he has given the name of *Surentum* to the new colony of Mompelgard, which he looks upon as belonging to the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and therefore ſhould be compriſed within the diſtrict of *Latium*. I alſo find that *Nicomedia* is Augſbourg; hence I conclude, that the Lodges under the inſpection of this adept were ſo many conqueſts made by Illuminiſm, partly in Bavaria, and partly in Swabia.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 3, from *Philo* to Weiſhaupt.

‡ This report is of the month of *Chardad* 1152, that is to ſay June 1782, conſequently anterior to the breaking up of the Maſonic Congreſs. *Mahomet* is nevertheleſs in direct correſpondence with *Philo*-Knigge; for we may obſerve the latter pointing out to the former novices to be initiated. *Original Writings*, *Philo's Report*.

The report contains ſtrong proofs of this Provincial's zeal for the propagation of the Order. We may obſerve him threatening two adepts with their immediate diſmiſſion unleſs they ſhow more activity, and promoting two others becauſe they excelled in the arts of inſinuation.—As a proof of the care with which he deſcribes his inferiors, and of the precautions he takes according to their characters, let the reader peruſe the account he gives of the Brotherhood at *Olympia*, which he has juſt been inſpecting: "I have learned, (he writes), to know the Brother *Zeno*. I did not find him to be a *thinker*, and much "leſs a *ſcrutator*. . . . He does not like to meddle with "things that are above the human underſtanding; and he "contents himſelf with the degree of Minerval, but *promiſes to enliſt us ſome good novices*. . . . *Crantor* has more "ardor; I initiated him myſelf into the Minerval degree. "You may eaſily conceive how much he is diſpleaſed "with all his ſcience, and how much his wit diſconcerts "him, when I tell how that he is furious at his father for "having had him taught to write. . . . *Speuſippus* was "ill; the others though young are full of ardor. "The colony is weak as yet. *Be guarded in your "letters to Zeno. He told me, that he would not lodge in "the ſame houſe with a man who doubted of the immortality of the Soul.* All theſe Brethren hold "their regular meetings, but don't dare enliſt their novices under the name of Maſonry. *They prefer doing it "under the pretence of a Literary Society*, and I made "no difficulty in permitting them to continue their practice."

In that town of *Latium*, or of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg, which *Mahomet* calls *Damietta*, there is an academy and a college; and one of the profeſſors is the adept *Phirro*, whoſe *honeſty* and *activity* could not be ſufficiently praiſed by the Provincial. The following inſtitution may ſerve as a ſpecimen of this man's honesty: "By means of this Brother, ſays *Mahomet*, the whole "academy of this town has become a real nurſery for us "*(eine pflanz ſchule für uns)*. *Pythagoras*-DREXL is "the unknown ſuperior of *this aſſembly, which is entirely "compoſed of young pupils of noble birth.* He has under "him an apparent ſuperior to conduct and form them, *choſen from among the young men.* No *reverſal letters* are "required of them; they are only flattered with the hopes

" ſhould they prove faithful to the leſſons inſtilled into " them) of *being hereafter admitted into an Order com-* " *poſed of the beſt of men.*"

Leſt ſuch leſſons ſhould be loſt to thoſe who were educated at Court, the adept *Epimenides*-FALK, aulic counſellor and burgo-maſter of Hanover, has taken care to illuminize the ſub-preceptor of a young Prince deſigned by the initials T. H. . . . After having told all this news to the Areopagites, *Mahomet* at length informs them that *Machiavel*, one of his emiſſaries, has ſent in a liſt of the honeſt men with whom he has made an acquaintance in Switzerland; and that things would take a good turn there, provided *Philo*-Knigge would ſtimulate a little the zeal of the Helvetian apoſtle.

II. Of Dacia and Lydia.

The next official report is from *Minos*-DITTFURT the Aſſeſſor. This man was alſo a Baron. As a recompenſe for the pains he had taken at Willemſbaden, Knigge had made him the Provincial or ſuperior of Veteravia, probably of part of Weſtphalia. His command compriſed two diſtricts, *Dacia* and *Lydia*. Overburthened with buſineſs, and more attentive to that of Illuminiſm than to the affairs of the Empire, he gives but a brief account for the preſent. He names about a dozen Brethren among whom are four novices. He diſtinguiſhes the Brother *Bentharith* in particular, whom he means to entruſt with the eſtabliſhment of a Minerval School at *Benſabé*. Meanwhile, till he can report further progreſs, he propoſes his plan *for an illuminized ſiſterhood*, which he promiſes to place under the direction of another Baron, who, like himſelf is an Aſſeſſor at the Imperial Chamber. About the ſame time (*Merdemeh* 1152, Auguſt 1782), Knigge's report ſtates, that *Minos* was in correſpondence with Doctor Stark, in hopes of making a conqueſt of the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt by means of his grand Almoner. The Illuminizing Aſſeſſor does not report the progreſs of this negociation; but Knigge appears to have foreſeen the ſucceſs it would have, when he writes to the Areopagites, " I am much pleaſed to ſee that Bro- " ther *Minos* has entered into a correſpondence with " Doctor Stark; it will teach him, that to be able to " treat with a man of wit one muſt have ſome one's ſelf." Though it ſeems that Knigge did not allow any great ſhare to this Provincial, yet he founded great hopes on his ſervices, eſpecially if *his too great zeal could be repreſſed*.

III. Of Albania.

The third report is from the adept *Epictetus*-MIEG, Provincial of Albania, the same Brother whom we shall find mentioned by Knigge as founding the Lodge at Manheim surnamed *Surinam*, and at Frankenthal that called *Parmaribo*, within the prefecture of *Paphlagonia*, or of the Palatinate. It would seem, that at that period *Albania* had passed under the inspection of some other Provincial: This *Epictetus*-Mieg was a counsellor and Protestant Minister of Heidelberg, his habitual residence, and had been instructed in the arts of Insinuator by Weishaupt himself.

The reader may judge of this man's merits from the following eulogium that Weishaupt makes on him when writing to *Celsus*: "Do not forget, when at Munich, to "do every thing in your power for our *Epictetus*. He "is nearly the best of the adepts. He has a little too "much ardor, but in all other points he is incomparable. "He has already *made a conquest for the Order of nearly* "*the whole Palatinate*. Not a country town but con- "tains one or two adepts at least."* This letter being of the same year as the report, it would be useless to particularize. Some, however, of the Brethren, mentioned by *Epictetus* deserve our attention: such, for example, as a certain Brother described by the initials B. E. under the direction of *Diodorus*, who in a Catholic University and of the Catholic Religion himself until that period, thought he could not give a better proof of his zeal for Illuminism, than by attempting to defend a Protestant thesis, and that under a pretence that denotes neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, but a man who views Religion only as a political invention. He gives for reason, that the *College of the Counts of Westphalia must be a Protestant College*. Next the Brother *Erastus*, of the same degree, who asks advice as to the best means to succeed *in Illuminizing the Preceptor of the Prince of Dupont's son*, and by that means to educate the young Prince according to the views of the Order. And lastly the Brother *Pic de la Mirandole*, or BRUNNER, a Priest at Tiefenback, in the bishopric of Spire. "This man, (says the Provincial,) is as yet a novice, but full of zeal for the

* Hat schier die ganze pfaltz unter das commando des O's *(ordens)* gebracht. In jedem landstädtchen sind ein oder zwie —*Original Writings, Vol. II. Let.* 13, *anno* 1782.

"Order. The tenth of September he defended his The-
"sis in spite of the Jesuits. In his *Quibus Licet he begs*
"*the Order to take precautions lest the fortress of Phi-*
"*lipsbourg*, which the Austrians had abandoned, *should*
"*fall into the hands of a bigoted officer, who was petition-*
"*ing for the government of it*; and to have it given to
"another officer (more worthy of it, I suppose) who as-
"pired to it."—This Illuminized Novice, who already pays so much attention to fortresses, will appear on the stage again with the Brethren of Mentz, conspiring and delivering up that town to the French Jacobins.

IV. Report by *Agis*-Kröber.

The fourth official report is made by the adept *Agis*-Kröber. He does not take the title of Provincial; he only acts for *Alberoni*-Bleubetrue, originally a Jew, and who afterward made himself a Christian to become Aulic Counsellor to the Prince of Neuwied, and a Provincial of the Illuminees. *Agis* was governor to the Count Stolberg's children, and the memoirs I have before me declare him to have been afterwards charged with the education of the young Prince of Neuwied, to have gained the good graces of the Princess, sowing discord in that court, and destroying the internal happiness of that family; in short, he was known to all Germany by a name that could not reflect honor on his protectrix. As news, he informs the Areopagites that the Baron de Witte, at Aix-la-Chapelle, is much more zealous than was expected; that he has undertaken to illuminize his Masonic Lodge there; and that from his letters they may hope to see that of Bruxelles share a similar fate. . . . The Brother *Agis* enquires whether they think it proper that he should enter into a correspondence with *those fools of the Hermetic Cabel*. Before he initiates them in the secrets of the Order, he wishes to present himself at their Lodges as one acquainted with their's. He owns that he is not sufficiently master of all their systems. He asks for some instruction, that he may perfect himself in them, lest he should be discovered by those Masons for whom he has a sovereign contempt, but with whose jargon it is necessary that he should be acquainted, to make a conquest of them for the Order. These instructions are the more necessary, as a Brother of the district has just applied to him for leave to show some of his letters to the Venerable of the Masonic Lodge at *Iris*, to enable him to make but one draught of the whole Lodge, Venerable and all.

In the same report the Brother *Agis* recommends to the Areopagites the adept *Archelaus*-BARRES, heretofore a major in the French service, at present throwing himself on the protection of the Order to obtain a place in some court of Germany, and the Cross of Merit from that of France, with a brevet of *Major à la suite:* "I had "taken it into my head (says he) that the Ambassador "Ch.... was one of ours; that he had great influence "with (the court or ministers), therefore I did not "refuse our protection. If we succeed in this business, *the "fame of our power will be greatly extended.* Scarcely "a week passes without somebody coming to solicit our "protection at the courts of Versailles, of Vienna, or of "Berlin. It is enough to make one die of laughing. We "take great care, however, not to dismiss those people "without hopes; we only say, that we do not like to im-"portune those courts every day."

A marginal note is found opposite to this article in Knigge's own hand-writing, saying, *Who the devil has put into their heads this fable of our omnipotence?* The man who wrote the question might also have written the answer; for we may observe him long before this period straining every nerve to give the Brethren a high opinion of the power of the Order, and even flattering himself, that through the exertions of his agents he had obtained for the adepts *honorable situations, livings, and dignities, which he distributed in the names of the unknown superiors, who were not even in existence at that time*; and when these superiors do exist, we see him acting precisely as the Brother *Agis* had done, procuring from an adept Count the place of *Chancellor Director*, with a salary of twelve hundred florins, sending the nomination to his candidate *Wundt, ecclesiastical counsellor at Heidelberg*; and, to show the candidate the great power of the Brethren, informing him, *that the Order had got him named to this dignity.**

The very article on which Knigge had made this note is followed by another, which will sufficiently demonstrate the credit they had acquired in certain courts, and the use they could turn it to for the propagation of their myste-

* See last Observations of Philo, Page 45.—Original Writings, Vol. II. Page 202.

ries. "This week (continues *Agis*) we shall receive a "Lutheran minister, who by *slight of hand has collected* "*about nine thousand florins* for the community (the "Lodge) of this place. *As soon as peace is made, he is* "TO SET OFF FOR LONDON, *with a multitude of letters* "*of recommendation.* The Pr—— F—— O. B. uncle to "the reigning Duke, has promised to second him with all "his might.* It is our intention also to employ him in "that country for the Order. HE MUST SLILY ILLU-"MINIZE THE ENGLISH. . . . A large Dutch wig, a "sallow and meagre complexion, large eyes widely open-"ed, a fertile imagination, a perfect knowledge of men, "acquired by roving about the world for the space of two "years under the disguise of a beggar. . . . Do not you "think that with such qualifications this man will do won-"ders?—During this winter we will drill him, as the "Hernuti used to do their apostles."

The adept so well described by *Agis*-Kröber, and on whom he grounds his hopes of the *Illuminization of England*, is not mentioned even by his characteristic; but a manuscript marginal note informs me, that his real name was RÖNTGEN, a Dutch protestant of Petkam, in East Friesland.

V. Of Picinum.

The fifth report is mutilated, and is without the name of any Provincial. Such as it is, however, it forcibly evinces the progress of the Sect during the last three months of 1782 in the Electorates of Cologn and of Treves, called *Picinum*. At this epoch the Provincial is much elated at the high repute Masonry has acquired in those parts since it has been illuminized. "Here "(says he) a Mason was formerly a laughing-stock, "whereas now a man who does not belong to a Lodge is "pitied. Every body flocks to us; and the prophane "thirst after our mysteries.—Every body comes to crave "the protection of an Order that is so powerful."

A very unexpected proof of their power is to be found in their Archives; it is the disgrace and exile of the Abbé Beck, whom the Prince Clement of Saxony and Elect-

* In my copy of the Original Writings I find a manuscript note in the margin, by a man who is very conversant on these matters; it states, that these initials stand for the *Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.* PR—— F—— V. B—— *hat ihm alle unterstützung versprochen.*

or of Treves had till then favored with his confidence. I had not the honor of being acquainted with this venerable eccleſiaſtic; but I remembered to have ſeen ſome of his friends at Paris, who augured ill from this diſgrace. I little expected at that time to find his apology in ſo complete a ſtyle in the report made by the Provincial to his ſuperiors: "The famous executioner of the Electors conſcience, the Abbé B. has at length received his diſmiſſion, and an order to leave the country. Ever ſince the Elector has had this *Jeſuit** in his ſervice he has been a declared enemy to Free-maſonry, and generally ſpeaking, to every thing that tends to enlighten mankind. Now that this Jeſuit is out of the way, *we have the greateſt hopes* of making a glorious harveſt in Treves and the Electorate." How indignant muſt his Electoral Highneſs have been when he diſcovered in his official report the true origin of all thoſe inſinuations to which one of his moſt faithful ſervants had fallen a victim; and particularly when he obſerved the advantages that his real enemies and enemies of all governments, promiſed themſelves in conſequence of an illuſion originating, in all probability, entirely with themſelves.

We ſhall here give another proof of the omnipotence that the Order was acquiring in the different courts of Germany. The Provincial, under the head of the Lodge of *Pinna*, that is to ſay Hachenburg, gives an account of the inauguration of Doctor Vogler, phyſician to the Count of Kirchenberg, and then continues, "Here the affairs of the Order proſper amazingly well; *the Count is entirely ſurrounded by Illuminees. His private ſecretary, his phyſician, his paſtor, his counſellors, are all ours.—The Prince's favorites are our moſt zealous adepts; and we have taken our precautions for the future. Let the Order eſtabliſh itſelf as well elſewhere, and the world is our's.*"

This wiſh of the illuminizing Provincial would ſoon have been accompliſhed, had the adepts been every where as zealous as thoſe whom he mentions of the provinces of *Picinum* and *Dacia*. One adept in particular had made

* The appellation *Jeſuit* is here uſed by the Illuminees as a term of ſcurrilous reproach, as it frequently is againſt any perſon inimical to their principles, for the Abbé Beck never was a Jeſuit.

thirteen novices in three months; and it is not unworthy of remark, that eleven were already Free-masons and two Lutheran ministers, who were *characterized* in the Order by the names of *Averroës* and *Theognis*. The first showed so much zeal, activity, and intelligence, and the principles of the Order appeared to have taken such deep root in his heart, that the superiors hastened his initiation into the higher degrees, that they might admit him to the council, and ease themselves of some part of their labors on him. The other *Theognis*-FISCHER, became curate of Wölsbrücst in Austria, near Lintz, by means of the intrigues of the adept *Pausanias*. In Knigge's report to the Areopagites, I find the following note on this adept:

"*Theognis*, at the time of his promotion to his curacy, "received a letter from the bishop of K——, the princi- "ples of which appear to have been copied from our "code. The prelate mentions a secret project of reform, "and begs *Theognis* not to show his letter to any body. "The Brethren of this colony are firmly persuaded that "the Bishop is one of our adepts; and to that circum- "stance they attribute his having given a benifice to *The-* "*ognis*; and in consequence of it they labor with redou- "bled zeal."

What can have induced the editor of the Original Writings to give only the initial letter of this Bishop's name? Have not the Evangelists named Judas Iscariot at full length? Why not then name the prelate HASLEIN, vice-president of the spiritual council at Munich, afterwards Lord Bishop of KHERSON for the church, and Brother *Philo of Byblos* for Weishaupt? With a little less respect for persons, mistrust would fall on those who deserve it, and who so little respect their own dignity; and the world would know the man who was foremost in the conspiracy against God, though he might wear a mitre.

Reports by Knigge.

Before I undertake to present a list to my readers, I will mention the last official reports recorded in the annals of the Sect. They are made by Knigge himself, and are dated *Thirmeh*, *Merdedmeh*, *Dimeh*, 1152, that is to say July and August 1782, and the January following. We there find, that his mission at Willemsbaden did not hinder him from overlooking the provincial superiors, whose reports I have just stated. It was to him that their reports were first sent; he transmitted them to the Areo-

pagites, after making ſuch remarks as his zeal for the propagation of the Sect might ſuggeſt. What he particularly blames in his inferiors was, a want of method. That want of regularity in their proceedings appeared to him to impede their ſucceſs, and to render it leſs certain than he could wiſh. And he writes to his ſenate, "I cannot "ſufficiently repeat it; when we ſhall have organized "the whole body, when every province ſhall have its "Provincial, and every Inſpector ſhall have three Provin-"cials under his inſpection; when our National Direct-"ory ſhall be eſtabliſhed at *Rome* (that is to ſay Vienna); "when our Areopagites ſhall be freed from all the tire-"ſome detail, (and by that means certain of remaining "unknown) and ſhall only have to inſpect the whole, to "perfect the ſyſtem, and to direct the propagation of it in "other countries; when the Order can give proper help "to the directing Brethren, then, and not before, ſhall we "be able to do ſomething."

Soon after theſe leſſons, and under the head of France, we read, "With reſpect to that country, I would not "adviſe you to undertake any thing until I ſhall have "diſpoſed of the multiplicity of buſineſs that overpowers "me at preſent. I have even laid aſide for the preſent my "projects on Alſace and Lorraine." Meanwhile, till that day comes, Knigge takes a view of the reports returned to him by the Provincials, and ſubjoins to the number of their Novices thoſe whom he had made himſelf. But the grand object that abſorbs all his attention is the means of conſummating the intruſion into the Maſonic Lodges, which is at once to enliſt millions of men under the ſtandard of his Arcopage, and to effect his Illuminizing revolution.

At the period of this laſt report, that is, January 1783, this intruſion had made great progreſs; and it was to that circumſtance that Weiſhaupt was indebted for the multitude of adepts who already had ſpread his conſpiracy throughout Germany. Let the reader caſt an eye on the map of Germany, and on the Lodges already illuminized. It is true, that many towns are at preſent unintelligible, in conſequence of the geographical nomenclature adopted by the Sect; but every one of theſe names denotes an Illuminized Lodge, a town where the conſpirators had gained a hold; and hence we may obſerve, that ſcarcely a canton is to be found where this baleful Sect has not

penetrated. Let us attend only to those towns that, in spite of all their precautions, have been discovered either by the writings or habitual residence of the great adepts; —what a formidable alliance have they already formed! The first of the Provincials immediately under the direction of Weishaupt has under him alone the Lodges of Munich, of Ratisbon, of Landsberg, of Burghausen, of Straubingen, and of Freysingen.—In the Circles of Franconia and Swabia, the Baron *Mahomet* presides, at least over those at Aichstadt, his habitual residence, at Bamberg, at Nuremberg, at Augsbourg, at Mompelgard, and over those of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg.—In the Circles of the Upper Rhine and of the Palatinate of the Lower Rhine the Sect has established itself, at Deuxponts, Manheim, Frankenthal, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Wetzlar, and Franckfort on the Mein.—The Electorates of Mayence, of Treves and Cologne, have, with their capitals, shared a similar fate.—In Westphalia, this distemper rages at Aix-La-Chapelle, at Neuwied, and at Hachenburg.—In Higher and Lower Saxony, at Kiel, at Bremen, at Brunswick, at Hanover, at Gottinguen, at Gotha, at Jena.—The great adepts Nicolai and Lechsering, establish Illuminism at Berlin, and the adept *Brutus* reports that the Minerval Schools are in as full activity at Vienna, in Austria, as they were at Lintz. *Hannibal*, or Weishaupt's grand commissioner the Baron Bassus, had established it at Inspruck and Botzen, and at many other towns in the Tyrol. From the bottom of his den, at Ingoldstadt, Weishaupt presides over his conspiring crew; and through their means he commands, as it were, Germany and its confines, and might be called its Emperor of Darkness. He has more towns in his conspiracy than the Chief of the Empire has in his dominions.

At this period a great revolution took place in the code of the Illuminees, which only contributed to augment the strength of the Sect, and which I hope the historian will not overlook, as it will furnish him with an answer to those who may repeat an objection that has often been made to me. "Weishaupt's Illuminism only began in Bavaria about the middle of the year 1776; the Sect chiefly attached itself to youth. It required a long noviciate, and many years for its Minerval schools to form the adepts and prepare them for the degrees where the conspiracy is entered upon. It must have required therefore

generation after generation to form that multitude of conſpirators whoſe marſhalled cohorts riſe triumphant at a time when Illuminiſm is ſtill in its cradle."

This objection may have appeared forcible; but at the period where we now ſtand it ſolves itſelf. Knigge has anſwered it when he enumerates that multitude of Maſons who have already attained the years of diſcretion, and did not ſtand in need of thoſe long trials, and who, in the proteſtant countries particularly diſdained the Minerval ſchools *only the more to ſhow their ardor to be admitted to the higher degrees* of the conſpiracy.* Weiſhaupt ſoon underſtood the reaſon of this rapid progreſs; and it was on that account that he diſpenſed with the ſeverity of the code and the trials of the Minerval ſchool, and that he exhorted his Inſinuators to enroll, after Knigge's example, men who could be quickly advanced to the higher myſteries: Such was the new method of recruiting that was adopted at this period. When the Provincials mention the ages of their Novices, we find few that have not attained the age of manhood, generally of twenty-five, thirty, forty, and even fifty years of age, and whoſe occupations in life denote years of diſcretion. Thus then does the Sect enliſt multitudes of hands that do not wait for

* Knigge ſays, that in the Catholic countries the Philoſophical writings, the light of the age, (the impiety of the day) had not made near ſo much progreſs as in Proteſtant countries. This was true with reſpect to Bavaria; would to God that the ſame thing could have been ſaid of France! Be that as it may, "The Minerval ſchools, ſays Knigge, did not take at "all in the Proteſtant countries; and in fact, ſays he, ſuch in- "ſtitutions could only be of uſe in Catholic countries buried "in darkneſs, and for indifferent old-faſhioned beings. But "the greater the averſion ſhewn by the Brethren for theſe aſ- "ſemblies of Novices, the more earneſtly they ſolicited to be "admitted to the higher degrees.—*Mit der Minerval claſſe* "*wollte es in proteſtantiſchen länder durchaus nicht fort, und* "*würklich war auch dieſe anſtalt vorzüglich nur in forſtinſterten* "*catholiſchen provinzen, und auf mittelmäſſige altags menſchen* "*anwendbar—Je weniger aber die mietglieder geneigt waren* "*verſammlungen der Pflanz-ſchule anzulegen, um deſto eifriger* "*drangen ſie in mich, ihnen endlich die höhere grade mitzutthei-* "*len.*" *Philo endliche erklärung, P. 52, 53, et paſſim.* The reader will not forget that Knigge ſpeaks particularly of thoſe ſophiſticated Maſons among whom he was making recruits, and who were better prepared for the myſteries than the others, becauſe they were more accuſtomed to the ſecrets of the Lodge.

age to enable them to prepare for, or even to act when the day of revolution shall be come.

Another consideration that should not escape the historian is, the avowal (frequently repeated by the Adepts in the Original Writings) "that the great progress they made was in consequence of the facility with which they introduced themselves into the Masonic Lodges, and of the preponderance that the mysteries of Illuminism daily acquired in the Lodges." One of the Illuminees, *Lullus*, tells us, that since several Masons and some even of the most zealous Rosicrucians, have been initiated in our mysteries, *one would think that the Order had acquired new life, and a much increased force of expansion or of propagation.** The Areopagite *Hannibal* attributes the success of his mission to the same cause. In the report he makes of his proceedings, he begins by congratulating himself on having found Masonic Lodges already established in the Tyrol. It was in them that he made his great conquests, that he recruited Counsellors of the Regency, Professors of Colleges, Counts, Excellencies, Ministers of the Emperor, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Masters of the Post-Office, Counsellors of the Government, all enthusiasts for the new mysteries of Illuminism. At the sight of such unexpected success, he openly confesses that they are all due to the new method introduced by *Philo*-Knigge. He then informs the Areopagites "that "*the experienced Masons are turning themselves on all* "*sides in quest of light*, that scarcely had he given the "slightest indication of it, before their hearts were inflamed, and their entreaties to be initiated were most "pressing. That it was just the moment for making "great conquests at Vienna, *where there must be more* "*than four hundred Masons.*" If at Milan he has not so good a prospect, it is because no *Masonic Lodges* have been established there; but he will find some at Cremona, Pavia, and other parts of Italy; and he ends by requesting that the other towns he means to visit may be comprehended in the new Geography of the Sect.†

In short, how does Knigge himself account for that prodigious multitude of adepts recruited in so short a period for Illuminism? "When I entered the Order (he

* *R. Lullus*'s Journal, Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Sect. VI.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. and II. *Hannibal*'s four Letters.

« writes to *Cato*-Zwack) you were all in the dark with « reſpect to *the Maſons of the ſtrict Obſervance.* I told « you ſo, and was poſitive that among them there were « excellent men (for us). *Spartacus* believed me; and « the event has proved it. Our beſt adepts at Neuwied, « at Gottinguen, at Mayence, at Hanover, at Brunſwick, « and in the Palatinate, *were all formerly Free-maſons of « the Strict Obſervance.*"*

Nevertheleſs, theſe conqueſts on Maſonry made by Illuminiſm do not ſatisfy either *Philo*-Knigge or *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt. They will not even let the name of Maſonry exiſt, but as a cloak for their Illuminiſm. Let us then conſider of their new means and further ſucceſſes in the following Chapter.†

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* Unſere beſten leute in Neuwied, Göttinguen, Mainz, Hannover, Braunſchweig, Pfaltz, ſind ehemalige mitglieder der Strickten Obſervantz.

† For the whole of this chapter let the Reader apply to the Original Writings, Vol. II. Part I. and the Reports of the Provincials *(Provincial-Beriche)* from P. 159 to 221.

CHAP. VI.

New means practiſed, and new conqueſts made by Knigge and Weiſhaupt on Maſonry.—Diſputes between theſe two Chiefs of Illuminiſm.—Their deſigns on the German Maſons conſummated before Knigge's Retreat.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immenſe number of Maſons that had flocked to the ſtandard of Illuminiſm, Weiſhaupt and Knigge labored under ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to a new congreſs that had been appointed for the following year at Willemſbaden. Knigge particularly dreaded that new Code and new form that was in agitation for the Lodges. He knew that ſome of the Brethren had been named to make a digeſt of laws; nor could he forget, that others had received inſtructions from the Congreſs to gain admiſſion into, *and get themſelves received members of all the ſecret ſocieties, in order that they might be initiated into their myſteries*, and make their report at the following congreſs. Leſt all the fruits of his laſt miſſion at Willemſbaden ſhould be blaſted in the bud at this new meeting, Knigge ſought to make himſelf acquainted with the diſpoſitions, with regard to his Illuminiſm, of the commiſſaries nominated to make the new digeſt of laws.

Amelius Bode.

The chief of theſe commiſſaries was a man of the name of BODE, already famous in the annals of Maſonry, and who was ſoon to become more ſo in thoſe of Illuminiſm. —The ſon of a common ſoldier of Brunſwick, he was brought up as fifer of a regiment, but he ſoon thought himſelf deſtined to act a higher part in the world than to accompany a drum with the ſhrill ſounds of his fife. He had learned to read, and was ſufficiently acquainted with the French and the Engliſh languages to undertake ſome tranſlations. Thoſe of Triſtram Shandy and Yorick's Sentimental Journey gained him more credit than money; he then ſet up as a bookſeller at Hamburg; but ſoon becoming the widower of a rich heireſs, he abandoned trade, and was decorated by the Duke of Weimar with the title of Counſellor of Embaſſy. At length he was declared Privy Counſellor to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

Created a *Commander* among the *Templar Maſons* under the title of Knight of the Lillies of the Valley, *Eques a Lilio convallium*, Bode had brought with him all that genius neceſſary to give importance to the games of their Equality and Liberty, and, above all, that concern which impiety and independence manifeſt, to diſcover their myſteries in the ſymbols of that ſame Equality and Liberty. The ſervices he had rendered to the Brethren may be appreciated by that which Knigge believed to be ſo much to his honor, when he ſays, that *nearly all the little good that is to be found in the ſyſtem of the Strict Obſervance is to be attributed to Bode*; or, in other words, every thing that aſſimilated their ſyſtem to that of Weiſhaupt. After having cloſely ſcrutinized his man, Knigge declares him to be advanced in years, but ſtill in queſt of truth which he had not yet been able to find, though he had been forty years a Maſon; he depicts him as indifferent to all ſyſtems, though petulent, fiery, and jealous of dominion, and as loving to be flattered by Princes. To this deſcription I may add from my German Memorials, that his exterior was unpoliſhed and almoſt deformed, which, however, did not hinder this old Maſon from acting the part of a wit and of a man of ſentiment with the Ladies. They alſo deſcribe him as a pedant, with an appearance of frankneſs that Princes miſtook for openneſs of character; but with which they might not have been ſo eaſily duped had they known, that though he ſought their favor, he as cordially hated them as he did what he called the *Mummeries of Religion, of Jeſuits, and of Prieſts.* Such ſentiments muſt neceſſarily have endeared him to the Illuminees. Knigge more particularly courted him on account of the great influence he enjoyed over the German Maſonry. Theſe two men ſcrutinized each other, and Knigge at length declares, that "after many mutual explanations "he had admitted him to the degree of Scotch Knight." Here Bode found all thoſe promiſes to forward the views of the Order, to reveal all his diſcoveries on Maſonry to his new Superiors, to inſtall the Illuminees in all the principal poſts of the Lodges, and to embezzle their funds. *None of theſe obligations appear to have given him any uneaſineſs*; but he feared, that in the end thoſe unknown Superiors would turn out to be Jeſuits and Prieſts. It was neceſſary, therefore, to remove ſuch fears, and to guarantee to him that thoſe Superiors deteſted Prieſts and

Jesuits as much as he did himself. "On this condition "(says Knigge) he promised, *1st*, To labor for us, and, "by means of the new System or Code to be formed for "Masonry, to throw the empire over the Lodges into our "hands. *2dly*, To put the Directories and provincial in- "spections, in as much as depended on him, into the hands "of the Illuminees. *3dly*, To prevail on the Brethren of "the *Strict Observance* to fraternize with us. *4thly*, In "the forming of the new Masonic Code, never to lose "sight of the Illuminized plan for the choice of Masters "or Venerables of Lodges. *5thly*, To lay before the Su- "periors all the knowledge he has acquired concerning "the origin of Masonry and of the Rosicrucians; and to "cause the *Deductions* promised for the *Strict Observance* "to be printed at our presses, and to distribute them to "our Brethren according to agreement."*

Such promises from Bode were of too much consequence to be rejected by the Illuminees; he was received with open arms, and, under the characteristic of *Amelius*, was ushered into the higher degrees. We shall soon see how faithfully he acquitted himself of his promises.

While Knigge was making such important acquisitions from Masonry, Weishaupt was meditating another plan, that was to install him master of all the Lodges of Poland. The Areopagite *Cato*-Zwack received nearly at the same time both Knigge's official note relative to Bode, and the following letter from Weishaupt: "I have a mind to un- "dertake the Polonese Confederation, not precisely to Il- "luminize them, but merely as Free-masonry to esta- "blish *the System of Confederate Lodges*; to select the a- "blest persons; to get the start of the *Strict Observance*, "and to destroy it. Write immediately to Warsaw, that "you are acquainted with several Lodges at Munich and "other towns, that are willing to confederate with them "on the following conditions:——*1st*, That they should

Weishaupt's views on the Polish Masons.

* Original Writings, Vol. II. *Philo's bericht uber jonien; Dimeh.* January, 1783.—If by *Deductions* the account of the contributions to be *deducted* for the *Grand Observance*, and afterward to be delivered over to the Illuminees, be not meant, I do not understand the meaning of them. But Bode reserves to himself the discretionary power of letting other persons participate of them; that is to say, he wishes to serve the Illuminees without appearing to have abandoned his former Brethren.—*(See Vol. III. of these Memoirs.)*

" acknowledge but the first three degrees—2*dly*, That " each Lodge should be at liberty to have what Superiors " and as many of them as they pleased—3*dly*, That all " Lodges should be independent of each other, at least as " much so as the Lodges of Germany are of those of Po- " land—4*thly*, That all their union should be carried on " by the correspondence and visits of the Brethren.—If " we can but gain that point, we shall have succeeded in " all we want; *leave the rest to me.*"

" *Philo* has already received instructions to prepare our " Lodges of the Rhine and of Lower Saxony for this " plan. Don't lose a day; for both time and danger press. " *John is coming*, and the confederation will take place " at Vienna before that time. The Lodge * * appears as " if it would accede. . . Send to Warsaw the manifesto " that is to be immediately circulated in the Lodges on " the occasion. Without doubt the federation will be " numerous. *See how I can seize every occasion and turn* " *every circumstance to use.* As soon as you shall get an " answer send it to me; don't lose a minute. The most " important business for us is, to establish an *Eclectic* " Masonry; if we succeed in that, 'tis all we want. Do " not mention our order at Warsaw; it is always desir- " able to gain so essential a point. Send all your docu- " ments on Poland to *Philo.* A multitude of Lodges " would have joined us had they not dreaded to be taken " for *blind Lodges.* This arrangement will raise the diffi- " culty. The English Lodge of *Edessa* (Frankfort) has " already promised to accede to these conditions. Send " your dispatches off immediately for Warsaw, without " transmitting them to me, that they may get there the " sooner; and desire an immediate answer."*

Though persons who cannot gain admission to Weis- haupt's secret councils may not foresee why he so earn- estly interests himself in this plan for the propagation of his conspiracy, we may, however, remark, that Knigge had conceived the full importance of the measure, when a week after he writes to Zwack, " *That plan on Poland* " *is a most masterly blow.* I have already sent my draft of " the circular letter for the Lodges to *Spartacus.*" Ac- cording to Weishaupt's plan, this circular letter was not intended for the Polish Masons alone, but was to be sent

* 11th January, 1783.

to all the Lodges of the Order. It is to be found in the ſecond volume of the Original Writings, and is exactly that medley of artifice for the ſeduction of Maſons which might be expected from its author. Knigge begins with a fulſome eulogy on their inſtitution. He tells them, that their ſociety *was intended by God and nature to reclaim the rights of humanity oppreſſed, of virtue perſecuted, and of ſcience degenerated.* In a ſtory artfully intermixed with truth and falſehood, he endeavors to demonſtrate how much the Order had ſwerved from its grand object for about twenty years paſt. To reſtore it, therefore, to its ancient ſplendor, he invites all Brethren fired with a true zeal to unite with thoſe Maſons who alone have remained in poſſeſſion of the real myſteries, with a ſociety formed for their preſervation about the year 1762, and whoſe ſpecial object was to oppoſe the tyranny of the Brethren of the *Strict Obſervance*; in ſhort, to join a ſociety which he declares to be compoſed of the beſt heads of the Order, and of men whoſe ſcience and experience would command the eſteem and veneration of all that approached them.—At length, giving the plan for his new aſſociation, "In "the new regimen admitted by theſe real Maſons (ſays "he) we invariably hold to the firſt three degrees.—Se- "veral Lodges unite together in the choice of one for "their *Scotch Directory*, or chief place of their diſtrict, "to which each ſends a Deputy. This Directory decides "on money matters, overlooks objects of œconomy and "the raiſing of contributions, and grants powers for the "erecting of new Lodges. Above this tribunal we have "no Superiors who have a right to raiſe contributions; "they are only entitled to an exact account every three "months of the moral and political ſtate of every Lodge. "A certain number of *Scotch Directories* join to chuſe a "*Provincial Directory*, three of the latter elect an In- "ſpector, and three Inſpectors chuſe the National Di- "rector.

"This is not the place for expatiating on what we have "already done in the ſilent abodes of ſecrecy, or on what "we mean to do. It will ſuffice to ſay, that we have "ſchools to form the young men whom we afterward ad- "mit into our Order, and who are deſtined to labor to "procure happier and more tranquil days for the riſing "generation. The care we beſtow on theſe pupils is in "our eyes the moſt honorable part of our labors. Should

" the Lodges wiſh for any further particulars, they ſhall " receive them from the very perſons who have thought " proper to propoſe this plan."*

The memorials before us are not ſufficiently explicit to enable us to decide what effect Zwack's and Knigge's letters produced on the Poliſh Maſons. In Zwack's note, however, on the *progreſs of the Brethren* we may obſerve, *that the Areopage was in treaty for a ſtrict alliance with the National Lodge of Poland.* With reſpect to Germany, we are not left in the dark as to the ſucceſs of theſe artifices; but then it is to Bode particularly that ſuch ſucceſſes are attributed. Through his means it was, that Knigge acquired powerful protectors with the Maſons of high rank, and particularly with the committee that was to frame the new code. By the help of ſuch protection he ſo amazingly extended the number of the adepts, that Weiſhaupt pretended to be alarmed, or was ſo in reality. The deſpotic founder viewed with a jealous eye the aſcendant that Knigge was daily acquiring, and the great encomiums beſtowed on him by the adepts in their *Quibus Licets.* Beſide, his profound policy led him to conceive that his power would be too much divided by that of Knigge's, to enſure him ſovereign ſway over his tenebrous meetings, and to preſerve that unity of object and of action which his projects required. This multitude of adepts ſuddenly initiated into the higher myſteries kept him in a ſtate of continual alarm. Among theſe new diſciples ſome might be found who, not having undergone the neceſſary trials, might expoſe both himſelf and all the conſpiracies of his Sect to be diſcovered. Though Knigge had faithfully copied (as the reader has ſeen) all the profligate myſteries that Weiſhaupt had invented in the degree of Epopt, yet this illuminizing chief did not ſcruple to accuſe the Baron of having weakened them; the fact was, that he could not forgive him for having participated in the glory of founding the Order. He even pretended that Knigge was privately laying the foundations of another ſecret ſociety.† Theſe reflections weighed ſo heavily on the mind of the deſpotic chief, that all on a ſudden Knigge found himſelf depoſed at the very inſtant when he was

Quarrels between Weiſhaupt and Knigge.

* Extract from the Circular Letter, Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II. Sect. VI.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 10.

moſt elated with his ſucceſſes in the ſervice of the Order.

Weiſhaupt took from him the direction of his provinces, and made him ſubject to ſome of his own pupils. —The manner in which Knigge received this humbling news cannot be better deſcribed than in his own letters to Weiſhaupt and to Zwack. The latter had attempted to reconcile theſe two terrible competitors, particularly by affecting to throw the whole blame of their diſagreements on *Mahomet* and another brother. "It is neither *Mahomet* nor that other brother (ſays Knigge to *Cato*), but it is that *Jeſuitiſm* of Weiſhaupt, that occaſions all our broils and diſputes. It is that deſpotiſm which he exerciſes over men perhaps leſs powerful in imagination, art, and cunning than himſelf, but equal to him at leaſt in good-will, prudence, uprightneſs, and probity; over men who have rendered the moſt important ſervices, without which his Order would ſtill have been a pitiful medley of boys. Long ſince have I obſerved his intention of deceiving me; but I am firmly reſolved to make him feel, notwithſtanding my exceſſive patience and obedience, that there are men who are not to be played upon with impunity. I therefore declare, that nothing can ever put me again on the ſame footing with *Spartacus* on which I was before; *but as long as I live I will do every thing in my power for the good of the Order*; *and ye* (the Areopagites), *my beſt of friends*, ye ſhall always find me ready to obey ye in every thing conducive to the ſame object."

After this exordium Knigge proceeds to enumerate every thing that he had done for Weiſhaupt, in the perfecting of the Code, the founding of Lodges, and the recruiting of Brethren. "I had actually recruited *five hundred* (he continues) when he choſe to view me in the light of an indifferent being, who was ruining his affairs by my want of reflection. Without giving me any intimation, he began to correſpond with my inferiors. I have ſeen ſome of his letters to my pupils, in which he treats me as a novice.—At preſent I am under the direction of *Minos*, and am to ſend him my *Quibus Licet* every month. Without being an ambitious man, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould put up with ſuch affronts, and allow myſelf to be led like a ſcholar by a profeſſor of Ingolſtadt. And certainly with reſpect to him I look

" upon myſelf as diſpenſed from all obedience. With re-
" gard to you, ready to obey the ſlighteſt intimation of
" your wiſhes, I conſent to continue to direct the pro-
" vinces of *Heſſe* and *Upper Saxony*, until every thing is
" properly organized in thoſe countries. I ſhall then re-
" tire, prompt, notwithſtanding, to ſerve you with all my
" might, either by night or by day."

This letter is dated the 20th of January, 1783, and is immediately followed by another to the ſame adept. The latter ſhows how painful it was to Knigge to abandon the Brethren; but at length he writes to Zwack, " Were I
" to give way to an imprudent vengeance? reflect on this
" at leaſt.

" It was by order of *Spartacus* (auf Spartacus geheiſs)
" that I wrote againſt the *ci-devant Jeſuiſts* and againſt
" the *Roſicrucians*, neither of whom had ever done me
" any harm. It was by his orders that I ſpread diſſenſions
" among the Maſons of the *Strict Obſervance*, and ſe-
" duced their ableſt brethren. I inſtilled into them ſtrong
" ideas of the antiquity, the excellence and power of our
" Order, of the perfection of our Superiors, of the irre-
" proachable manners of the Brethren, of the importance
" of our myſteries, and of the ſincerity and purity of our
" intentions. Many of thoſe who at preſent labor moſt
" efficaciouſly for our Order, were under conſtant appre-
" henſions that we were leading them to Deiſm. *Little*
" *by little, however, I do what I pleaſe.* Now were I to
" inform the Jeſuits and the Roſicrucians of their real
" perſecutor; were I ſimply to let ſome certain perſons
" into the ſecret of the inſignificant novelty of the Order;
" were I to inform them that I compoſed parts of the de-
" grees; were I to tell them how I am treated after the
" many ſervices I have rendered; were I to make them
" acquainted with the *Jeſuitiſm* of that man who leads us
" all by the noſe, and ſacrifices us to his ambition whenever
" he pleaſes; were I to inform the ſecret-hunters that
" they will not find that which they are in queſt of; were
" I to let thoſe who love religion into the ſecret of the
" founder's religious principles; were I to ſound the a-
" larm to Free-maſons concerning an aſſociation ſet on
" foot by the Illuminees; were I myſelf to eſtabliſh an
" Order on a more ſolid, clear, diſintereſted plan, whoſe
" object ſhould be honeſty and liberty; were I to attract
" the many able men whom I am acquainted with into

" this Order; were I to place certain perſons in your's
" who would inform me in future of every thing that was
" tranſacting in it; were I to give a hint only in *Greece*
" (Bavaria) that ſhould at once diſcloſe the founder and
" his Order; were I to ſound the alarm to Princes by
" means of *Numenius* and the Roſicrucians at *Rome* (Vi-
" enna):—I ſhudder at the idea! No, I will not carry
" vengeance to ſuch lengths; but if I do not obtain ſatis-
" faction, I will take ſuch ſteps as my honor requires.—
" Let me once more enjoy that unlimited confidence that
" I formerly enjoyed, and then I ſhall be ready to under-
" take great things for the Order again. I am perfectly
" acquainted with our people; I know what attaches each
" one to the Order, and what engines ſhould be ſet in
" motion either to excite their enthuſiaſm or ſuddenly to
" cruſh it. Once more I repeat it; if I am left at liberty
" to act, I will anſwer upon my head to put the Order
" immediately in poſſeſſion, 1ſt, *of moſt important ſecrets*;
" 2dly, *of a ſtrong preponderance over the Maſons of the*
" Strict Obſervance, *or, rather, of means abſolutely to de-*
" *ſtroy them*; 3dly, *of a great influence over the Maſons*
" *of* Zinnendorf's ſyſtem; 4thly, *I promiſe to put the Or-*
" *der in poſſeſſion of great riches, and of great power, and*
" *that without making any alterations in our conſtitu-*
" *tions.*"

So far from allowing himſelf to be ſoothed by theſe promiſes, or affrighted by theſe menaces, which Zwack was to tranſmit to Ingolſtadt, Weiſhaupt appeared to become more inflexible. He knew his agents too well; he was certain that Knigge could never bring himſelf to betray him; and indeed he muſt have betrayed himſelf in denouncing his chief. That adept, without doubt, might have deſerted him and carried many of the brethren with him; and Weiſhaupt would have preferred ſuch extremities rather than have had rebel adepts, particularly competitors under him. " What care I (he writes) for all
" that multitude of unmanageable adepts who wiſh to be
" guided by no other rule than their fancy?". At other times he would write, " It is by means of thoſe who
" will obey me, that *I muſt perform moſt aſtoniſhing things.*
" I anſwer for nothing when I meet with reſiſtance from
" my adepts; I have foreſeen every thing, and I have pre-
" pared every thing. Let my whole Order go to rack and
" ruin; in three years I will anſwer to reſtore it, and that

" to a more powerful ſtate than it is in at preſent.—Ob-
" ſtacles only ſtimulate my activity. I know how to turn
" them to my advantage; and when people ſhall think
" that I am undone, even then ſhall I riſe ſtronger than
" ever. Let that perſon leave me who thinks he can bet-
" ter himſelf elſewhere; and time will ſhew who is mis-
" taken. I know how to find men more docile. I can ſa-
" crifice whole provinces, the deſertion of a few individ-
" uals, therefore, will not alarm me."*

Thus firm and conſtant in his determination to enforce obedience, Weiſhaupt left Knigge under an interdict; he continued to tranſmit all orders to him through the medium of his inferiors; he even ſo far ſet him at defiance, as to refuſe to give him the watchword and the quarterly ſign; ſo that he might almoſt look upon himſelf as expelled the Order. If he deigned to write to him, it was in a tone only calculated to add to his humiliation; and Knigge himſelf actually thought all his intercourſe with this overbearing Deſpot had been broken off when he received a letter ſtill more imperious and injurious than ever. *Philo's* anſwer is remarkable; and I will lay it before my readers; not that I think it important to deſcribe all the jealouſies and inteſtine broils that may very well be called the rogues quarrel, but becauſe it ſhows how well in the midſt of all their diſputes theſe fellows knew each other, and how they drew together when the misfortunes of nations were in queſtion; it ſhows alſo how they vied with each other, and placed all their merit in the deſtruction of the altar and the throne, and in having abuſed the confidence of Princes; ſuch were the mighty deeds on which they grounded their rights of pre-eminence in their dark dens of rebellion.

This letter from Knigge to Weiſhaupt was written at ſucceſſive periods during his excurſion from Frankfort to Caſſel, to Brunſwick, and Neuterhauſen. He begins it, dated at Caſſel, 25th February, 1783.

" An unforeſeen circumſtance occaſions my writing to
" you. Read my letter without paſſion, with impartiality,
" and as coolly as you are able. I own that, as late even
" as yeſterday, until I had received your Excellency's let-
" ter I little thought we were ever to correſpond togeth-
" er again. I am perfectly reſolved to wait but for one

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 8, to *Cato*.

" more anſwer; and if it is in the ſame tone that you " have lately taken with me, nothing ſhall hinder me " from abſolutely breaking off all connexion with you. " Do not pretend to think that this is an idle threat. I " am aware that you can do without me; but I alſo know, " or am at leaſt willing to think, that your conſcience will " riſe in judgment againſt you, if you continue without " reaſon to reject a man who has been your moſt active " co-operator. What am I to underſtand when you ſay " that you can begin the whole over again, and that with " new agents? To be ſure you may try; but were you " really to undertake it, you would ceaſe in my eyes to " be that man whom I was willing to believe endowed " with prudence. The points to which I wiſh to call " your attention require a general view of our reſpective " ſituations. Let us addreſs each other freely.

" *You* have injured me; you know it; but you will " not own it, becauſe you are afraid of loſing your con- " ſequence were you to ſay, I have really behaved ſhame- " fully ill to that man. You wiſh to perſuade both your- " ſelf and others that you are indifferent to my ſtaying " with you or not, for that I am not fit for ſo great an " undertaking; though you well know, that we both have " our failings; that men muſt be taken as they are; that " no one would proceed far, if he were to change co-ope- " rators every ſix months. To make ſhort of the matter, " you would be ſorry to ſee me abandon you, and found " another ſociety; but you are unwilling to appear to " ſtand in need of me.

" Now for *Me:* I have not the vanity to pretend, that " a man of a ſuperior underſtanding to my own ſhould " ſo debaſe himſelf as to aſk me pardon. But I could wiſh " you to reflect on the following circumſtances:—I am " certain that I have acted according to my conſcience, " and on a ſolid plan. I defy any perſon to point out to " me thoſe indiſcretions by which I am ſuppoſed to have " done the Order irreparable evil. So far from it, I have " engaged men of the moſt tranſcendant merit in its ſer- " vice. If in many hundred recruits any are to be found " who are not exactly what they ought to be, your own " conduct will plead my excuſe, ſince you have entruſted " *me* with the government of five provinces, *a perſon* that " you at preſent upbraid as a heedleſs giddy young fellow. " In ſhort, I have acted as I ought to have done. That

" you ſhould acknowledge this, I do not deſire; but I " really wiſh to ſee you convinced of it. Our union ſhould " be grounded on a reciprocal and boundleſs confidence. " —If you are unwilling to grant me yours, remember at " leaſt that I am not to be led like a machine. I there- " fore retire, not through an ill-judged delicacy, but be- " cauſe I can be of no uſe to you, and that I know perſons " to whom I can be of great uſe, and who place unbound- " ed confidence in me.

" Now to the point: *I can inform you, that laſt night* " *I brought my grand plan to a ſtate of maturity.* Mark me, " therefore: ſince I have quitted the government of my " provinces, *great things have been the objects of my la-* " *bors, letters, and conferences. For this week paſt I* " *have had here (at Caſſel) ſeveral private interviews* " *with the* P— C— of H— C—," (Prince Charles of " Heſſe Caſſel, brother in law to the King of Denmark). " *All this taken together* has enabled me to fulfil the fol- " lowing promiſes, *provided I am treated as I think I* " *am entitled to be.*"

Theſe promiſes of Knigge are nearly the ſame as thoſe already mentioned in his letter to *Cato*-Zwack. He adds, however, ſome few points that are eſſential; for example, he does not only promiſe to diſcover to the Illuminees *the real object of Maſonry and of the Roſicrucians*, but *to make it a part of the higher degrees of Weiſhaupt's myſteries.* This addition is not an indifferent indication on the occult myſteries of Maſonry. Without having been a Roſicrucian, *Philo*-Knigge had long applied to their myſteries before his admiſſion into Illuminiſm. He had ſtudied them as *Commander* and *Knight Templar*, but had not been able to dive into their laſt myſteries. It was reſerved to Bode, to that man known by all Germany to have been one of their moſt zealous and learned Maſons, to initiate Knigge in theſe myſteries; and we muſt hence conclude, that few of the brethren were acquainted with them; but no ſooner are they diſcovered to *Philo*, than he conceives them to be worthy of being blended with thoſe of Weiſhaupt. Theſe occult myſteries, therefore, of the Roſicrucians can fall little ſhort of the baneful machinations of Illuminiſm; and all that jealouſy that ſtill rages between the Roſicrucians and Illuminees may be ſaid to be only a rivalſhip for hireling primacy. No longer do I pretend to diſpute with Brother Dupe on the ex-

iſtence of theſe hideous myſteries; on the contrary, I will compliment him on his ſtill having ſufficient virtue left to be refuſed admiſſion; but I will inſiſt on the abſolute neceſſity and duty of abandoning any aſſociation that can have nurtured the abominable and impious plots, the diſcovery of which is the cauſe of ſo much exultation in theſe arch-conſpirators.

On the ſame conditions Knigge promiſes Weiſhaupt *to diſcover to the Order certain ſecrets of Nature, ſecrets* (ſays he) *at once aſtoniſhing, marvellous*, and *productive*, and all this without being miracles.* He alſo ſpecifies the means by which the Illuminees are to acquire power and wealth; it is *the liberty and a licence to trade in Denmark, Holſtein, and other ſtates, with the neceſſary funds for the enterprize.* In ſhort, his promiſes againſt the Roſicrucians is accompanied with the promiſe of a powerful party againſt the Jeſuits.†

This letter remained in his port-folio until his return from Caſſel to Brunſwick; he there continues it on the 10th of March: "The D— F— of B—, (Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick) has called me to this town to confer with me on different ſubjects. I will ſay more of this on a future occaſion, let us revert to the moſt preſſing buſineſs. I have already ſaid it, and I repeat it again without any diſguiſe, here are my conditions: If you reſtore me to your confidence, all will be terminated, and this whole buſineſs remains a ſecret between us. From this inſtant I not only engage to attach myſelf ſtronger than ever to the order, but I alſo promiſe and guarantee to it a power of which it can have no conception.

"Should you refuſe to rely on me, from that inſtant our union is diſſolved; I erect another ſociety on much ſtronger bonds. But no threats. Think of it, and weigh it coolly."

Knigge alſo takes time to reflect; and on the 26th of March he continues from Neuterhauſen: "I am here again. . . Once more I ſay, *if you know your own intereſt the world is ours*; if not, may the conſequences of your ſcandalous proceedings fall upon you. But no; I ſtill rely on your prudence, fate leads us admirably. I

* Erſtaunlich und einträglich, obgleich keine wunder.

† Eine mächtige parthey gegen jeſuiten.

" have great things before me; I have prodigious ones " in view.—It is in your power to partake of them. I " have not as yet taken a ſingle ſtep againſt you. I hope " your conduct will give me reaſon to write to *Athens*, " that I had formed a wrong opinion of you."

On the 27th of the ſame month another poſtſcript in the following terms: " I was juſt going to ſend my let- " ter, when I received this Order, which you ſend me by " F... Oh! you ought not to have taken ſuch a ſtep. " You wiſh then to drive me to all extremities? Upon " my word you will gain nothing by it. Reflect on the " importance, I may venture to ſay, that I have given to " your aſſociation. Were I now to diſcover to certain " perſons your whole hiſtory, and *your principles ſo dan-* " *gerous for the world*, and declare that I was obliged " to moderate them by every means in my power, who " would not ſhun you? *What is your degree of Epopt in* " *compariſon with your means of attaining a good object* " (that is to ſay in compariſon to the principle, *all means* " *are good when the end is good?*)—What is it, I ſay, " when compared with your ſcandalous injuſtice towards " Wolter and Levelling?—O! what are men?—Good " God! were you a Jeſuit yourſelf? I tremble to think " of it; but ſhould that be the caſe all Hell ſhould not " ſave you from my claws."

Laſt Poſtſcript of the 31ſt: " Do not hurry yourſelf " to anſwer me. *Cato* may tranſmit certain things to you " that may make you change your mind. Take care of " yourſelf *cave ne cadas*. Vengeance is a thing that I " ſhall with great difficulty reſiſt."*

All theſe letters depict Knigge as an adept determined to withdraw himſelf at length from the deſpotiſm of the modern *Spartacus*; not indeed to abandon his plots, but in order to lay the baſis of new aſſociations of Conſpirators: In the midſt of all theſe broils, it is worthy of remark, that the injured competitor in his letters to Weiſhaupt and to Zwack intermixes anſwers and advice on every thing that can tend to propagate the Order. In his poſtſcript of the 26th of March, forgetting on a ſudden all his anger againſt Weiſhaupt, he informs him, that Brother *Accatius* ſolicits letters of recommendation and directions to the Brethren of Italy for another adept who

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 1, 2, and 3, from *Philo*.

is going to second Brother *Hannibal* in his miſſion to thoſe countries. "This affair (ſays Knigge) is of the "higheſt importance to the Order; for our man is an "excellent Scrutator; and I do aſſure you that ſpecial good "news is come relating to the Monks of Italy." Moſt certainly, diſcontented Monks of the ſtamp of Dom Gerles might be found there; but before they could be enrolled an article of the Code which excludes them from the Order was to be diſpenſed with. As I have already obſerved, however, Knigge was always leſs ſcrupulous than Weiſhaupt on the article of exceptions. In theſe ſame letters he warns the Areopagites to pay particular attention to the affairs of the Order at Vienna; and informs them, that he has important news from that country; and with reſpect to Poland, though he may be acquainted with no perſon who could forward the federation, he had *people at leaſt in Livonia*. And in his official reports we find that he had a miſſionary in that part of Ruſſia, *who from ſo great a diſtance perhaps might not ſend his Quibus Licets exactly and monthly*; but who would labor for the Order perhaps with more ſucceſs than any of its Apoſtles.*

Such tenderneſs for the welfare of the Order, and zeal for the propagation of its plots, evidently demonſtrates that Knigge, ſo far from abandoning it, expected to reaſſume his former rank. It appears ſtill clearer in the letter he wrote to *Cato* by the very ſame poſt, by which he had ſent all his menaces to Weiſhaupt: "I have great "views indeed for our Order, and that makes me forget "all the injuries I have received from Spartacus. I do "not wiſh him to own that he is in the wrong, but only "that he ſhould know that the fault lies with him." The letter ends by conſtituting *Cato* judge of the conteſt.†— Weiſhaupt needed no more to convince him that this warfare would terminate to his advantage. He did not wiſh to loſe *Philo*, but ſtill leſs could he bear him as a rival. "If *Philo* (Weiſhaupt ſays to Zwack) will return "to me, and confeſs that he is in the wrong, he will find "me ſuch as I formerly was in his regard. But for your "part do not ſhow the leaſt eagerneſs to reclaim him. I "wiſh to prove to him that I can do without him; his

* Aber er wird würken wie noch keiner gewürkt hat.

† Worüber ſie, beſter *Cato!* Richter ſeyn mögen.

" vanity must not be flattered; he wants to be entreated; " and it is exactly for that reason that he should not be " entreated.—If he has the good of the cause at heart, he " will return of his own accord, and I will receive him " with open arms."*

The *good of the cause*, as Weishaupt calls it (that is, the propagation and triumph of Illuminism with all its impious plots), was evidently as dear to Knigge as to himself. This mutual bias to crime reconciled them together again, at least, for a space of time sufficient to acquire for Illuminism the greater part of that authority which Knigge had promised to the Areopagites. It is true, that he tells us he had obtained his dismission, and an honorable testimony of his services. It may be a fact that he received his dismission, as he says, on the express conditions, that he would never undertake any thing detrimental to the interests or *plans* of the Illuminees; that he would keep a profound silence with respect to the secrets of the Brethren; that he would never do any thing that could commit the superiors, and not even so much as name them;† but certain it is, that the date coincides with the time of the discoveries made at Munich, which must have induced him to take such precautions as he judged necessary to avoid being implicated with the other chiefs of the Illuminees. He declares that he received his *congé* on the first of June, 1784, and the first decrees issued by the Elector of Bavaria against Secret Societies bear date of the twenty-second of the same month. Four months after we see *Philo*-Knigge mentioned by Weishaupt as an adept, without the least allusion to his retreat, and this may create some doubt at least as to the date. Whatever may have been the case, fourteen months elapsed from the time of their grand disputes, till that when Knigge declares he broke off all connection with the Illuminees. Hereafter we shall see what is to be understood by this pretended dereliction of his former Brethren. It is however certain, that during those fourteen months, he but too well entitled himself to the gratitude of the Sect by the new services he rendered, and more particularly by his intrigues with Bode, by means of which he consummated Wei-

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 24.

† Seine obern weder zu nennen noch zu compromittiren.

ſhaupt's plan of confederation or of intruſion in all the Lodges of Germany.

The federation of the Maſons and Illuminees continued.

The grand obſtacle to theſe plans was the jealouſy of the Roſicrucians, of the Brethren of *the Strict Obſervance*, and of the *Philaletes*, calling themſelves the Theoſophical Illuminees. But the acquiſition of Bode; Knigge's frequent viſits to their Highneſſes the Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick and the Prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel; the manner in which he impoſed on theſe two chiefs of German Maſonry; the influence acquired by *Philo* thro' the means of Bode over the Commiſſaries who were named at Willemſbaden to frame the laws, are circumſtances more than ſufficient to account for his ſucceſs in ſpite of ſuch numerous opponents. When Bode was thoroughly convinced that Illuminiſm, ſo far from being an invention of Jeſuits and Prieſts, was no other than a moſt determined conſpiracy againſt Princes and the Prieſthood, which he equally hated; when he beheld the means of its developing themſelves in the degrees of *Epopt* and of *Regent*, he then had no other view than to perform the promiſe he had made to Knigge, *to dedicate his life entirely* to the ſervice of the Order, and particularly *to have its intereſts at heart in the framing of the new Code.* Never was promiſe more religiouſly kept, nor attended with greater ſucceſs. With reſpect to thoſe Brethren whoſe antique myſteries perpetually recalled to their minds Equality and Liberty, nothing could be more ſeducing than Knigge's circular letter on *Eclective* or *Elective* Maſonry. Many Lodges had of their own accord acceded to his federation. Bode introduced its laws into the *new Maſonic Ritual.* It was on ſeeing theſe laws that the Maſon who beſt foreſaw their conſequences exclaims, in the bitterneſs of his heart: "Oh, my Brethren! At what point ſhall I be- "gin, or where ſhall I end, when I ſpeak to you of that "Bode known among the Illuminees by the name of *A-* "*melius?* Judge, my Brethren, of the important, I would "ſay diſaſtrous ſervices he went to render them; he, who "has been in habits of intimacy with ſo many of our "Brethren; he who had taken ſo great a lead in moſt of "our general meetings; he, who, under an affectation of "good nature and of German uprightneſs, concealed a "heart replete with the moſt heinous impiety, and a fran- "tic enthuſiaſm for Naturaliſm; he, again, who had tak- "en offence at the Brethren of the *Strict Obſervance* be-

" cauſe they had not fatiated his ambition. What an ac-
" quiſition in all reſpects was this man for the Illumi-
" nees!—His firſt efforts were directed againſt us. He
" acted where Knigge could not gain admittance. *It was*
" *through his means that the Illuminees gained their as-*
" *cendency in the new ſyſtem that was to have been eſta-*
" *bliſhed at Willemſbaden; that they gained admittance*
" *into our Directories; and that they ſucceeded in frater-*
" *nizing with the greater part of our Brethren of the*
" *Strict Obſervance.* His Inſinuator Knigge had left him
" no alternative but to bring over Free-maſonry to this
" unfortunate alliance, or to cruſh the Brotherhood. To
" the aſtoniſhment and grief of every true Maſon, it was
" by the combined efforts of Bode and Knigge, that the
" greater part of the Lodges throughout Germany were
" tainted and infected with this baneful Illuminiſm."*

I often meet with ſimilar avowals and lamentations in the different letters and memorials that I have received from German Maſons, heretofore zealous for the honor of their Brotherhood, but now lamenting the intruſion of the Bavarian peſt among them. Some few Lodges, however, held out againſt it. That of Berlin, called *of the Three Globes*, in 1783, publiſhed a circular letter, anathematizing all Brethren who ſhould pretend to degrade Free-maſonry ſo as to transform it into a ſociety of men conſpiring againſt their God and their country. Whether this Lodge had not been initiated into the laſt myſteries of the Roſicrucians and other conſpiring degrees, or whether this anathema was but a ſham, the circular letter had but little effect. The intruſion continued, and became ſo general, that the illuminizing Sect in its inſtructions to the *Directing Illuminees* makes uſe of the following formidable expreſſions: " *Of all the legitimate*
" *Lodges in Germany, there is* ONLY ONE *that has not*
" *coaleſced with our Superiors*, and this Lodge has been
" obliged to ſuſpend its labors."†

This declaration does not imply that the greater number of the Brethren were already illuminized, but only denotes that the Superiors, whether *Maſters*, *Wardens*, or *Treaſurers*, of almoſt every Lodge had entered into the federation with Weiſhaupt.—But what an awful aſpect

* Diſcourſe of a Maſter on the ultimate fate of Free-maſonry.

† Degree of Directing Illuminee, Sect. 3, No. 5.

does this ſubterraneous power preſent!—A multitude of emiſſaries and agents diſperſed throughout the tenebrous receſſes of Maſonry. The Superiors once gained over, the Lodges would make but a feeble and ſhort reſiſtance.

The greater part of theſe ſucceſſes were to be attributed to *Philo*-Knigge; neither did he hide thoſe pretenſions that could indicate the rival. Weiſhaupt could not brook the moſt diſtant appearance of rivality; new conteſts aroſe between the two chiefs. Knigge at length abandoned, or pretended to abandon, the Order. It does not appear that Weiſhaupt ſhowed the leaſt regret. His power ſeemed to be built on foundations that could not be ſhaken by any ſtorm:—it was no longer confined to a corner of Germany.* The Danube and the Rhine could no longer bound it. In the North and the Eaſt he had his emiſſaries, in Holland, Poland, and Livonia.† His apoſtles in the South had already advanced from Milan to Venice.‡ On the Weſt he was beginning his attacks on France by the way of Straſbourg.§ But juſt at this period was preparing that ſtorm which in the annals of the Sect ſhall be called the Third Epoch.

* That the reader may form a clear and preciſe idea of the manner in which theſe different Lodges and Illuminees on their ſeveral miſſions correſponded with their chief, I think it right to ſubjoin the *Geographical and Political Chart* of the Sect, ſuch as it was drawn out by Knigge in the Original Writings. I know this plate only comprehends Germany, and that without the Auſtrian Provinces, "becauſe (ſays Knigge) *the Brethren of thoſe Provinces have petitioned to have a ſeparate National Director.*" But every reader can apply a ſimilar one to any other ſtate. To complete it, I have added Weiſhaupt in direct communication with the Areopagites, and the latter with the National Directors.—A very ſlight inſpection will ſuffice to ſhow, how inſtructions, communications, &c. paſs to and from the General, down to the Scotch Directories, and from the latter to the loweſt individual of Illuminiſm.

† Philo's Bericht.

‡ See Juridical Depoſitions made at Munich.

§ Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 23, to *Cato*, 28th January, 1783.

Geographical and Political Chart of the Illuminized German Lodges.

SPARTACUS-WEISHAUPT,
the General of all
ILLUMINISM,
corresponds with, and gives his orders
to
The Areopagites,
who transmit their orders
to
The National Director
of all GERMANY,
who directs - - - - the

First Inspector *who inspects the*

- Provincial of Bavaria *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Munich - - - *for* The Dutchy of Bavaria.
 - Saltzburg - - — The Archbishopric of Saltzburg.
 - Ratisbon - - — Ratisbon, Passau, Sternberg, Ortenburg, Leuchtenberg, Sulzbach.
 - Freysinguen - — The Upper Palatinate, Freysinguen, Neuburg.
- Provincial of Swabia *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Augsburg - - *for* Augsburg, Costanz, Kempten.
 - Stutgard - - - — Wurtemberg, Zollern, and the Imperial Towns.
 - Oettinguin - - — Oettinguen, Furstemberg, the Abbeys, and Imperial Towns.
 - Charlsruhe - - — Baaden, and the Seignorial and Imperial Towns.
- Provincial of Franconia *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Aichstadt - - *for* Aichstadt, the Country of Bareith, and the Imperial Towns.
 - Wurtzburg - — Wurtzburg and Bamberg.
 - Bareith - - - — Bareith, the Counties and Lordships.
 - Memmingen - — The Towns of the Teutonic Order and Henneberg.

Second Inspector *who inspects the*

- Provincial of the Electorates of the Rhine *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Manheim *or* Heidelberg *for* The Palatinate of the Rhine.
 - Mentz - - - - — The Electorate and Beilstein.
 - Treves *or* Coblenz - — The Archbishopric of Treves.
 - Bonn *or* Cologn - - — Cologn, Aremberg, Reineck, Isenburg.
- Provincial of the Circle of the Upper Rhine *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Cassel - - - *for* The Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel.
 - Wetzlar - - - — Veteravia, and the Seignorial and Imperial Towns.
 - Frankfort - - — Frankfort, Fulda, Hanover, Isenburg.
 - Darmstadt - - — Darmstadt, Homburg, Usinguen.
 - Spire - - - - — Spire, Worms, Deux-Ponts.
- Provincial of Westphalia *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Neuwied - - *for* The Countries of the Wied, of Seyn, Mœurs, Thorn, Essen.
 - Munster - - - — Osnabruck, Juliers, Cleves.
 - Paderborn - - — Paderborn, Minden, Corvey, Nassau.
 - Oldenburg - - — Ferden, Hoya, Schauenburg.

Third Inspector *who inspects the*

- Provincial of Upper Saxony *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Dresden *or* Leipsic *for* The Electorate of Saxony and the Provostship of Zeitz.
 - Berlin - - - - — Brandenburg and Pomerania.
 - Weimar *or* Gotha - — The Dutchy of Saxony and Principality of Schwartzburg.
 - Dessau - - - - — Anhalt, Mansfield, Stolberg, and Querfurt.
- Provincial of Lower Saxony *who superintends the* - - Scotch Directories *of*
 - Hanover - - *for* The Electorate, Celle, Grubenhagen.
 - Brunswick - - — Wolfenbuttel, Magdeburg, Halberstadt.
 - Bremen - - - — Bremen, the Holstein, Hamburg, Hildesheim.
 - Strelitz - - - — Mecklenburg, Lubeck, Ratzeburg.

[*To face page* 140.]

CHAP. VII.

Third Epoch of Illuminiſm. Diſcovery of the Sect.

IT was not without reaſon that Weiſhaupt had expreſſed his apprehenſions as to the precipitate manner in which Knigge had admitted ſo many candidates to the myſteries of the Sect: on the other hand, Knigge might with equal reaſon upbraid Weiſhaupt with want of prudence in recommending to the adepts ſuch books as thoſe publiſhed under the name of Boulanger; and thus diſcloſing his atheiſm previous to the laſt myſteries.* But ſucceſs had ſo emboldened Weiſhaupt, that he kept no farther reſerve on the ſcore of religion, even with his Minerval ſcholars; and ſo early as the year 1781, the court of Bavaria entertained ſome ſuſpicions of this new Sect. It had even ordered certain inquiries to be made; but the Illuminees had art enough to baffle theſe inqueſts.†—Leſt, however, any enquiries ſhould at any future time take place, Weiſhaupt bethought himſelf of making the Elector the tutelarly adept of his conſpiracies. "I am of "opinion (would he write to his Areopagites) that in "order to ſtrengthen ourſelves, you ſhould ſend a depu- "tation to the Elector, to offer him the Protectorate of "the Eclectic Lodges. The Brethren *Ulyſſes*, *Apollo*, "and ſome others of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members, "even *Celſus* for inſtance, might be deputed for this pur- "poſe. Should the Prince accept it, we ſhall be effectu- "ally ſkreened from any future perſecution, and nobody "will then be afraid of joining you, or of frequenting "your Lodges."‡

The exiſtence of Illuminiſm ſurmiſed.

Weiſhaupt's means for preventing any proceſs.

The reader may eaſily judge how ſuch a deputation would have been received by the Elector, when he is informed of the manner in which he had formerly received a ſimilar propoſition while reſiding at Manheim. One of his miniſters at that time, under a far more plauſible pre-

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 2, from *Philo* to *Cato*.
† Ibid. Let. 1, from *Epictetus*.
‡ Orig. Writ. Let. 1, to *Epictetus*, 7th Feb. 1783.

tence, propoſed to him to call to his court the moſt famous Philoſophers of the day, and to grant penſions to theſe pretended great men, after the example of Lewis XIV. who had been the protector of the learned men of his age. The glory of ſuch an undertaking ſeemed at firſt to flatter the Prince; but on conſulting men of real learning he ſoon perceived that ſuch a meaſure would only end in multiplying a Sect equally inimical to their God and their country; and Charles Theodore would no longer hear of the Protectorſhip of Philoſophiſm. This anecdote was ſent to me by a perſon who heard it from the very miniſter that had made the propoſition to the Elector.

It is not underſtood how the court of Munich acquired its firſt knowledge reſpecting Illuminiſm; the information it received was not ſufficiently explicit indeed to deſcribe the ſpirit of the Sect, but it gave a general idea of the danger of ſecret ſocieties. On the 22d of June 1784, His Electoral Highneſs publiſhed an Edict abſolutely forbidding all *ſecret communities, ſocieties, and confraternities*, other than thoſe by law eſtabliſhed. The uncontaminated Maſons ſhut up their Lodges; the Illuminized Maſons, who had many of their adepts about the court, thought themſelves ſtrong enough to bid defiance to the Edict, and continued their meetings. A work publiſhed by Mr. Babo, a Profeſſor at Munich, entitled *The firſt Warning on Free-maſonry*, began to diſcloſe more clearly the plans of the new adepts. Soon after the Count Joſeph Törring made a more vigorous attack on them. The Illuminees not only wrote apologies in anſwer to theſe attacks, but ſet many other engines to work, the artifice of which cannot be better deſcribed than by Weiſhaupt's own letters to his adepts.

"Liſten for a moment to my advice, (he writes on the "18th December, 1784). If any inquiry be ſet on foot, "I am of opinion that none of the Chiefs ſhould ſuffer "themſelves to be led into the detail and particulars of "the Order; and they muſt poſitively declare, that no "power on earth ſhould force them to make any diſcove-"ries excepting to the Elector perſonally: the two de-"grees of the higher myſteries ſhould then be ſubmitted "to him. At leaſt ſuch ſhall be the line of conduct which "I will hold, if ever I am called upon. You will then "ſee what a happy turn our affairs will take. You have "read what Brother D . . . thought of the firſt degree.

"I am certain the Elector will view it in the same light. "I place all my hopes in the goodness of my cause. Bold- "ly and without the least apprehension, I can declare be- "forehand, that if I am to fall it shall be in an honorable "manner, though it were to cost me my head. Deport "yourselves in the same manner, and instil courage into "the others. This is an admirable opportunity of shew- "ing your magnanimity; do not let it pass by without "avail. I have mentioned my plan for the Elector to Bro- "ther *Cromwell*, and he augurs fortunately from it:—but "he very well knows that such a measure will only be "resorted to in the last extremity."

What an extraordinary mode of defence must this appear to those who do not know that these two degrees which he intended to shew to the Elector were the corrected ones, such as he had prepared for Princes and certain other candidates who would have been disgusted with them in their real state. Sometimes the whole of that part relating to the mysteries, and the discourses of the Hierophants, were retrenched, and nothing but the idle ceremonial preserved. A second letter of Weishaupt's to his Areopagites dated the 2d February 1785, will more clearly explain the whole of this artifice. "My Brethren "(he says), the step you are going to take is proper, and "such as the circumstances require. The Memorial of "our *Menelaus* (WERNER, Counsellor at Munich) is "very fine and very judicious. I only wish you to add, "that you will shew your degrees to nobody but to the "Elector; and those that may be submitted to his inspec- "tion are—1st, The *Novice*; 2dly, The *Minerval*; "3dly, The *Minor Illuminee*. [*Nota bene*, that the words "*dummster mönch* (stupid monk) are to be changed into "*dummster mensch* (stupid men]. 4thly, The *Major Il-* "*luminee* entire, except these words, which you will ef- "face: *the Priests and bad Princes are in our way.* "5thly, The *Directing Illumince*; but in this degree "you will only shew the ceremonial of the reception, and "my discourse; *not a word of the rest.* 6thly, The de- "gree of *Priest* or *Epopt*; here you will only *shew our* "*instructions that relate to sciences*; *and you will care-* "*fully read those over, lest any allusion or reference to the* "*rest should subsist.*

"As all the packets for *Ephesus* (Ingolstadt) are open- "ed, I plainly see that I am the person at whom they aim.

"To-morrow I will write to *Alfred* (the minister Sein-"sheim); and that letter will inform the court before-"hand how I mean to behave on this occasion. Openly "declare to the Elector, *that the Order is a produce of "his own states, and that I am the author of it.* Then "the whole affair will turn upon me; but I am much "mistaken if they will proceed to a personal inquest until "they have further proofs, which can only be acquired "by opening the letters. Show yourselves, great, firm, "and undaunted. *My conduct will prove to you what I "can be.* In the instruction for the degree of *Epopt* take "great care of that part that *relates to History*; leave "nothing that can lead *to the discovery of the theft com-"mitted on the Archives.*"

He is discovered and dismissed.

All this artifice, however, proved useless. The court had acquired sufficient proofs to take such steps against the hero of the Sect as prudence might require. A few days after he had written these instructions to his Areopagites, he was dismissed from his chair of Professor of Laws in the University of Ingolstadt; only, however, as a famous *Master of Lodges*, and as disobedient to the Edict suppressing all secret societies. The mysteries of his Lodge had not yet transpired; it was only known, that several members of his Illuminism, disgusted with his doctrines or his plans, had abandoned his Lodges as early as 1783. Among others were to be found Cosandey a Priest, and the Abbé Renner, both of them Professors of the *Litteræ humaniores* at Munich. But, great as might be the horror which they had conceived of what they had seen of the Sect without having attained the grand mysteries, it does not appear that they had as yet taken any steps against it; at least they had not given such details as might direct the arm of the law. On the 30th March 1785, however, they received a summons from His Electoral Highness, and from the Bishop of Freysinguen, to appear before the Tribunal of the Ordinary, and there to declare whatever they might have observed in the Sect of Illuminees contrary to religion and good morals. Nobody, even then, had the least idea that the conspiracy was pointedly directed against the government. Messrs. Cosandey and Renner made their depositions, the one on the 3d the other on the 7th of April following. I must give extracts from both, though perfectly agreeing with each other. That made by Mr. Cosandey

Juridical depositions of two Illuminees.

is more ample on the principles of the Illuminees, while Mr. Renner deſcends more particularly into their conſtitution and the education of their pupils. I ſhall therefore begin by an extract from the latter; and then revert to that made by Mr. Coſandey.

Juridical Depoſition made by the Profeſſor RENNER *on the Illuminees.*

After having ſtated the orders he had received to appear before the Tribunal, and the ſubject on which he was to give evidence, Mr. Renner begins by declaring that

"The Order of the Illuminees muſt be diſtinguiſhed "from that of the Free-maſons. But this diſtinction is a "ſecret to mere Maſons, as well as to Illuminees of the "Minerval degree. I was myſelf in the dark reſpecting "it, until, after a long trial, they thought proper to ad- "vance me to the degree of *Minor Illuminee*, the firſt "degree in which they take the name of *Illuminee*. I "was even conſtituted Superior over a ſmall number of "the Brethren."

Here the deponent, who thought he was to become a Maſon on his firſt entrance into the Sect, learns that he is not yet one; and tells us, that many of the Brethren had complained heavily that they had not been admitted as yet to the *Intermediary Degrees*. He himſelf is admitted to them, and does not find them ſatisfactory: but he adds, "The advantage I reaped from them "was, that I diſcovered the benefits which the Order de- "rived from Free-maſonry. The Illuminees fear no- "thing ſo much as to be known under that name. They "aſſume the cloak of Maſonry, only becauſe they believe "themſelves more ſecure when maſked under the appear- "ance of an aſſociation that is looked upon as inſignifi- "cant.—The Maſonic Lodges, according to their ex- "preſſion, only contain the *droſs of the people* (der troſs "von leuten) or the bulk of the army, among whom a "few perſons may be found, that may look upon them- "ſelves as very happy, after long and ſevere trials, to be "ſecretly admitted into the ſanctuary of the Order. All "the other Free-maſons, Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, and "Maſons, are to content themſelves with idle ceremo- "nies, and remain under the yoke, either becauſe their

" eyes are not ſtrong enough to bear the light, or becauſe " their love for the Order, and their ſecrecy, two eſſential " requiſites in every adept, cannot be ſufficiently depend- " ed on. When once they are condemned to linger in " obſcurity, they can never have hopes of riſing to the " myſteries; and this is expreſſed by the ſuperiors in the " following ſentence, *Ex inferno nulla eſt Redemptio.*

" Meantime theſe Maſons, without knowing it, are " under the direction of the Illuminees, who reap great " advantages from their reputation and their riches.— " Theſe men (ſay the Superiors) are ſufficiently recom- " penſed by being admitted to converſe with the adepts of " light, and to learn enough from ſuch converſations to " appear enlighted to the prophane.

" The Illuminees, who at firſt only ſhow themſelves " under the appearance of a literary ſociety, gave them- " ſelves the following conſtitution: Their Order is ſub- " divided into different claſſes, called *degrees*, becauſe the " light expands itſelf according to theſe claſſes.—The firſt " degree is a ſort of Noviciate, though every perſon re- " ported as *inſinuated*, and recommended by ſome mem- " ber of the Order as worthy of being admitted, muſt " have been prepared and inſtructed to a certain point by " his Inſinuator or Recruiter. It is a conſtant rule in the " Order, that every Candidate ſhould undergo a year's " trial, that his Inſinuator may obſerve him accurately, " according to the regulations of the Order, and in a *Qui-* " *bus Licet* draw an exact picture of his perſon, his cha- " racter, his talents, and his conduct. If the Candidate " is judged to be worthy, he is admitted into the claſs of " *Preparations*.—In my time there were two of this na- " ture, called *Churches*. Each was directed by four men, " forming what was called the *Magiſtracy*. They were " the *Superior*, the *Cenſor*, the *Treaſurer*, and the *Secre-* " *tary*; and all theſe were adepts of higher degrees.— " We held at leaſt one meeting every month, at which " all the members of the ſame *Church* were to attend, to " give their Superiors a ſealed letter directed *Quibus Li-* " *cet*, *Soli*, or *Primo*, containing an exact ſtatement of the " conduct, diſcourſe, &c. of thoſe whom they had *obſerved* " during the month.

" No member is diſpenſed from theſe *Quibus Licets*, " which aſcend from Degree to Degree, and are only open- " ed by thoſe who have a right to read them. The other

" occupations of the meeting were, after ſome ceremonies,
" to read the ſtatutes, a few paſſages from the ancient Phi-
" loſophers, and a diſcourſe on various ſubjects, compoſed
" by the different members in rotation. As the Brethren
" in general do not like religion, the greater liberty the
" writer uſes on that ſubject, he is the more applauded,
" and acquires a higher reputation of being enlightened.
" Sometimes, however, the preſence of certain brethren,
" either feeble as yet, or not to be entirely depended upon,
" cauſe the Superiors at ſuch lectures to give ſigns of ap-
" parent diſſatisfaction. It would be a violent breach of
" their policy to give way to intemperate language, and
" to expreſs the principles of the Order too openly, as
" each member might look upon ſuch talk as a part of
" their ſyſtem.

" To avoid ſuſpicion, and to attain their ends more cer-
" tainly, they hold weekly meetings, whence all ceremony
" and conſtraint is diſcarded. Here the pupils hold dis-
" putations among themſelves on all ſorts of ſubjects. It
" is on theſe occaſions that the ſuperiors, and thoſe who
" have imbibed the true principles of the Order, ſneer at
" what they call *Religious Prejudices*; for in their lan-
" guage every thing that can obſtruct their views are *pre-*
" *judices*. It is then that by means of the moſt ſeducing
" ſubterfuges they repreſent their principles in ſuch poign-
" ant language, that the moſt timid, encouraged by their
" example, and purified from all droſs and religious pre-
" judice, become perfectly like the reſt. He that can
" withſtand ſuch artifice is a man loſt in the eyes of the
" Order.

" That which made the greateſt impreſſion on me, a-
" mong the Illuminees, was certainly their method of
" binding down their adepts and ſubduing their minds.—
" They extoll the greatneſs and power of the Order; they
" ſpeak of its dignity with the utmoſt reſpect; they ſtun
" you with the moſt magnificent promiſes, and aſſure you
" of the protection of great perſonages ready to do every
" thing for the advancement of its members at the re-
" commendation of the Order; till at length each pupil
" really conſiders, or appears to conſider, the intereſt of
" Illuminiſm as his own, and views all the propoſitions
" and orders he receives from his ſuperiors as duties which
" he has to fulfill. Should a pupil under this idea have
" the misfortune to declare, in a *Quibus Licet*, a *Primo*,

" or a *Soli*, ſome miſconduct of his own, or ſome ſecret " that he has been entruſted with or that he has extorted " from any body, the unhappy confident is loſt to him- " ſelf, for he thenceforth belongs wholly to the Sect.— " When once they have thus tied him down, they aſſume " a very different tone with him. They care very little " about him; 'He may abandon us (they ſay), we ſtand in " no farther need of him.'—I do not think that any one has " yet dared or will ever dare to ſhow the leaſt diſcontent, " much leſs a deſire to quit the Order; eſpecially if he " reflects on the dictatorial threat, *It ſhall be in vain for* " *any prince to pretend to ſave him who ſhall dare to be-* " *tray us.**

" They ſelect their pupils with great caution, and only " entice into their Order thoſe whom they think can be " uſeful to the attainment of their ends. Stateſmen, per- " ſons diſtinguiſhed by rank or fortune, archiviſts, coun- " ſellors, ſecretaries, clerks, profeſſors; abbés, preceptors, " phyſicians, and apothecaries, are always welcome candi- " dates to the Order.

" The degree of *Major Illuminee* is, if I may make uſe " of ſuch an expreſſion, a ſchool in which the candidate is " trained like a true *Bloodhound.*"†

Here the deponent relates their method of watching their adepts, and of deſcribing both them and the prophane. He alſo mentions ſome few of the thouſand or fifteen hundred queſtions that are to be anſwered on the character, the habits, &c. of any perſon whom an adept is ordered to ſcrutinize. He then continues:

" This method of enlightening the pupils always goes " on increaſing in every degree. A brother may know " thoſe of his claſs and thoſe of an inferior one; but, un- " leſs his Superiors have conferred on him the commiſſion " of Director, Viſitor, or Spy, all other adepts are, in their " language, *inviſible* to him. This, without doubt, is the " point that conſtitutes the great ſtrength of the Order. " The chiefs, by this method, watch an inferior without be- " ing known; they know how far he is devoted to the Or- " der and true to his ſecrecy; and a point of ſtill greater " importance is, that in caſe of any exploſion, (of which " they have been long apprehenſive), and on all occaſions,

* Kein Fürſt Kann den ſchützen der uns verräth.

† Wie die wahren ſpürhunde abgerichtet werden.

" they can ſupport the brethren without any one enter-
" taining the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being connected with
" the ſyſtem, ſince they are unknown even to the Bre-
" thren, and of courſe to the prophane.

" *There are men, and they may be eaſily diſcerned, who*
" *defend the Order* (of Illuminiſm) *with great warmth,*
" *though they do not declare themſelves to belong to it.*—
" Such conduct certainly deſerves a little animadverſion.
" Either theſe defenders belong to the Order, or they do
" not; if they do not, can they pretend to defend that
" which they neither know nor have any poſſibility of
" knowing. If they belong to the Order, that very cir-
" cumſtance renders them unworthy of belief, though they
" ſhould adduce as proofs ſome few works thrown out to
" baffle any attempt to inveſtigate the plan of the Order,
" or ſhould proteſt on their words of honor when they
" ſpeak ſo highly in its praiſe. When a perſon comes ſe-
" rioufly to conſider the impoſſibility of knowing any
" thing of Illuminiſm but by being a member of it, and
" when we compare the many advantages derived from
" their *inviſibility*; if we ſhould be tempted to draw
" any concluſions on theſe defenders, we might (and that
" without reaſoning ill) ſuppoſe they belonged themſelves
" to the Order, and to that particular ſpecies of adepts
" which the Illuminees term *inviſible.*"*

After having thus given as much of the general plan of the Illuminees as he could know without having been admitted to the higher degrees, the Deponent comes to the principles which the Superiors wiſh to inculcate in their pupils; and in the firſt place he mentions the following, of which they have made a ſort of proverb:

* Und zwar von iener art der verſchwundenen, wie man ſie in der ordens ſprache nennt.—Were I to requeſt certain Engliſh reviewers, and particularly Dr. Griffiths, or his aſſiſtants in the *Monthly Review*, to read and weigh this obſervation of the German deponant, thoſe gentlemen might perhaps wiſh to retort it on me; but let them recollect, that when men who have aſſociated with robbers are ſeen to depoſe againſt them, or when the writings of conſpirators are produced in evidence, a perſon may eaſily prove their criminality without being an accomplice. But you, Gentlemen, who were not with them, yet pretend to prove their innocence, will your aſſertion invalidate the evidence of eye and ear witneſſes?—If you are of their party, all that can be concluded from your denials is, that you are ſtill very faithful and much devoted to them, ſince in their defence you reſiſt the demonſtration of evidence.

Tous les Rois et tous les Pretres
Sont des Fripons et des traitres.*

With regard to *Suicide*, the Superiors preach it to their brethren *to prepare them for more tempestuous times.*— "They have the art of representing suicide as so easy, and "so advantageous in certain circumstances, that I should "not be surprized (says Mr. Renner) to see some adept "carried away by the lure of a certain voluptuousness which "they pretend to be peculiar to suicide; and they even "pretend to prove their assertions by examples.

"But of all their detestable principles the most danger-"ous in my judgment is this: *The end justifies the means.* "In consequence of this morality, and ACCORDING TO "THEIR CONSTANT PRACTICE, the mere suspicion that "a man will at any future period be in a position to ob-"struct the views of the Order will be a sufficient reason "to calumniate him, however virtuous he may be. They "will cabal to drive one man out of his place; they will "poison another; a third they will assassinate; in short, "they will do any thing to attain their ends. Suppose the "crime of the Illuminee should be discovered, he always "has the *Patet-exitus* as a resource. *It is only a ball "through the head*, and he escapes the rigor and ignomi-"ny of the law."

Mr. Renner next alludes to what the Sect calls its *Moral Government* or *Commission of Morals*, or its *Fiscal*: "This commission is a college formed of the most able "and honest men, that is in their language, of men chiefly "belonging to the class of *Invisibles*, and who, enjoying "the confidence of the sovereign, would, according to the "vices of their commission, inform him of the morals "and honesty of each of his subjects; but as probity is "necessary to fulfil the divers stations of the state, each "person should be prepared beforehand for the office he "is to occupy. An admirable plan! But should they ever "accomplish it, should their rule ever be adopted, what "would become of all those men who did not belong to "Illuminism? Happily, the plan is discovered in time; "otherwise they might have verified what a Superior just "returned from visiting a Superior of a higher degree "had foretold; *All the Posts once properly filled in suc-*

* All kings and all priests are rascals and traitors.

" *ceſſion to each other, ſhould the Order be compoſed of but* " *ſix hundred members, no power on earth could reſiſt* " *them.*"

Mr. Renner finiſhes by declaring, that he is unacquainted with the ultimate object of the Order; that the Superiors were perpetually talking of that object, but never mentioned what it was. He believes it to be of the utmoſt conſequence; but he leaves every one free to conceive, after what he has ſaid, how that object can accord with the civil and religious duties. He affirms on oath the particulars contained in the above declaration, and which he leaves written and ſigned by his own hand.

Juridical Depoſitions of Mr. COSANDEY, *3d April*, 1785.

My reaſon for placing Mr. Renner's depoſition firſt, was, becauſe he is more explicit on the government of Illuminiſm; while Mr. Coſandey chiefly dwells on the principles of the Sect. After having ſhown in a few words how Free-maſonry ſerves as a cloak to the Sect, how the candidate is gradually fettered in the bonds of the Superiors, and how dangerous muſt be a ſervitude to men who from principle wiſh to appear idlers though in the moſt active purſuits; he proceeds with the unfortunate *Minerval* to the degrees of *Minor* and *Major Illuminee*. " It is here (ſays he) that the pupil is a little further ini- " tiated into the ſyſtems of the Order. Light, however, " is imparted to him but ſlowly, and with all poſſible pre- " cautions. He is here made acquainted with a greater " number of Adepts and Under-Superiors; but the Chiefs " always remain *inviſible*.

" In order to be advanced to the higher degrees the " candidate muſt, in the language of the Sect, have got rid " of all religious prejudices, or at leaſt he muſt aſſume " the appearance of one who has ſo done in the preſence " of his Superiors; as no *religioniſt* (ſuch is their expres- " ſion) can be admitted to the higher degrees.*

" The moſt excellent Superiors are the perſons that " give the ton in all theſe degrees. Their orders, their " maxims, their opinions, their doctrines, are the ſoul, the " ſtandard, the ſpirit, the main ſpring of this inſtitution.

* Dann kein *Religionär* (es iſt ihr auſdruck) wird in die höhere grad auf genommen.

" The lower claſs of Superiors and Chiefs, are cunning " knaves, and black and ſyſtematic villains, or ſometimes " miſled enthuſiaſts, ſpurred on and abominably deluded " by the others. As a proof, I will relate ſome of their " principles in the form of proverbs, which are never giv- " en in writing, but are perpetually inculcated in the adepts " by theſe Superiors.

" I. *When nature lays too heavy a burthen upon us,* " *it is to ſuicide that we are to apply for relief.* PATET " EXITUS. An Illuminee, they would tell us, ſhould " make away with himſelf rather than betray his Order; " and they alſo repreſent a ſecret voluptuouſneſs to be in- " herent to ſuicide.

" II. *Nothing through reaſon, every thing through* " *paſſion,* is their ſecond maxim. The end, the propa- " gation, and the advantage of their Order, ſupplies in the " minds of the adepts the place of God, country, and con- " ſcience. Every thing that obſtructs the progreſs of the " Order is the blackeſt treaſon.

" III. *The end ſanctifies the means.* Thus calumny, " poiſon, aſſaſſination, treaſon, revolt, wickedneſs, and any " thing that can lead to this end, is laudable.

" IV. *No Prince can ſave the man who dares to betray* " *us.* Things then are carried on in this Order that are " adverſe to the intereſts of Princes; things that from " their importance might be diſcovered to Princes; ſuch " a diſcovery (in the language of the Sect) would be the " blackeſt treaſon; and the traitor is beforehand threaten- " ed with vengeance. They muſt alſo have means of de- " ſtroying their accuſers with impunity; and ſuch means " are eaſily furniſed.

" V. *All Kings and all Prieſts are raſcals and trai-* " *tors*; and in another place, *All Prieſts are knaves.*— " The total annihilation of religion, of the love of the " country, and of princes, enters into the plans of the Il- " luminees; becauſe (ſay they) religion as well as love of " the country, and of princes, reſtrains the affections of " men to particular ſtates, and diverts them from the more " extenſive views of Illuminiſm.

" Among their plans I obſerved one which they called " their *moral Empire or Government.* This government, " which would throw the whole force of every ſtate into " the hands of their *college* or *council* of Illuminiſm, would, " *without any appeal to the prince,* name to all promo-

" tions, and grant or refuse all the favors of the state.—
" By these means they would be entrusted with the abso-
" lute right of definitively pronouncing on the honesty or
" the capability of each individual. By these means too
" all the prophane would be discarded from the court and
" other employments; and, to use their expression, a holy
" legion would surround the prince, master him, and dic-
" tate his edicts according to their own will and pleasure.
" This Regimen or Moral College, also called the Com-
" mission of Morals, or the *Fiscal* (being a sort of exche-
" quer chamber for the government of the people), would
" invest the Sect with a most formidable despotic power
" over the four quarters of the globe, and would reduce
" sovereigns to the despicable state of mere phantoms, or
" of crowned slaves."

This College, or *Moral Regimen*, will occur again in another juridical deposition; and I will then explain how it served to veil the future projects of the Sect for the disorganization and absolute destruction of all society whatever. Mr. Cosandey concludes with saying that he is ready to affirm on oath the truth of all that is contained in the above declaration.

These depositions, notwithstanding their importance, seemed to make but little impression. Whether the tribunals were beset by, or in great part composed of Illuminees, or not, I cannot know; but they affected to treat these declarations as containing nothing either very serious or menacing; or whether the removal of Weishaupt had made them view the Sect as destroyed, and the conspiracy as counteracted, I do not pretend to say; but certain it is, that at length Heaven by its thunderbolts warns nations and their rulers of the plots contriving against them, of the extent of which plots they were ignorant; neither had they surmised the baneful activity of the conspirators. Dismissed from his public functions at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had taken refuge at Ratisbon. This town becomes his new *Eleusis*, his center of mysteries; all his plots had followed him thither; and so far was he from looking upon them as baffled, that he pursued them with redoubled ardor. Vengeance had rendered him more terrible from the recesses of his new retreat; and now entirely liberated from all public duties, he gives up his whole time to the preparation and drilling of emissaries, and to teaching them the means of sapping, when on their

Weishaupt continues his plots at Ratisbon.

different miſſions, the foundations of the altar and the throne, of civil ſociety, and of all governments whatever.

An adept ſtruck with lightening.

Among his adepts was one LANZ, an apoſtate prieſt. Weiſhaupt deſigned him as the perſon to carry his myſteries and conſpiracies into Sileſia. His miſſion was already fixed, and Weiſhaupt was giving him his laſt inſtructions, when a thunderbolt from heaven ſtruck the apoſtate dead, and that *by the ſide of Weiſhaupt.** The Brethren, in their firſt fright had not recourſe to their ordinary means for diverting the papers of the deceaſed adept from the inſpection of the magiſtrates. The peruſal of ſome of his papers furniſhed new proofs; and being transmitted to the court of Bavaria, induced it to take the determination of following up the diſcoveries made in the depoſitions of Meſſrs. Coſandey and Renner.

The enquiries made, chiefly related to thoſe who were known to have had connections with Weiſhaupt at Ingolſtadt. The adept FISCHER, firſt judge and Burgo-maſter of that town, and the Librarian DREXL, were baniſhed. The Baron FRAUENBERG and fifteen other of Weiſhaupt's pupils were expelled the univerſity. But neither their puniſhment, nor the circumſtance of the adept being ſtruck by lightning, could raiſe any ſymptoms of remorſe in the mind of their maſter. The following letter to Fiſcher may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manner in which he wiſhed to ſupport their courage, ſtimulate their enthuſiaſm, and infuſe all the rage and vengeance of his plots into their minds.

"*I ſalute you, my dear martyr*;" it is thus he begins his letter. He then reminds his pretended martyr of that paſſage in Seneca where the juſt man ſtruggling with adverſity is repreſented as the ſight moſt worthy of Heaven: He then continues: "Am I to congratulate you, or am "I to condole with you on your misfortunes? I know "you too well to indulge in the latter ſentiment—Receive "then my moſt ſincere congratulations on ſeeing you "among thoſe to whom poſterity will render juſtice, and "whoſe conſtancy in the defence of truth it cannot fail "to admire—You are triply and quadruply more dear to "me, now that you ſhare my fate and that of ſo many "other magnanimous perſons. I leave it to your pru- "dence to decide whether you will commence a proſecu-

* See the Apology of the Illuminees, P. 62.

« tion againſt thoſe who have been guilty of ſuch abomi-
« nable injuſtice againſt you; or whether ſubmitting to
« your exile without murmur or complaint, you will wait
« for better times. You ſhall not want; I and the Bre-
« thren will provide for your expenſes. *The public papers*
« *alſo ſhall repreſent the whole of this buſineſs in its pro-*
« *per light.* Drexl in the mean time will retire to Brunn.
« *Let the laughers laugh, and our enemies rejoice. Their*
« *joy ere long ſhall be converted into tears. Look upon*
« *yourſelf as happy to ſuffer with the better part of the*
« *nation.* If I have the power of giving my benediction
« to any body, I give you mine with both my hands.—
« *O be thou bleſſed, moſt worthy and moſt conſtant of my*
« *Heroes.* . . . I am ſorry that all this has happened juſt
« at the time when I am ſetting out for the banks of the
« Rhine. I depart next month and ſhall not return till a
« few months hence. *In the mean time I ſhall not be idle;*
« *and it is not without a reaſon that I go to that country.*
« *Acquaint the Brethren of it.* Be always firm and con-
« ſtant. No diſhonor can attach to you; continue as you
« have begun, and your very enemies will be obliged to
« admire you. Adieu, learn to appreciate and feel your
« own greatneſs. Your enemies are little indeed in their
« triumph.—*(Ratiſbon this 9th April 1785).*

« *P. S.* If you want money I will have proper mea-
« ſures taken at Munich to ſupply you."

This letter was either intercepted or fell into the Elector's hands by ſome other means;* and he there ſaw how dangerous a man this muſt be who could thus infuſe his enthuſiaſm into the minds of his Conſpirators. A ſecret commiſſion was named to receive further depoſitions.—The aulic counſellor UTZSCHNEIDER and Mr. GRÜNBERGER of the Academy of Sciences, who were known to have abandoned the Order of the Illuminees about two years before, were ſummoned to make their depoſitions. The Prieſt Coſandey was called upon once more. The declaration made in common by theſe three Gentlemen will recall to the minds of the readers many of the particulars already ſtated in the foregoing declarations, and in the Code of the Illuminees, with reſpect to the means employed by the Sect, for making themſelves maſters of the Maſonic Lodges; for appropriating to themſelves their

* See Original Writings, Vol. II. laſt Letter and Note.

funds, to provide for the expenſe of their travellers; and for multiplying the number of their adepts.—The ſame method for the ſcrutators is obſervable, the ſame oaths, almanacks, and cypher for the firſt degrees. The deponents had abandoned the Order before they were admitted to the higher degrees. The principles that had been laid down to them are on that account the more remarkable. I ſhall, therefore, tranſlate that part of their evidence as being of the utmoſt conſequence. Some perſons may be of opinion, that to have ſimply ſtated the perfect coincidence of this new declaration with thoſe already ſeen would have ſufficed; but they ſhould conſider that repetitions of objects of ſuch importance may be inſiſted on by many readers, becauſe the proofs are ſtrengthened by the number, the character, and concordance of the witneſſes.

The Juridical Depoſition made in common by the Aulic Counſellor UTZSCHNEIDER, *the Prieſt* COSANDEY, *and the Academician* GRÜNBERGER, *on the 9th of Sept.* 1785.

" The object of the firſt degrees of Illuminiſm is at " once to train their young men, and to be informed of " every thing that is going forward by a ſyſtem of *eſpion-* " *age.** The Superiors aim at procuring from their in- " feriors diplomatic acts, documents, and original wri- " tings. With pleaſure they ſee them commit any trea- " ſons or treacherous acts, becauſe they not only turn the " ſecrets betrayed to their own advantage, but thereby " have it in their power to keep the traitors in a perpetual " dread, leſt, if they ever ſhowed any ſigns of ſtubborn- " neſs, their maleſactions ſhould be made known.—*Ode-* " *rint dum metuant*, let them hate, provided they fear, is " the principle of their government.

" The Illuminees from theſe firſt degrees are educated " in the following principles:

I. " The Illuminee who wiſhes to riſe to the higheſt " degrees muſt be free from all religion;† for *a religioniſt*

* Und zu gliech zur auſkundſchaftung aller ſachen.

† Der Illuminat, der in die höhern grade kommen will, muſs von aller religion frey ſeyn.

" (as they call every man who has any religion) will ne-
" ver be admitted to the higheſt degrees.

II. The *Patet Exitus*, or the doctrine on Suicide, is expreſſed in the ſame terms as in the preceding depoſition.

III. " *The end ſanctifies the means.* The welfare of " the Order will be a juſtification for calumnies, poiſon-
" ings, aſſaſſinations, perjuries, treaſons, rebellions; in " ſhort, for all that the *prejudices* of men lead them to " call crimes.

IV. " One muſt be more ſubmiſſive to the Superiors " of Illuminiſm, than to the ſovereigns or magiſtrates who " govern the people; and he that gives the preference to " ſovereigns or governors of the people is uſeleſs to us.* " Honor, life, and fortune, all are to be ſacrificed to the " Superiors. The governors of nations are deſpots when " they are not directed by us. They can have no autho-
" rity over us, who are free men." †

The Marquis of Conſtanza uſed to ſay, " that there " ought to be but two Princes in Germany—Theſe Prin-
" ces ſhould be Illuminees, and ſo ſurrounded and led by " our adepts, that none of the prophane could approach " their perſons. The greater and leſſer offices of the ſtate " ſhould be ſolely entruſted to members of our Order; " and the advantages of the Order ſhould be attended to, " tho' in direct oppoſition to the intereſts of the Prince. ‡ " Sovereigns ſhould alſo paſs through the lower degrees " of the Order, and they ſhould only be admitted to the " higher degrees when they properly apprehend the holy " deſigns of the Order—which are no other than to deli-
" ver the people from the bondage of their Princes, No-
" bles, and Prieſts; to eſtabliſh an equality of ſtations and " of religion; and to render men both free and happy.—
" Should we ever have ſix hundred Illuminees in Bavaria, " nothing could reſiſt us."

I promiſed to make a few reflections on this article; and to thoſe perſons I addreſs them, who would immediately lay hold of it to prove that the Illuminees, ſo far from wiſhing to annihilate every government and civil ſociety itſelf, had no other view than to re-unite Germany under

* Vollte jemand den Regenten mehr anhängen, ſo taught er nicht für uns.

† Sie haben kein Recht über uns freye Menſchen.

‡ Alles was das beſte des Ordens befördert, muſs man thun, wenn es gleich dem beſten der Regenten zuwider lauft.

one and the same government.* Most undoubtedly such views were held out to the deponents in their lower classes; but let it be remembered, that none of them had been admitted to the higher mysteries. It is in the degree of *Epopt* that the designs of the Order for the total destruction of *Civil Society* are manifested. There the illuminizing Hierophant no longer says, that Germany ought to be under the government of *one* Prince; but he says THAT NATIONS AND PRINCES SHALL DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH; *that every father shall, like Abraham, be at once the priest and sovereign of his family*; *and* REASON *shall be the sole Code of Man.* The Hierophant there declares, that SECRET SOCIETIES are the agents that are to produce this revolution, and *that it is one of the grand secrets of Illuminism.* There, in short, is clearly to be seen the plan of bringing men back to the pretended *Patriarchal nomade* and *savage* life; and it is even expressly asserted, that the original cause of the fall of man was their *re-union in civil society!* The depositions, therefore, of Messrs. Utzschneider, Cosandey, and Grünberger, are perfectly correct so far as they relate to their degrees; for such was the doctrine taught in the degrees of *Major* and *Minor* Illuminee.—Another remark may also be true, that as a preparatory step the Illuminees only seek to destroy all the lesser powers in order to form one or two great states in Germany; but that will not change the fate decreed in the higher mysteries for these greater Princes of the German nation, or for all Princes and nations in general. This single Potentate will then share the same fate as *Religion.* We have heard them talk of reducing the world to the *unity of Religion*, as well as to the unity or equality of *stations.* But has not the Sect already declared, that in order to be admitted to the last secret one must begin by *getting rid of all Religion?* This plan, therefore, for reducing Ger-

* This is precisely what has been lately attempted to divert the eyes of the public from their monstrous and Antisocial plots; and even in England this plea has been set up, in hopes of invalidating the proofs adduced in such Memoirs. I know not who is the *invisible* writer of these paragraphs; but though even the *Sieur Boettiger* himself, famous among the German Illuminees, were the author of them, I should little fear his arguments. Let my readers compare his proofs with mine: I ask no more.

many under the dominion of one Prince, is evidently nothing more than a preliminary ſtep, in like manner as their plan of ſubjecting Princes to the government of their Order. When the proper time comes, all theſe plans are changed, in the leſſons of the adepts, to the total annihilation of every ſtate, prince, and civil government on earth.

The Reader may eaſily perceive how the Sect, even ſo early as the degrees in which the three deponents had been admitted, prepares them for the laſt ſecrets; eſpecially when he ſees immediately following the pretended union of Germany, that maxim which has already appeared in the firſt depoſition.

V. "The love of one's prince and of one's country "are incompatible with views of an immenſe extent, with "*the ultimate ends of the Order*, and one muſt glow with "ardor for the attainment of that *end*."*

In the Degrees alſo to which the deponents had been admitted we ſee the Superiors inceſſantly declaiming on that *end*; but they never mention what it really was.—They even confeſs that they are not in the ſecret; they ſay that the knowledge of it is reſerved to the higher degrees; their own declaration, therefore, proves that it cannot be this unity of Religion or of government to be eſtabliſhed in Germany, as they are not ſtrangers to that plan. Beſides, how can it appear, that the love of one's country, or national love, is incompatible with the wiſh of uniting a great nation under the dominion of one Prince. On the other hand, we ſee theſe maxims in perfect accord with the views of Illuminiſm, when, advancing toward the higher degrees, we hear the Sect pouring forth its blaſphemies againſt Princes and Nations, and poſitively declaring, as one of their myſteries, that SECRET SOCIETIES were only contrived to ſweep Nations and Princes from the face of the earth. Such are the plots to be diſcovered to nations; ſuch have been the tricks employed by the Illuminees to lull nations to ſleep on their dangers; and, Engliſh Reviewers having hearkened to ſuch inſinuations, I am obliged to have recourſe to repetitions in the midſt of a nation whoſe ruin is now become

* Fürſten und vaterlands liebe wiederſprechen den weitausſehenden geſichts puncten des Orders—Man muſs glühen für den zweck.

one of the chief objects of the Sect.—But let us return to the depositions of our witnesses.

"The Superiors of Illuminism are to be looked upon "as the most perfect and the most enlightened of men; "no doubts are to be entertained even of their infalli- "bility.*

"It is in these moral and political principles that the "Illuminees are educated in the lower degrees; and it is "according to the manner in which they imbibe them "and show their devotion to the Order, or are able to "second its views, that they are earlier or later admitted "to the higher degrees.

"They use every possible artifice to get the different "post-offices in all countries entrusted to the care of their "adepts only. They also boast that they are in posses- "sion of the secret of opening and reclosing letters with- "out the circumstance being perceived.

"They made us give answers in writing to the follow- "ing questions: How would it be possible to devise one "single system of morals and one common government "for all Europe, and what means should be employed to "effectuate it? Would the Christian Religion be a ne- "cessary requisite? Should revolt be employed to accom- "plish it? &c. &c.

"We were also asked, in which Brethren we should "place the most confidence if there were any important "plan to be undertaken; and whether we were willing "to recognize the right of life and death as vested in the "Order; and also the right of the sword, *Jus Gladii.*

"In consequence of our acquaintance with this doc- "trine of the Illuminees, with their conduct, their man- "ners, and their incitements to treason, and being fully "convinced of the dangers of the Sect, we the Aulic "Counsellor Utschneider and the Priest Dillis left the "Order. The Professor Grünberger, the Priest Cosan- "dey, Renner, and Zaupfer, did the same a week after, "though the Illuminees sought to impose upon us shame- "fully, by assuring us that his Electoral Highness was a "member of their Order. We clearly saw that a Prince "knowing his own interests, and wholly attending to the "paternal care of his subjects, would never countenance "a Sect, spreading through almost every province under

* An deren untrüglichkeit man nie zweifeln dürfe.

" the cloak of Free-maſonry; becauſe it ſows diviſion " and diſcord between parents and their children, between " Princes and their ſubjects, and among the moſt ſincere " friends; becauſe on all important occaſions it would " inſtall partiality on the ſeats of juſtice and in the coun- " cils, as it always prefers the welfare of the Order to that " of the ſtate, and the intereſts of its adepts to thoſe of the " prophane. Experience had convinced us, that they would " ſoon ſucceed in perverting all the Bavarian youth. The " leading feature in the generality of their adepts were irre- " ligion, depravity of morals, diſobedience to their prince " and to their parents, and the neglect of all uſeful ſtudies. " We ſaw that the fatal conſequence of Illuminiſm would " be, to create a general diſtruſt between the prince and his " ſubjects, the father and his children, the miniſter and his " ſecretaries, and between the different tribunals and coun- " cils. We were not to be deterred by that threat ſo often " repeated, *That no Prince can ſave him that betrays us.* " We have abandoned, one after the other, this Sect, which, " *under different names*, as we have been informed by ſe- " veral of our former Brethren, has already ſpread itſelf " *in Italy, and particularly at Venice, in Auſtria, in Hol-* " *land, in Saxony on the Rhine, particularly at Frank-* " *fort, and even as far as America.*—The Illuminees " meddle as much as poſſible in ſtate affairs, and excite " troubles wherever their Order can be benefitted by " them."

Here followed a liſt of a great many *inviſibles*, of ſeve- ral ſuperiors, and of ſome of the moſt active members. A ſecond liſt contained perſons who, though as yet unac- quainted with the ultimate views of the Order, were zea- lous and active Recruiters, but the government thought fit to keep theſe two liſts ſecret. The deponents then pro- ceed:

" We are not unacquainted with the other *inviſibles*, " who in all probability are chiefs of a higher degree.

" After we had retired from the Order, the Illuminees " calumniated us on all ſides in the moſt infamous man- " ner. Their cabal made us fail in every requeſt we pre- " ſented; ſucceeding in rendering us hateful and odious " to our ſuperiors, they even carried their calumnies ſo " far as to pretend that one of us had committed murder. " After a year's perſecution, an Illuminee came to repre- " ſent to the Aulic Counſellor Utzſchneider, that from ex-

« perience he muſt have learned that he was every where « perſecuted by the Order; that unleſs he could contrive « to regain its protection, he would never ſucceed in any « of his demands; and that he could ſtill regain admiſ- « ſion."

Here ends the depoſition ſigned by the three deponents. After their ſignature follows the atteſtation, that each of the deponents had been called in ſeparately in preſence of the Commiſſary, and their reſpective declarations read to them; and that each had affirmed the truth of the contents on oath, as witneſſes, the 10th of September, 1785. I leave the reader to make his reflections on the ſtrength and nature of theſe firſt proofs acquired againſt Illuminiſm; and proceed immediately to the circumſtances which diſcloſed the ulterior projects of the Sect.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Diſcoveries made in Bavaria as to the Illuminees.—Proceedings of the Court with reſpect to the Chiefs of the Sect.—A few Remarks on and a Liſt of the principal Adepts.

NOTWITHSTANDING the important diſcoveries made by the court of Bavaria, proofs were ſtill wanting of the plans and of the ultimate views of Illuminiſm, which the Sect concealed with ſo much care, and of which none of the witneſſes could give any ſatisfactory account. The court had neglected to ſeize Weiſhaupt's papers at the time; and it was clear that the adepts had taken every precaution to put theirs beyond the power of the moſt diligent ſearch. The court even appeared to pay little or no attention to the proper ſteps that ſhould be taken, and only watched the motions of thoſe adepts who ſtill kept up a correſpondence with their chiefs. If we are to credit the apology publiſhed by the Illuminees, it was for no other reaſon that DELLING, municipal officer of Munich, and KRENNER, profeſſor at Ingolſtadt, were diſmiſſed from their employments. On the ſame account, they tell us, were the Count Savioli and the Marquis Conſtanza exiled from Bavaria, and the Baron Maggenhoff condemned to a month's impriſoment in a monaſtery.

Puniſhment of ſome of the adepts.

This apologiſt alſo pretends, that the Canon Hertel was deprived of his benefice, becauſe he would not give in an account of the funds belonging to the Illuminees.—But after the different parts that we have ſeen theſe adepts perform, it appears that the court was pretty well informed; and it certainly gave a great proof of its clemency when it allowed *Brutus*-Savioli and *Diomedes*-Conſtanza a penſion which they were at liberty to expend wherever they choſe, excepting in Bavaria. Light, however, as theſe puniſhments were for conſpirators of their ſtamp, the Illuminees filled all Germany with their reclamations, crying out againſt a perſecution which they repreſented as the height of deſpotiſm, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. The

depoſitions that had been made were publiſhed, and the authors of them were immediately aſſailed with a torrent of abuſe, ſophiſtry, and calumny; nor was the court ſpared. The whole buſineſs appeared to be changed into a literary war, in which the impudence of the apologiſts had very nigh ſucceeded in caſting doubts on the wiſdom and juſtice of his Electoral Highneſs;* and it was high time to have recourſe to ſuch meaſures as could inconteſtibly prove the guilt of the Sect.

The archives of the Sect diſcovered.

At length, on the 11th of October, 1786, the magiſtrates, by order of the Elector, made a viſit at *Cato-Zwack's* houſe, at a time when he leaſt expected it. Others went on the ſame commiſſion to the caſtle of Sanderdorf, belonging to *Hannibal* Baron Baſſus. The reſult of theſe viſitations was, the diſcovery of a multitude of letters, diſcourſes, rules, plans, and ſtatutes, which may be looked upon as the archives of the conſpirators, and have been publiſhed under the title of *Original Writings of the Order and of the Sect of the Illuminees.* The conſpiracy of which Weiſhaupt was the chief, now appeared in ſuch horrid colors, that one could ſcarcely believe human wickedneſs to have been able to deviſe it. But at the head of each of theſe two volumes is an advertiſement, informing all readers, that orders have been given by the Elector to the keeper of his archives to ſhow the originals to whoever might wiſh to verify them. The only reſource now left to the conſpirators was to complain of the violation of domeſtic ſecrecy. Pretended juſtifications ſwarmed again from the adepts; and they had the impudence to aſſert, that theſe letters, ſo far from containing any thing militating againſt ſociety or religion, only contained views for the happineſs and amelioration of mankind. They made every attempt poſſible to give plauſible interpretations to their letters; but they never dared aſſert that any of theſe writings had been forged. Their own avowals are to be found in their apologies; and the proofs of their antireligious and antiſocial conſpiracy reſt

* For the whole of this literary war, ſee the *Apologie der Illuminaten*, and the addition *Nachtracht zu der Apologie*, &c. alſo the anſwer of the deponents *Groſſe abfechten des Orders der Iduminaten;* the addition to theſe anſwers *Nachtrach*, &c. No. 1, 2, 3.

upon ſuch inconteſtible grounds, that their ſophiſms can never invalidate them.*

The court of Bavaria, when it gave ſo great a publicity to the proofs it had thus acquired, was not actuated ſolely by a view of juſtifying its own conduct; but it was deſirous alſo to warn every ſtate of the dangers with which it was threatened. The Elector, therefore, ſent a copy of theſe Original Writings to all the powers of Europe; and the anſwers of the different miniſters proved, that they had all received theſe documents of a moſt monſtrous conſpiracy againſt every church and ſtate. The hiſtorian will naturally aſk, how it came to paſs that the knowledge of theſe proofs of a conſpiracy, at once ſo evident and ſo threatening to every ſtate in the world, ſhould have been ſo long confined to Germany. And how it happened, that theſe Original Writings did not become the daily lectures of every family. Should not every father have read it to his children, and explained to them the horrid machinations that were contriving againſt their God, their country, and their property? Univerſal indignation muſt have ſeized every mind, and cruſhed theſe illuminizing monſters in their cradle. Such at leaſt were the fears which the conſpirators themſelves had conceived on ſeeing their plans and means diſcovered. Unable to deſtroy the proofs, they did every thing in their power to hinder their circulation. On the other hand, few miniſters were aware of the immenſe influence and power of ſecret ſocieties; and the Bavarian aſſociation appeared to them more deſpicable than dangerous; the very exceſs of their conſpiracy gave it a more chimerical appearance; and the policy of ſome ſtateſmen might have made them believe that the publication of the archives of theſe conſpirators would only ſerve to accredit their ſophiſms, and add to the danger by divulging their principles.

Why this diſcovery makes ſo little impreſſion on other courts.

Laſtly, the language in which they were written was little known in the other parts of Europe; and it was thought beſt to leave them in a profound oblivion. Such

* For theſe avowals ſee the Apology of *Cato*-Zwack; the Preface of Weiſhaupt's *Illuminiſm corrected;* the Baron Baſſus's Defence; and particularly the *Laſt Obſervations* by Knigge.—*Philo*, in this latter work, very frankly acknowledges all the letters that are attributed to him in the Original Writings, and he frequently quotes Weiſhaupt's letters as being equally authentic with his own.

may be the explanation of this ſpecies of phenomenon, or of this total ignorance in which the reſt of the world were, with reſpect to the nature and views of the Illuminees, when I announced to the public the uſe I intended to make of them in theſe Memoirs.

Even in Germany.

A myſtery ſtill more aſtoniſhing, and which could not have been believed, had not the progreſs of the Illuminees proved it, is that inactivity or ſomnolency in which all the German courts appeared to be buried in the midſt of the dangers that had been ſo clearly pointed out to them by the court of Bavaria. Unfortunately for the Empire, Frederic II. of Pruſſia died a little before theſe laſt proofs were acquired againſt the Illuminees. No ſooner did this Prince hear of the conſpiracy, than he immediately traced all thoſe principles of ſedition and anarchy which he had already been obliged to divulge as the tenets of the Sophiſters; the Illuminees even pretend it to have been at his inſtigation that the court of Munich proſecuted their chief and the firſt adepts who were diſcovered.* What would he not have done himſelf againſt this Sect, if he he had but ſeen in the Original Writings the progreſs that it was making in his own ſtates! Miniſters, under a Prince ſo tenacious as he was of the authority neceſſary to ſupport his Government, and ſo juſtly offended as he was againſt the Sophiſters of Rebellion, would not have ſneered or replied ſarcaſtically to thoſe letters which the court of Bavaria tranſmitted as introductory and explanatory, together with the proofs acquired againſt the Sect. But the archives of Illuminiſm were not diſcovered till the 11th and 12th October, 1786, and Frederic had died on the 17th of Auguſt of that year. His ſucceſſor was a prey to adepts of another ſpecies, almoſt as great knaves as thoſe of Bavaria. The Emperor Joſeph had not yet been undeceived with reſpect to the Lodges that ſurrounded him. Many other Princes were either ſeduced, or ſo fettered by the Illuminees that they could not act. This may ſerve to account for their apparent indifference; and it alſo explains the circumſtance of ſeveral of them having viewed the proceedings of the court of Munich in the light of an abſolute perſecution of their own Brethren.—The Prince Biſhop of Ratiſbon was the only one who

* See Memorial inſerted in No. 11 of the *Weltkunde*, the *Tubingen* Gazette.

ſeemed to know his danger, and who publiſhed edicts in ſupport of thoſe iſſued by the Elector.

Other ſecrets found with the Original Writings.

Nevertheleſs, the proofs publiſhed by the court of Bavaria are thoſe whence the moſt evident demonſtration of the plots of Illuminiſm have been deduced in theſe Memoirs. The very ſcraps of paper found among the archives indicate the moſt conſummate villany. Among theſe were, chiefly in *Ajax*-Maſſenhauſen's hand, and in the cypher of the Order, *receipts* for making the *aqua toffana*, the moſt acute of all poiſons; for *procuring abortion in women*; and for *poiſoning the air of an apartment:* alſo a collection of *one hundred and thirty ſeals of Princes, Noblemen, and Bankers*, with the ſecret of taking off and imitating all thoſe for which the Order might, according to circumſtances, have occaſion. The deſcription of a lock, of which the adepts only ſhould have the ſecret, was likewiſe contained in theſe papers; alſo the model of a coffer wherein to preſerve their papers, and which ſhould take fire immediately if any of the prophane attempted to open it. On other detached papers were to be ſeen the plan for placing ſome adepts in the ſuite of an ambaſſador, who ſhould then carry on ſome commerce as fraudulent as it was lucrative for the Sect. Alſo the ſecret intimation, that all the Superiors of Illuminiſm ſhould know how *to write with both hands*. A manuſcript alſo was found entirely in Zwack's hand writing, and looked upon as very precious by the Order, becauſe, under the title *Better than Horus*, it contained all the blaſphemies of Atheiſm.*

More adepts puniſhed.

Notwithſtanding the little impreſſion the publication of theſe diſcoveries had made on the other Princes of Germany, the court of Bavaria continued its proſecutions againſt the Sect. About twenty of the adepts were cited to appear; ſome were diſmiſſed from their employments, others condemned to a few years impriſonment; and ſome, particularly Zwack, ſaved themſelves by flight. The Elector's Tribunal could not by any calumny be accuſed of being ſanguinary, as not one of the adepts was condemned to death. This puniſhment ſeemed to be reſerved for Weiſhaupt alone, and a price was ſet upon his head. The Regency of Ratiſbon, which, in the firſt inſtance, had refuſed to drive him from their territories, no

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Sect. 18, 19, 21.

longer dared to support him, at least not openly; and he took refuge under His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The reason why the Founder of Illuminism, and a number of his proscribed adepts, found protection and still continue in favor at so many courts, may be explained by the numerous disciples who enjoyed places of high importance in the different courts, and some of whom, indeed, were the Princes themselves. The list of these latter, were it accurately made out, would astonish posterity; more particularly, should the art with which Weishaupt seduced them, by truncating the mysteries, have escaped the notice of the historian; or should the means have remained a secret by which he blinded them and bound them to the Order, by surrounding them with adepts who know how to seize on the ministry, on the *Decasteres*, or councils, and occupied all the places of consequence by themselves or their creatures.

Why they are received at other courts.

Illuminized Princes

I will not pretend to say, that these artifices of Illuminism can excuse those Princes for becoming disciples of Weishaupt. But most certainly they were rendered the dupes of his impiety before they became the sport of his conspiracies; and undoubtedly the latter was but the just punishment of the former. However this may be, we find LEWIS ERNEST of SAXE GOTHA at the head of these adepts under the characteristic of *Timoleon*. According to all the letters that I have received from Germany, this Prince is at length conscious of his error. He, at present, pays much greater attention to the happiness of his subjects than to the mysteries of the Sect. Weishaupt is not even allowed to appear in his presence; but the goodness of his heart will not allow the Prince to withdraw his benefactions even from those who have incurred his displeasure. It is thus, at least, that the pension he allows to the Founder of Illuminism is explained.* But on the other hand, Weishaupt is far from being excluded from the presence of Maria Charlotte Meinungen, the wife of His Highness; and thus is explained the asylum which the

* I am also informed, that this pension is not taken from the *public treasury*, (as I said in my third volume, page 2,) but from the Duke's private purse. Those indeed who look upon the superfluities of this purse as foreign to the duties that a Prince owes to the public, to decency, or to his own honor and reputation, may make the distinction. I, for one, at least, shall never adopt it.

contriver of such horrid plots still finds at that court, notwithstanding the conversion of the Prince.

I will not pretend to pronounce whether AUGUSTUS of SAXE GOTHA has imbibed a similar disgust for Illuminism, as has his Brother the reigning Prince. At the time of Weishaupt's arrival, however, he was also an adept under the characteristic of *Prince Walter*.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS DUKE of SAXE WEIMAR was also initiated under the title of *Eschylus*; but he renounced the mysteries of the Sect.

The late PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK, at once the martial hero of Minden, and the Masonic leader at Willemsbaden, fell a prey to all sorts of Illuminism.—Wilhermots had begun by initiating him in the Illuminism of Swedenborg, and of the Martinists. His frequent conferences with Knigge seduced him into that of Weishaupt, who created him his Brother or his High Priest *Aaron*, and His Highness died during his Priesthood.

As to the late PRINCE OF NEUWIED, I know not what name was given him in recompense for his devotion to the Sect; but at his court it might with truth be said, the Illuminees had acquired such an ascendancy, that if they had gained a similar one in other parts, the world must have been theirs. This unfortunate Prince little thought that his own son would be deprived of all power in his own states, and that he would be reduced humbly to solicit the Comitia of the Empire for leave to assert his own rights, and to drive out from his states those adepts that had been protected by his Father, and his Uncle, the Count Stolberg; or at least for leave to dismiss them from the employments they occupied, even from that of the education of his children, which they had seized upon in spite of him.*

* This law-suit between the Prince and Illuminism is of a most extraordinary nature indeed. The reader shall hear him state his case himself to the Diet of Ratisbon in the year 1794:

"Every one is acquainted with what this Sect has done in "France. We have also seen extraordinary instances of its "power at Neuwied: It has a Lodge here called the *Three* "*Peacocks*. My Father and my first Wife greatly favored these "adepts, and my present one in particular is the great pro-"tectrix of several of them; of that Pastor WINZ for example, "who, notwithstanding the great service I rendered him in "stifling a prosecution against him for Socinianism, is now one

Another ſpecies of adept is My Lord the BARON OF DALBERG, Coadjutor to the Sees of Mentz, Worms, and Conſtanz, and Governor of the town and country of Erfort. We are led to ſhrink back in aſtoniſhment, and examine whether our eyes do not impoſe upon us, at the ſight of a Biſhop, intended to occupy the firſt Eccleſiaſtical and Electoral See in Germany, ranked among this Illuminized Brotherhood. Moreover, perſons who had often been in company with His Lordſhip inſiſted on my effacing his name from theſe Memoirs. They aſſured me, that he held the principles of the modern Philoſophers in the utmoſt deteſtation, and that to them he attributed the French Revolution. I then produced a pamphlet publiſhed by His Lordſhip, with all his titles and his name at the head of it, entitled, *Of the Influence of Science and of the Polite Arts on the Public Tranquillity—At Erfort*, 1793. They then ſaw that the object of this pamphlet was *to ſtifle in the germs* what His Lordſhip calls *noxious prejudices of ſome ſhort-ſighted good people*, by proving to them that neither the Philoſophers nor the Sophiſters of the age had given riſe to the French Revolution, and *that Condorcet himſelf had but little contributed*

" of my greateſt enemies. She was alſo very cloſely connected " with the Aulic Counſellor KRÖBER (the adept *Agis*). One " SCHWARTZ, from Brunſwick, and a titular major of Weimar, " to whom my Father entruſted the education of one of my " children, and who, to my great grief, has ſtill two of them " under his care, is alſo a great favorite of the Princeſs's; ſhe " has placed her whole confidence in him, and ſees him very " often, although letters from Brunſwick depict him in the light " of a moſt deteſtable intriguer. Several Counſellors and vari- " ous officers and other inhabitants of Neuwied are, like him, " members of the Sect, and are in an agreement with the Prin- " ceſs. It is notorious, that they are all bound by oath mutual- " ly to ſupport each other. They have alſo gained over various " other perſons who do not belong to their Order; and thus an " aſſociation has been formed for my deſtruction."

In fact, the Illuminees had ſucceeded in getting this Prince placed under an interdict in his own ſtates; he accuſed ſeveral of his firſt judges as being adepts: It coſt them little to declare on their oaths that they were not, and ſome indeed no longer continued attached to the Sect. This incident occaſioned him much unpleaſant trouble; but at length he was reinſtated in his poſſeſſions after a very long law-ſuit, which muſt have taught the German Princes how well Illuminiſm can take advantage of its power when once it has ſucceeded in ſurrounding them.

towards it. This pamphlet alſo abounded in thoſe arguments of Illuminized Philoſophiſm which the Sect ſet forth to dupe nations as to the tendency of their conſpiracy; I did not therefore efface the name of his Lordſhip; I, on the contrary, ſubjoined that of *Creſcens*, his characteriſtic among the Illuminees. How is it poſſible that at ſuch a name he could refrain from ſhuddering with horror! and what ſervices could the Order expect from him under ſuch a characteriſtic?—The name of *Creſcens* has only been tranſmitted to poſterity by his addiction to the infamous debauchery of the Cynic Philoſophers, and by his calumnies againſt the Chriſtians, which obliged St. Juſtin to write his Second apology for Chriſtianity. A proteſtant who is eager to ſee that of His Lordſhip tells us, that it will moſt certainly appear in its proper time, and we impatiently wait for it!* We ſhall there find, I hope, that His Lordſhip had not been initiated into all the ſecrets of the Sect. They muſt at leaſt have concealed from him their deſigns upon the Sees of Mentz, Worms, and Conſtanz, to which His Lordſhip was Coadjutor.——In all probability, theſe were not the ſecrets of which his Secretary *Cryſippus*-KOLBORN informed him, who admitted to the degree of Epopt, *was already become a half-naturaliſt without knowing it*, and from whom Knigge expected the greateſt ſervices.† But can this characteriſtic of *Creſcens* denote any other view than that of ſeducing His Lordſhip into an apoſtacy ſimilar to that of his Secretary? We can only repeat, that it is with great anxiety we wait for His Lordſhip's Apology.

But what other Apology, than a clear and public profeſſion of faith, and an abjuration of Illuminiſm, can reinſtate the honor of the Prelate HASLEIN, known in the Sect as the Brother *Philo of Byblos!* The Original Writings deſcribe this adept prelate as overloaded with work. It is an unfortunate circumſtance for him to have been able to find time to pen letters and plans that could have placed him in ſuch great eſtimation with the chiefs of theſe conſpirators.‡ and others.

* See the Eudemonia, Vol. IV. No 5, Letter of Doctor *J. H. Jung.*

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 1, from *Philo.*

‡ Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. from *Diomedes*, and Vol. II. Letter 1, from *Philo.*

Among the higher class of adepts may be ranked *Alexander*, or the general Count of PAPPENHEIM, Governor of Ingolstadt, and *Alfred* the Count of SEINSHEIM, Minister and Vice-President of the Council at Munich. At getting possession of this latter Minister, Weishaupt exults, and on giving him the characteristic of *Alfred* he thus writes to *Cato*:—"What great men we daily gain "over to our party at *Athens* (Munich), and that with- "out its being perceived! Men much considered, ready "formed, and perfect models!" Weishaupt does not wish to see this adept in *leading strings*, and therefore dispenses with his noviciate. He also hopes, with a little care on the part of the recruiters, *to see his Excellency become one of his greatest enthusiasts*; and he soon found that he had judged accurately of his pupil. The adept Minister goes of his own accord to Ingolstadt to be present at the inauguration of an illuminized church, where Weishaupt does the honors in a new discourse prepared for the occasion. Full of admiration at the lessons of the Chief, the illuminized Minister becomes the carrier of this discourse to the Brethren at Munich; and all the town of Ingolstadt were surprized at seeing the Minister, with so many other of the Brethren, come to visit Weishaupt.* At length the day arrives when the object of this visit ceases to be a mystery, and the adept Minister is condemned to a short exile: but it still remains to be known, whether it is a sincere repentance for his past enthusiasm, or some new intrigue or secret influence of the Brethren, that has recalled him and reinstated him in his former dignities at the Court of Munich. All that I can gather from my correspondence at Bavaria is, that Illuminism is very far from having lost its influence in that country.

Another adept, dear to the Sect, is the Count KOLLOWRATH, the *Numenius* of Knigge, and whom Weishaupt wished to cure of his theosophical ideas. He was, however, entrusted to the care of *Brutus* Count SAVIOLI, who, observing him pass too suddenly to doubts on *the immortality of the soul*, began to suspect that his sudden conversions to the systems of Illuminism was only pretended, in order that he might gain admission to the secrets of the Order. If he ever attained the higher degrees, it was not at least with the enthusiasm of *Alfred*.†

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 7, 9, 18.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter from *Brutus*.

Weishaupt also classed *Chabrias*, the Baron WALDENFELS, at Cologne, among the adepts of high rank: He was the Minister of the Elector; but no sooner had he discovered the knavery of the higher mysteries than he abandoned the Order. *Ptolemeus. Lagus*, or that same Baron RIEDSEL, who, in *Minos*-Dittfurt's plan, was to have had the direction of the Illuminized Sisterhood, imitated this example. We cannot hope, however, to tear the mask from all those conspirators whom Weishaupt has encompassed with darkness, and who should rank among the higher class of adepts. The List that was published soon after the Original Writings, contains chiefly those whom my reader have already seen in the course of this work. I shall, however, subjoin it here with such observations as time has since enabled me to make. There will appear adepts scattered throughout the Councils, the Magistracy, the Army, and the houses for public Education; and this general view will better enable the reader to judge of the care with which the Conspirators sought to occupy the most important posts of society while they planned its ruin.

List of the principal Illuminees from the Foundation of the Sect in 1776, *till the Discovery of the Original Writings in* 1786.

Characteristics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Spartacus -	WEISHAUPT, Professor of Laws at Ingolstadt, and Founder of the Sect.
Agrippa -	WILL, Professor at Ingolstadt.
Ajax -	MASSENHAUSEN, Counsellor at Munich.
Alcibiades -	HOHENEICHER, Councellor at Munich.
Alexander -	Count PAPPENHEIM, General and Governor of Ingolstadt.
Alfred -	Count SEINSHEIM, Vice-President at Munich, first exiled as an Illuminee, then sent from Deux-Ponts to Ratisbon, and at length returned to, and in place at Munich.
Arrian -	Count COBENZEL, Treasurer at Aichstadt.
Attila -	SAUER, Chancellor at Ratisbon.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Brutus -	Count SAVIOLI, Counſellor at Munich.
Cato - - (alſo *Danaus* and *Philip-Strozzi*)	XAVERIUS-ZWACK, Aulic Counſellor, and Counſellor of the Regency. Exiled as an adept.
Celſus -	BAADER, Phyſician to the Electreſs-Dowager.
Claudius -	SIMON-ZWACK.
Confucius - (at firſt *Zoroaſter*)	BAIERHAMMER, Judge at Dieſen.
Coriolanus -	TROPONERO, Counſellor at Munich.
Diomedes -	Marquis of COSTANZA, Counſellor at Munich.
Epictetus -	MIEG, Counſellor at Heidelberg.
Epimenides -	FALK, Counſellor and Burgomaſter at Hanover.
Euclid -	RIEDL, Counſellor at Munich.
Hannibal -	Baron BASSUS, a Swiſs from the Griſons.
Hermes Triſmegiſtus	SOLCHER, Curate at Haching.
Livius -	RUDORGER, Secretary of the States at Munich.
Ludovicus Bavarus -	LORI, diſmiſſed from the Order.
Mahomet -	Baron SCHROEKENSTEIN.
Marius -	HERTEL, Canon of, and exiled from Munich.
Menelaus -	WERNER, Counſellor at Munich.
Minos -	Baron DITTFURT, Aſſeſſor to the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar.
Mocnius -	DUFRESNE, Commiſſary at Munich.
Muſee -	Baron MONJELLAY, exiled from Munich, received and placed at Deux-Ponts.
Numa -	SONNENSELS, Counſellor at Vienna, and Cenſor.
Numa Pompilius	Count LODRON, Counſellor at Munich.
Pericles -	Baron PECKER, Judge at Amberg.
Philo -	Baron KNIGGE, in the ſervice of Bremen.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Philo of Byblas	The Prelate HASLEIN, Vice-Preſident of the Spiritual Council at Munich, and Biſhop *In Partibus.*
Pythagoras -	DREXL, Librarian at Munich.
Raimond de Lulle	FRONHOWER, Counſeller at Munich.
Simonides -	RULING, Counſellor at Hanover.
Solon -	MICHT, an Eccleſiaſtic at Freyſinguen.
Spinoſa -	MÜNTER, Attorney at Hanover.
Sylla -	Baron MAGGENHOFF, Captain in the Bavarian ſervice.
Tamerlane -	LANG, Counſellor at Aichſtadt.
Thales -	KAPFIMGER, Secretary to Count Tattenbach.
Tiberius -	MERZ, exiled from Bavaria, ſince Secretary to the Ambaſſador of the Empire at Copenhagen.
Veſpaſian -	Baron HORNSTEIN, of Munich.*

This Liſt appears to have been chiefly compiled for the Bavarian adepts in the firſt volume of the Original Writings. The ſecond volume might furniſh us with the following additions, beſides a multitude of other adepts whoſe true names have not been diſcovered. Thoſe whoſe names are not followed by the page quoted from the Original Writings in this liſt, have been ſent to me in Private Memorials and Letters, or are extracted from Public Journals.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Aaron -	This adept is only mentioned under the initials P. F. V. B. *(Prince Ferdinand von Brunſwig)*, both when he ſends for Knigge, and when he promiſes his protection to the adept who is to *Illuminize* ENGLAND, (P. 122 and 184.)
Accacius -	Doctor KOPPE, Superintendant firſt at Gotha, afterwards at Hanover, (P. 123.)

* This Liſt is taken from that publiſhed in the German Journals.

Characteristics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Agathocles -	SCHMERBER, Merchant at Frankfort on the Mein, (P. 10.)
Agis -	KROBER, Governor of the Prince of Stolberg's children at Neuweid, (P. 181.)
Alberoni -	BLEUBETREU, formerly a Jew, afterwards a Counsellor of the Chamber at Neuweid, (P. 181.)
Amelius -	BODE, Privy Counsellor at Weimar, (P. 213 and 221, &c.)
Archelaus -	DE BARRES, formerly a Major in the French service, (P. 183.)
Aristodemes -	COMPE, High Bailiff at Weinburg in the Electorate of Hanover.
Bayard -	Baron BUSCHE, a Hanoverian in the Dutch service, (P. 195.)
Belisarius -	PETERSON, at Worms.
Campanella -	Count STOLBERG, the maternal uncle of the Prince of Neuweid; and with him may be comprised the whole court, the favorites, secretaries, and council without exception, (P. 69 and 189.)
Cornelius Scipio	BERGER, a Lecturer at Munich, (P. 220.)
Crescens -	Baron DALBERG, Coadjutor of Mentz, *(from Memorials, Letters, and German Journals.)*
Chrysippus -	KOLBORN, Secretary to the Baron Dalberg, (P. 73 and 100.)
Cyril -	SCHWEICKART, at Worms.
Gotescalc -	MOLDENHAUER, Protestant Professor of Divinity at Keil in Holstein, (P. 198.)
Hegesias -	Baron GREIFENCLAU, of Mentz, (P. 196.)
Leveller -	LEUCHSENRING, an Alsacian, and Preceptor to the Princes of Hesse Darmstadt; driven from Berlin, he took refuge at Paris.
Lucian -	NICOLAI, Bookseller and Journalist at Berlin (P. 28.)

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Manethon -	SCHMELZER, Eccleſiaſtical Counſellor at Mentz, (P. 196.)
Marcus Aurelius	FEDER,* Profeſſor at Gottinguen, (P. 81.)
——— -	MÜNTER, Profeſſor of Divinity at Copenhagen, (P. 123.)
Numenius -	Count KOLLOWRATH, at Vienna, (P. 199.)
Peter Cotton	VOLGER, Phyſician at Neuweid, (P. 188.)
Pic de la Mirandole	BRUNNER, Prieſt at Tiefenback in the Biſhoprick of Spire, (P. 174.)
Theognis -	FISCHER, Lutheran Miniſter in Auſtria, (P. 204.)
——— -	RONTGEN, Proteſtant Miniſter at Petkam, in Eaſt Frieſland, and *the* ENGLISH APOSTLE *of Illuminiſm.*
Timoleon -	ERNEST LEWIS, Duke of Saxe Gotha, *(Private Memorials.)*
Prince Walter	AUGUSTUS of Saxe Gotha, *(Ibid.)*

We do not add to this Liſt *Eſchylus*, or Charles Auguſtus of Saxe Weimar, as he has declined the honor of continuing one of Weiſhaupt's diſciples. The late Prince of Neuwied might be ſubjoined for many reaſons, and he would make the fifth Prince well known to have been connected with the Sect; but he is no more, and we have not ſufficient proofs to inſcribe on the liſt ſeveral others of that claſs who in Germany are ſuppoſed to belong to the Sect.

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* It was on ſeeing the ſtrong illuſion of his degree of Epopt (ſo ſtrangely impious) on the Doctors Feder and Koppe, and ſome others of the Univerſity of Gottinguen, that Weiſhaupt wrote to *Cato*, "You cannot conceive how much my "degree of *Prieſt* or *Epopt* is admired by our people; but "what is the moſt extraordinary is, that ſeveral great Proteſ-"tant and Reformed Divines, who are of our Order, really be-"lieve that that part of the diſcourſe which alludes to religion "contains the true ſpirit and real ſenſe of Chriſtianity. *Poor* "*mortals, what could I not make you believe!*" Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 18.

CHAP. IX.

New Chiefs and new Means of the Illuminees—Device of the Jesuits Masonry and Success of that Imposture.

State and dispositons of the Sect after their discovery.

AMONG the secret writings that the Sect had in vain sought to conceal from the eyes of justice, was one on which was found in *Cato*-Zwack's hand-writing, this remarkable marginal note: "In order to re-establish "our affairs, let some of the ablest of those brethren who "have avoided our misfortunes take the places of our "founders; let them get rid of the discontented, and, in "concert with the new elect, labor to restore our society "to its primitive vigor."* Weishaupt had scarcely left Ingolstadt when he threatened those who dismissed him, that ere long *their joy should be converted into sorrow*;† and it was evident that the Illuminees were far from having abandoned their conspiracy. Notwithstanding, however, the awful and menacing aspect which it presented, the different powers, it would seem, affected to leave the conspirators in possession of means to prosecute their illuminizing plans with greater activity.

If we except Weishaupt, no adept in Bavaria had been condemned to a severer punishment than exile or a short imprisonment. In other parts, from Livonia to Strasbourg, and from Holstein to Venice, not a single inquiry had been made concerning their lodges. Many of those adepts who had been convicted of the deepest guilt had met with protection instead of indignation in the different courts. Notwithstading the clearest proofs of his guilt had been adduced, we see Zwack, a very few days after, producing certificates of his probity and fidelity to his prince, which had more the appearance of having been issued by his accomplices than by the Aulic Council;‡ and the Prince of Salm Kyrbourg calls him to his court, in all probability to be served with a similar sort of fidelity!! The

* Original Writings, Vol. I. last pages.

† His Letter to Fischer.

‡ See his Appendix to the Original Writings, P. 35 and 36.

conſpirators *Brutus*-Savioli and *Diomedes*-Conſtanza might continue to recruit for the Sect, provided it was not in Bavaria, and that at the expenſe of the Prince who had diſcovered their plots. *Tiberius*-Merz, whoſe infamous morals are recorded in the Original Writings, barefacedly eſcorted them in the retinue of the ambaſſador of the empire to Copenhagen. *Alfred*-Seinſheim merely bartered the favor of his Prince for that of the Duke de Deux-Ponts, and an intrigue was immediately ſet on foot to reinſtate him at Munich. *Spartacus* himſelf tranquilly enjoyed his aſylum and a penſion at court, though he had conſpired to annihilate every Prince. Never had ſo monſtrous a conſpiracy been diſcovered or ſo publicly denounced; yet never were conſpirators ſo amply ſupplied with the means of continuing their plots by thoſe even againſt whom they were conſpiring. Thus plainly did every thing denote that the flight of Weiſhaupt would be to Illuminiſm, what the *Hegira* of Mahomet had formerly been to Moſlemiſm, only the prelude to a greater and more ſplendid ſucceſs. Experience now taught Weiſhaupt to combine new means according to his favorite maxim of *appearing idle in the midſt of the greateſt activity*. Perhaps alſo, content with having laid the foundations of his conſpiracy, and with having arrived at that day which he had long ſince foretold, when he could defy the powers of the earth to deſtroy his fabric; or, perhaps, ſatisfied at ſeeing he had now formed men able to preſide over his Areopage; he ſimply gave his advice on important occaſions, leaving the common details, the functions of an ordinary chief, to other adepts. However that may be, though it were proved that he had given up the dignity of chief, though the archives of the Sect were more deeply concealed than they are, yet proofs of the plots which they are now proſecuting would not be wanting. Their public actions ſhall in future depoſe againſt them in default of their ſecret archives. The adepts were known; it was therefore eaſy to watch their labors and compare their devices. The German writers have had the ſtart of us in that career; hiſtory, therefore, will not be deſtitute of demonſtrative proofs.

They attempt to conceal their exiſtence.

The grand object of the Illuminees, after the diſcovery of their ſecret papers, was to perſuade Germany that their Order was extinct; that the adepts had not only renounced all their illuminizing myſteries, but even all intercourſe

among themſelves as members of a ſecret ſociety. Theſe are not the firſt Brigands or the firſt Sectaries on record that have wiſhed to make the world believe the idea of their exiſtence to be chimerical, even at the very time when they were moſt actively promoting their plots and propagating their principles. But here error has belied itſelf even in the mouths of its moſt zealous advocates. On the firſt appearance of thoſe works that denounced to the Britiſh nation at large the conſpiracy of the Illuminees, and ſhewed how they were proſecuting their plots in the occult Lodges of Maſonry, the zealous brethren inhabiting the banks of the Thames called on their German allies for ſuccor, in order to deſtroy thoſe ill impreſſions which the *Life of Zimmerman*, *Mr. Robiſon's Proofs*, and theſe *Memoirs*, were making. The complaints of the Engliſh fraternity, and the anſwer of their auxiliary Brother Boetiger, are inſerted in the German Mercury, No. 11, page 267. Nearly the ſame anſwer has croſſed the ſeas, in order to inform the Engliſh, thro' the channel of the *Monthly Magazine* of January 1798, page 3, that whoever ſhould turn his reſearches toward Illuminiſm would be in purſuit of a chimera, "as *from* "*the beginning of the year* 1790, EVERY CONCERN OF "THE ILLUMINATI HAS CEASED, *and no Lodge of* "*Free-maſons in Germany* has, ſince that period, taken "the leaſt notice of them. Evident proofs of this aſſer- "tion are to be found among the papers of Mr. Bode, "late Privy Counſellor at Weimar, *who was at the head* "*of the Order* in this part of Germany, and who died in "1794."

Strange avowal relating to the Sect.

The foregoing paſſage, written by Mr. Boetiger, may be obſerved to include a very ſingular avowal, which has already been noticed in Germany to the great confuſion of the adepts. Some zealous writers have told them:—You now own then, that the myſteries of Illuminiſm had become thoſe of the Maſonic Lodges, and that they had continued to be ſo till the year 1790; thoſe journaliſts and other authors, therefore, who inceſſantly called the attention of ſovereigns to the Illuminees, were not miſtaken; and Zimmerman, Hoffman, and Dr. Stark, with ſo many other writers whoſe works the Sect wiſhed to ſuppreſs, were correct in publicly proclaiming that this diſaſtrous Sect had not been annihilated when its plots were diſcovered in 1786, and much leſs ſo in 1785, as the adept

writers of the Brotherhood or their hirelings had attempted to perſuade the world.* Now the conſpirators think that it would ſuffice for their purpoſe to make the world believe that the idea of their exiſtence *ſince the year* 1790 is chimerical. This artifice alſo ſhall be unmaſked, and nations ſhall be convinced that though this Sect may have changed its form, yet that in ſo doing it has only invigorated itſelf, and acquired new means of corruption.

Bode the new chief of the Sect.

The *Sieur Boetiger*, the Quixotte of the Illuminees, and of the Brother Bode in particular, alſo makes another avowal, viz. That his hero Bode really became the chief of the Illuminees in his part of Germany.† No Brother before him had ever made this avowal; but it

* See Endemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.

† The Sieur Boetiger, Director of the Gymnaſium at Weimar, and the auxiliary adept ſo famous for his Eulogy on Bode, which was only laughed at in Germany, has many other claims to ridicule beſide thoſe recorded in his writings. The Engliſh may overlook the numerous demands of this kind that he has upon us in about half a dozen Magazines and Reviews in which he co-operates, for his diſſertations on the *Roman Ladies*, on their *toilets*, and on their *fans*; on *America*, and on *China*; on the *Etruſcan Vaſes*, on the *Acting of a Player*, and, in ſhort, on many other ſubjects. But what it moſt concerns the Engliſh people to know is, that the man, whoſe authority is ſet up in favor of the Brotherhood, is as well known in Germany for his talents as a leader of faction, as he is for his treatiſes on toilets and fans. Nor did he on the news of the immortal victory of Admiral Duncan reſtrain his Jacobin rage in his journals, or bluſh at ſaying *that it was doubtful whether* the Engliſh had gained this victory by the interference of heaven or of hell, *whether it came from above or below* (von oben oder von unten); and that it was the opinion of many, that it would have been a greater happineſs for *the Engliſh to have loſt the battle than to have gained it*. Such, nevertheleſs, is the man whom we find placed in competition with, and even ſet up as an authority againſt the patriotiſm of Mr. Robiſon.

This very ſame man moreover writes to inform the Engliſh that he is no Illuminee. He may gain credit in England; but in Germany he is aſked what buſineſs he had with the *Minerval Lodges of Weimar?*—In what quality could he pretend to inherit the papers of a chief of Illuminiſm, which, according to the laws of the Sect, could only be entruſted to brethren? Or for what reaſon, after having been ſo intimately connected with Bode, does he ſtill continue to be the laborious co-operator of the adept WIELAND in the *New German Mercury?*

This auxiliary adept alſo writes to the Engliſh, that the Duke of Saxe Gotha, *on application* to him for that purpoſe, *would, doubtleſs, permit the inſpection of theſe papers of* Bode's. But no ſuch invitation is made to the Germans; to them he talks of *a*

perfectly coincides with the information that I had received concerning this infamous Illuminee. It is under the direction of this adept, therefore, whose talents for conspiracy were so much admired by *Philo*-Knigge, that we are now to trace the labors and progress of the Sect.

Fable of the Jesuits Masonry, and its object.

To avert the public attention by means of fabulous plots, and to conceal their own that they might prosecute their conquests in the masonic Lodges; to ensnare that class called men of letters, and at length taint the whole mass of the people with their principles; were the objects of *Amelius*-BODE, and of the new Areopagites who presided over Illuminism after Weishaupt's flight and the dispersion of the Bavarian adepts. Among the various means devised, *one* might appear singularly ridiculous but for the astonishing advantages drawn from it by the Sect: I mean the fable of *the Jesuits Masonry*. A prodigious number of volumes have been written in Germany, both by those who invented the fable, and by others who tho't it incumbent on them to warn the public of this new artifice of Illuminism. I will not wander into useless detail, but will simply lay before my reader the leading points by which he may trace the Sect until it attains the period of its power in our revolutions.

As an act of homage to the despot Weishaupt, *Philo*-Knigge was the first who, in the year 1781, and under

Prince being in possession of all Bode's papers, but does not venture to name the prince. He knew too well that persons on the spot might attempt to gain that admittance to inspect the papers, if Boetiger's word could be a sufficient incitement to those, who think they have acquired a certainty that the prince possessor has powerful reasons for *not showing* the *two trunks* full of papers that he bought at such an immense rate, and for *not giving* an invitation to the public similar to that which the court of Bavaria ordered to be inserted at the head of the Original Writings.

I, in my turn, invite the Author of the *Monthly Magazine* to insert these reflections in his publication, as he did Boetiger's letter in opposition to Mr. Robison in that of January, 1798. My reason for making this invitation is, because I have been informed that some persons have been duped by that letter, and really thought that the existence of this Sect, and of its plots, the most monstrous and most subtle that ever existed, was chimerical.

I can also inform my readers, that all the Secret Writings of Bode are not at Gotha. Many of his letters are at this moment printing; and my correspondents inform me, that they perfectly accord with the statements in my Memoirs.

the name of ALOYSIUS MAYER, publiſhed this idea of the Jeſuits Maſonry. He took it up again in the *circular letter* written by order of *Spartacus* to the Maſonic Lodges; he again inſiſts on it in his *Additions to the Hiſtory of Free-Maſonry*.* The adepts OSTERTAG at Ratiſbon, NICOLAI and BIESTER at Berlin, and a ſwarm of other Illuminees, ſought to give ſanction to this Fable by their writings. As yet, however, it was difficult to form a preciſe idea of this ſtory of the Jeſuits Maſonry, or whether it was true or falſe. Bode at length made a collection of every thing that could be ſaid on the ſubject, and ſent the whole of theſe materials to the Brother BONNEVILLE at Paris.† He ſoon publiſhed his work, entitled *The Jeſuits expelled from Free-maſonry*; and this production, ſent to all the *regular* Lodges, was ſuppoſed to be the death-blow to this terrible phantom.

On inveſtigating theſe different productions, we obſerve, that their drift was to make the Free-maſons believe that all their Lodges were ſecretly under the direction of the Jeſuits; that the whole of their myſteries, their ſecrets and their laws, were but an invention of the Jeſuits; that each Maſon, without ſuſpecting it, was but the ſlave and inſtrument of that ſociety which had long ſince been looked upon as extinct, but whoſe members, though diſperſed, ſtill preſerved an aſcendancy diſgraceful to Maſonry, and dangerous to nations and their rulers. The reſult of all this tended to perſuade the brethren, that true Maſonry was not to be ſought for either among the Roſicrucians or the Scotch Knights, and ſtill leſs among the Engliſh Maſons, or thoſe of the Strict Obſervance; but ſolely among the *Eclectic Lodges* that were under the direction of the Illuminees.‡

The name of Jeſuit is certainly a formidable bug-bear to many people, eſpecially to thoſe who could never pardon their zeal for the Roman Catholic faith; and it cannot be denied, that if conſtancy in the cauſe of that religion was hateful, they were well entitled to the hatred of the enemies of the Catholic faith. It is obſervable, that it was in thoſe very parts of Germany where the

* See theſe works and the Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 22, from Weiſhaupt, and Let. 1. from *Philo*.—Alſo the Circular Letter, Part II. Sect. VI.

† Endliche Schickſal, Page 38.

‡ See *Philo*'s Circular Letter and his concluſion.

Its ſucceſs.

Lodges were chiefly compoſed of Proteſtant brethren, that this fable made the moſt aſtoniſhing impreſſion, nothing being talked of but Jeſuits under the cloak of Maſonry, and their great conſpiracy. One might have tho't that the conſpiracy of the Illuminees was entirely forgotten; but that was not their only object. The Maſonic Brethren of the ordinary Lodges heard ſo much of their being the dupes of the Jeſuits, that they abandoned the Strict Obſervance and the Roſicrucians, and flocked to the Eclectic Maſons, then under the direction of the Illuminees. The Maſonic Revolution was ſo complete and ſo fatal to ancient Maſonry, that its zealous Maſters and Venerables declared this fiction of Jeſuits Maſonry to be a conſpiracy truly worthy of a Danton or a Robeſpierre.* In vain did the more clearſighted Maſons point out the ſnare, to vindicate their reputation and put a ſtop to the general deſertion. Their demonſtrations came too late; beſide, they were written by Proteſtants, who were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Jeſuits or knew but little about them.† But, unfortunately, when Germany really diſcovered the drift of the fable, the greater part of the Maſons had united with the Illuminees for fear of falling a prey to the Jeſuits, and many others had entirely abandoned the Lodges, chuſing to be neither Illuminees nor Jeſuits. Thus was that threat of Weiſhaupt accompliſhed, that he would either conquer the Strict Obſervance and the Roſicrucians, or deſtroy them.

Were it not that prejudice often deprives men of the uſe of their reaſon, one ſhould be aſtoniſhed to ſee the Maſons fall into ſuch a paltry ſnare. Suppoſing that I were to go to the Mother Lodge of Edinburgh, the Grand Lodge of York or that of London, and ſay to their Directories and Grand Maſters, you thought that you preſided over the Maſonic World; you looked upon yourſelves as the guardians of the grand ſecrets of Maſonry, and as the grantors of the diplomas; but all this time you were miſtaken, and little ſuſpected that you were, and ſtill continue to be nothing more than puppets put in motion by the Jeſuits.

* Wahrlich ein project eines Dantons oder Robeſpierre Wurdig *(Endliche Schickſal, Page* 32.)

† See on this ſubject the *Endliche Schickſal*, the works entitled, *Der Aufgezogene Vorhang der Frey Maurery, &c.*—And particularly the laſt hundred pages of the work *Uber die Alten und Neuen Myſterien*, Chap. XVI. &c.

Could one, I ask, invent any thing more degrading either to the human mind, or to that common sense which must, I suppose, be granted to the heroes of Masonry! Such, however, was the whole fable of the Jesuits Masonry.—When speaking of the *English Masons*, the authors and abettors of this fable say, "*It is true, there are some* (of "those English Masons) *who suspect that they are led by* "*the nose, but these are few.* . . . It is more common a-"mong them than *any where else*, for certain members to "renew from time to time the idea of unknown Superiors;" and those unknown Superiors who lead the English *by the nose* are always the Jesuits.*

Ere long the reproach becomes general; all that multitude of degrees invented in France, in Sweden, and in Germany, becomes an invention of the Jesuits, as well as the English and Scotch degrees;† and a sort of epidemical stupidity alone hinders the Brotherhood from feeling their bondage; at least such must be the natural consequence of this fable. How could the German Masons possibly avoid perceiving the absurdity of it? Their profound adepts and the Elect of all nations flocked to Willemsbaden, and in the space of thirty years they held five or six general assemblies; how came it to pass that all these brethren combining their secrets, their government, and their laws, revising, meditating, and correcting, not only their mysteries but their whole code, were purblind enough not to surmise at least that of which they were afterwards so fully persuaded when they returned to their Lodges, viz. "that they were but the vile instruments and slaves of the Jesuits?" There can be no medium; either the Masons must be the offspring of the grossest stupidity and folly (and then what becomes of their great lights and their science of sciences so much extolled), or, the invention of the Jesuits' Masonry must be a most absurd fable (and in that case why do they flock to the Lodges of the Illuminees for fear of meeting a bugbear in their own)?

This fable too appears still more absurd when we reflect that such men as Philippe D'Orleans, Condorcet, Syeyes, or Mirabeau, with so many other Deists, Atheists,

* See the *Jesuits expelled Masonry*, Part I. P. 31 and 34.

† *Philo*'s Circular Letter.

and moſt inveterate enemies and aſſaſſins of the Jeſuits, and of all thoſe who preached the ſame doctrines, *were at the head of Maſonry!*

It may alſo be worthy of remark, at what period theſe Religious are transformed into the Grand Maſters and Directors of that multitude of Lodges ſpread from Eaſt to Weſt? It is after they have been aboliſhed; it is when, forbidden to form a community, they are diſperſed thro'-out the different dioceſes acting the part of private miſſionaries under the inſpection of their Biſhops: this is the period choſen for inſtalling them governors and directors of a vaſt confraternity of Maſons? It is when ſtripped of every thing, driven from their habitations, having ſcarcely wherewith to procure the neceſſaries of life, that they are ſuppoſed to command all the funds of the Maſonic Lodges! It is when, under the yoke of perſecution, they continue to preach the doctrines of the Goſpel, that they are accuſed of a ſuppoſed ſecret impiety and of a profound policy! If they are impious, at leaſt we muſt allow them to be as aukward in their impiety and as imbecile as thoſe who could ſuppoſe them to have poſſeſſed ſome ingenuity; for in the midſt of their ſuppoſed impiety, of their Deiſtical and Atheiſtical, their rebellious and anarchical principles, they have been aukward enough always to have for their greateſt enemies not only the Deiſts and Atheiſts of Maſonry but thoſe of every other claſs! On the other hand, they are ſuppoſed to be the authors of the new myſteries of Maſonry, and they are artful enough to introduce them by means of proteſtant leaders, ſuch as a Baron HUND or a ZINNENDORFF; beſide, theſe myſteries are only multiplied in the divers Lodges in order to create inteſtine jealouſies, hatreds, &c. which all the general meetings of the Sect could not repreſs! This alſo muſt be the work of a body profoundly politic! Did theſe terrible Jeſuits then think to add to their power by thus deſtroying the Maſonic puppets which they had ſo long governed, in place of uniting thoſe millions of brethren or ſlaves under one law, who might have formed an impenetrable phalanx againſt their enemies?

Certainly we muſt be aſtoniſhed at the abſurdity of this fable of the Jeſuits' Maſonry; but our aſtoniſhment increaſes on examining the proofs whereon it is grounded.*

* Some readers may perhaps tax me with treating this fable, and the proofs adduced by the Illuminees, as abſurd and incon-

Let us suppose that Nicolai, Knigge, Bode and the other writers of the Brotherhood, had made a compila-

ceivable, only that I might be dispensed from trouble of refuting demonstrations perhaps difficult to be answered. Should any such be found among my readers, let them turn to those writings which some of the most famous adepts, such for example as *Mirabeau*, or rather his initiator and recruiter *Mauvillon*, extol in the highest terms; and which are not (he says) to be looked upon as *a mere system*, but as *a complete digest and exact statement of the principal facts that led in Germany to the discovery of this Masonry of the Jesuits. (See Mirabeau's Prussian Monarchy, Vol. V. Book VIII. Page 77.)* This famous book is entitled, *The Jesuits expelled from Masonry, and their poignard broken by the Masons.* In the very first page we see engraven on a plate this poignard with the compass, the square, the triangles, the eagles, stars, and every thing that he supposes to be the emblems of Scotch Masonry. Should it be asked where this poignard was found, no answer is given; but in the following very *ingenious* manner the writer pretends to demonstrate that the great authors and directors of Scotch Masonry were Jesuits:

1st. Bonneville declares this Masonry to consist of four degrees, the Apprentice, the Fellow-Craft, the Master, and the Scotch Master. The pass-words in these degrees are *Boaz* and *Tubal-cain* for the first; *Shiboleth, Chiblin, Notuma*, for the others. Boaz seems to have puzzled him; he therefore rejects it, and only takes the four initials, T. S. C. N.

The Jesuits also had four degrees, the Lay Brothers, (that is to say) those who, as in all religious Orders, were only admitted as servants, such as the cooks, gardeners, &c. These the Jesuits called *Temporal Coadjutors*. Bonneville overlooks Coadjutor, but takes the initial of *Temporal;* and he thus gets *T*, which demonstrates that the Lay Brother Jesuit is the same as the Apprentice Mason, also denoted by T. The second degree among the Jesuits is that of the young students, and these were called *Scolastici*, or Scholars; but when they had finished their studies, and taught in their turn, they became *Magistri*, or Masters: The *S* in *Scolastici* is convenient for Bonneville's demonstration, and it becomes the S of the Shiboleth of the Fellow-Craft. The third degree of the Jesuits is that of *Spiritual Coadjutor*, who took the three common religious vows; here the *C* initial of *Coadjutor* is the C of Chiblim, and Bonneville has not the slightest doubt but the spiritual Coadjutor of the Jesuits is the *Master* in Free-masonry. At length comes the fourth degree, or the professed Jesuits, that is, those who to the three first vows have added that of going to preach the Gospel in whatever part of the world the Pope chose to send them.—These were called the *professed* Jesuits; but the word *professed* would not serve Bonneville's purpose, he wanted an *N;* he says, therefore, that these *professed* were called *Nostri*, he then gets an N, the evident Notuma of the Scotch Master in Masonry. Thus it is that by comparing the T. S. C. N. of Masonry

tion of every thing that was odious in Masonry, and had substituted the word *Jesuit* for that of *Free-mason* or *Rosicrucian*, we shall then have a pretty accurate idea of the general course followed by the illuminizing Masons. It would be exactly as if any historian were to take it into his head, when treating of Weishaupt's Code, to substitute the word Jesuit in lieu of Illuminee, and that without being able to name a single Jesuit against whom the accusation could be preferred, notwithstanding the ardent desire of these barefaced calumniators to mention some one at least of the culprit Jesuits. It is a long series of contradictions. Neither do they agree as to the time, the degrees, or the mysteries of this Masonry of the Jesuits.—The sole fact that might deserve to be investigated, had

with the *T. S. C. N.* that he had discovered among the Jesuits, he proves that the degrees of Scotch Masonry are the same as those of the Jesuits. *(See the Jesuits expelled Masonry, Vol. II. Page 5 and 6.)*

Should the reader desire to know how the word *Mason* precisely answers to the *perfect degree* of the Jesuits, or to their *Professed*, Bonneville will tell him, that the letters A. B. C. &c. stand for numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. Suppose the Jesuits have adopted this easy cypher, and then the four letters M. A. S. O. will give 12+1+18+14=45, and then remains N, the very initial letter of the NOSTER *the perfect degree of the Jesuits, to which they could only be admitted at the age of forty-five! (Ibid. Page 9.)* What a pity (exclaims Bonneville) that this *Noster* should be the *professed Jesuit, professus quatuor votorum (Ibid. Page 6)*; and a still greater pity (say I) for his position, that, according to the constitutions of the Jesuits, at the age of twenty-five they might be admitted to take the fourth vow, provided they had finished their course of divinity. *(Constit. Societ. Jes. Part I. Chap. II. No. 12, de Admittendis.)* Another misfortune was, that even those Jesuits who had taught in their colleges had generally terminated their course of divinity and taken their last vow by the age of *thirty-three*.

Were I to go on to show, that the G, or the *God*, of the Masons becomes the General of the Jesuits, because General begins with a G.—that the *Jubal*, or the musician of the Masons, is a Jesuit, because *Jubal* and *Jesuit* both begin with a J.—that the *Hiram-Abif* also of the mysteries is a Jesuit, because H=8 and A=1 and the total 9=J.; in short, were I to proceed to enumerate five or six hundred follies of the same nature, all given as proofs of the Jesuits' Masonry, my reader would be almost tempted to believe that I was traducing Bonneville. I must, therefore, refer him to the author himself; and let that man read and study him who is not disgusted at the reading of the first pages, and at the impudence with which this author wishes to impose upon the public.

any proof been adduced in confirmation of it, was that of the Jesuits converting Masonry into a conspiracy for the reinstatement of the Stuarts on the English Throne. But of what consequence could their reinstatement on the throne, or a secret of that nature, be to the Swedish, Russian, Polonese, or Dutch Masons; and how could one pretend to persuade the English and Scotch Masons that their Masonry, Code, and Emblems, long anterior to the catastrophe of the Stuarts, were only mysteries invented to reinstate the Stuarts on the throne? Should an historian ever undertake to write the history of the extraordinary reveries of the human mind, let him not forget those set forth by the Illuminees on this occasion; and were it not for the eminent use it was of to them for the propagation of their plots, I should never have thought of troubling my reader with it, or of seriously refuting so incoherent a fable. We must next turn our attention to a coalition more real and far more disastrous, I mean that known under the name of the Germanic Union.

CHAP. X.

The Germanic Union—Its principal Actors, and the Conquests it prepared for the Illuminees.

AFTER having described so many plots, unmasked so much artifice, and disclosed such various means of delusion and seduction, all issuing from the dens of impiety, why am I forbidden to lay down my pen, and abandoning these dark haunts of vice, to assume the pleasing task of describing the habits of the virtuous man, or of a nation happy, and enjoying the sweets of peace beneath the shadow of its laws, and that under a beloved monarch, revered still more as the father than as the sovereign of his peaceful empire? Alas! the sight of such a nation has vanished from the face of the earth; thrones totter and disappear; states weep over the ruins of their religion and of their laws, or are yet painfully struggling with the devouring monster. Danger stalks on every spot; and if happier days are mentioned, it can only stimulate us to denounce the too long concealed causes of our misfortunes, in hopes of seeing once again those nearly forgotten days return. Though the mind revolts at the idea, yet for the public good we will pursue that tribe of Weishaupt; and so far from giving repose to our thoughts, we shall be once more hurried into new plots and machinations invented by the most profound adepts of Illuminism, and horridly famous in Germany under the name of the *German Union*. To understand perfectly the object of this Union, the historian must revert to conspiracies anterior to those of Weishaupt.

The Germanic Union; its origin.

We have often seen Voltaire boasting of the progress that Infidelity was making in the north of the German Empire. This progress was not solely to be attributed to his labors, nor had he the least suspicion of the many co-operators that were seconding his views.

In the very heart of Protestantism and of its schools, a Conspiracy had been formed against the Protestant and every branch of revealed religion, inveterate in its means

and agents as that formed by Holbach's club. The Parisian Sophisters openly attacked Jesus Christ and all Christianity. The clubs, or rather schools, of the North of Germany, under pretence *of purifying the Protestant Religion*, and of restoring it to the principles of true Christianity, stripped it of all the mysteries of the Gospel, reduced it to that species of Deism which they decorate with the name of *Natural Religion*, and thus hoped to lead their adepts to a negation of all Religion. These new lawgivers did not absolutely proscribe revelation; but revelation was to be subjected to the judgment of their reason.

The Antichristian Conspiracy had originated in France with those men who styled themselves Philosophers, and who professed to be strangers to all theological erudition. In Germany it took rise in the heart of the Universities, and among their Doctors of Divinity. In France the Sophisters conspiring against all Religion cried up the toleration of the Protestants, in hopes of destroying the Catholic faith; in Germany the Protestant Doctors abused that toleration in order to substitute Philosophism to the tenets of their church.

The first of these German Doctors who, under the mask of Theological disquisitions, engaged in this Antichristian Conspiracy, was SEMLER, professor of Divinity in the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony. The only use he appears to have made of his knowledge would lead us to suppose that he imbibed his principles from Bayle, rather than from the true sources of Theology. Like Bayle, we may observe him here and there scattering a few useful truths, but equally inclining toward paradox and scepticism. Rapid as Voltaire, but destitute of his elegance, he can only be compared to that Antichristian Chief for the multitude of contradictions into which he stumbles at every step. "*It is not uncommon to see him begin* "*a sentence with an opinion that he contradicts before he* "*concludes it.* His predominant system, and the only one "that can be gathered from his numerous reveries, is, "that the symbols of Christianity and of all other Sects "are objects of no consequence; that the Christian Re- "ligion contains but few truths of any importance; and "that every person may select these truths and decide up- "on them as he pleases. His scepticism has never per- "mitted him to fix upon any religious opinion for him- Semler.

« ſelf, unleſs it be when he clearly profeſſes, that Proteſt-
« antiſm is not founded on better grounds than any of
« the other Sects; *that it ſtill ſtands in need of a very*
« *great reform*; and that this reform ſhould be effected
« by his Brethren the Doctors of the Univerſities."*

This new reformer began to propagate his doctrines as early as the year 1754, and continued to circulate them, in German and in Latin, in a thouſand different ſhapes. At one time in an *Hiſtorical and Critical Collection*; at another, in *Free Diſquiſitions on the Canons or Eccleſiaſtical Laws*; then in an *Inſtitution of the Chriſtian Doctrine*; and, above all, in an *Eſſay on the Art and School of a Free Theology*. Soon after a new Doctor appears, attempting to make this deſired reform, or to ſuppreſs the remaining myſteries that Luther and Calvin had not thought proper to reject. This was WILLIAM ABRAHAM TELLER, at firſt Profeſſor at Helmſtadt in the Dutchy of Brunſwick, afterwards Chief of the Conſiſtory and Provoſt of a Church at Berlin. He made his firſt eſſay for deſtroying the myſteries by publiſhing a *Catechiſm*, in which, ſcoffing at the divinity of Chriſt, he reduces his religion to Socinianiſm. Soon after this, his pretended *Dictionary of the Bible* was to teach the Germans « methods to be followed in explaining the Scrip-
« tures; by which they were to ſee no other doctrine in
« the whole of Chriſtianity than true Naturaliſm, under
« the cloak and ſymbols of Judaiſm."†

Teller.

About the ſame time appeared two other Proteſtant Doctors, who carried their new-fangled Theology *ſtill nearer to the ſtate* of a degraded and Antichriſtian Philoſophiſm. Theſe were the Doctors DAMM and BAHRDT; the former the Rector of a College at Berlin, the latter a Doctor of Divinity at Halle, but a man of ſuch infamous morals, that even *Philo*-Knigge was aſhamed to ſee his name among Weiſhaupt's elect, and did not even dare to pronounce it.‡ LOFFLER, the ſuperintendant of the Church of Gotha, ran the ſame career of impiety, as well as many others whoſe writings might have been taken for the compoſitions of the Illuminizing Epopts. The faſhion of inveſtigating religion merely to overturn its myſteries

Damm & Bahrdt.

Loffler.

* See *Nouis of a Secret Coalition againſt Religion and Monarchy*. The Appendix, No. 9.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. 10. ‡ Endliche erklarung, P. 132.

became so common in the German provinces, that the Protestant Religion seemed to be doomed to fall by the hands of its own Doctors, when at length a few of those Ministers who were still fired with zeal for their tenets raised their voices to denounce this conspiracy.

The Doctor DESMAREES, superintendant of the Church of Dessau, in the principality of Anhalt, and the Doctor STARK, famous for his erudition and his conflicts with Illuminism, first called the attention of the public to this rising Sect; the former in his *Letters on the New Pastors of the Protestant Church*, and the latter in his Appendix to the pretended *Crypto-Catholicism and Jesuitism*. Nothing can better probe the wound which the Protestant Church had just received, than the summary view taken of the doctrine of these new pastors, by the superintendant of Dessau in the following terms:

"Our Protestant Divines successively attack all the "fundamental articles of Christianity. They do not let "one single article of the general symbol of faith subsist. "From the Creation of Heaven and Earth to the Resur- "rection of the Body, they combat every single article."*

While these theological adepts were perverting their science to inundate Germany with their crafty Philosophism, a second confederation was forming at Berlin for the propagation of these works, extolling them as the only productions worthy of the public attention. At the head of this league was one NICOLAI, a Bookseller. Before this man's time we have often seen Booksellers who, actuated by avarice, indiscriminately sold books of the most impious and seditious, and others of the most pious tendency; but a phenomenon that had never been seen before, was a Bookseller whose impiety overcame his love of gain, and who would rather sacrifice the profits to be acquired by the sale of religious works, than allow them to be dispersed among the people. Nicolai was a Bookseller of such a stamp as D'Alembert wished to find, and such as he would have been himself had it been his pro- Nicolai.

* Protestantische Gottesgelehrten greifen einen grund artikel des Christenthums nach dem andern an; lassen in ganzen Allgemeinen Glaubens-bekentnis vom Schöpfer himmels und der erde, bis zur auferstehung des fleisches nicht unan gefochten.—*(Uber die neuen wächter der Protestantischen Kirche; erstes heft, S. 10.)*

feſſion. It was excluſively to the propagation of Impiety that he had dedicated his commerce and his literary talents, for he would alſo be a ſophiſticated writer. He was not even initiated into the myſteries of Weiſhaupt, when he had actually formed the plan for overturning the Chriſtian Religion in Germany by one of thoſe means which governments have never yet ſufficiently attended to, or been aware of. At the head of his buſineſs as a Bookſeller, he alſo undertook to be the compiler of a ſort of weekly Encyclopædia, which he entitled *The Univerſal German Library.** At once the compiler and ſaleſman of Impiety, he engaged ſeveral Sophiſters to co-operate with him. He alſo leagued with many men of great learning and merit, whoſe articles being inſerted in his Journal were to ſerve as a cloak for the more impious ones, whence the readers were to imbibe his baneful principles. The moſt dangerous articles of this ſort were thoſe written by himſelf, by the famous Jew MENDELSOHN, by BIESTER, Librarian to the King, and by GEDIKE, Counſellor to the Conſiſtory of Berlin. It was not long, however, before the tendency of this Journal was diſcovered. It was obſerved, that all their praiſes were laviſhed on thoſe very men whoſe doctrines were levelled at the total overthrow of thoſe myſteries of Chriſtianity which had been preſerved by Luther and Calvin. The man who ſo well ſeconded the views of Weiſhaupt without knowing it could not long eſcape the notice of the Scrutators. The Sect had one in particular whoſe name will hereafter become famous; this was the Brother *Leveller*-Leuchſenring, who had been Preceptor to the Princes at Berlin, and afterward to thoſe of Heſſe Darmſtadt. A fanatical recruiter, and though loquacious, very reſerved on the myſteries, this Leuchſenring was then travelling as an Inſinuator. Hanover and Neuwied already

* I have quoted his *Eſſay on the Templars;* and I thought myſelf bound to do ſo, becauſe I found that his reſearches perfectly coincided with thoſe which I had made on the accuſations preferred againſt thoſe Knights, and on the proofs that appeared on the face of the moſt authentic documents relating to their judgment. I was not, however, on that account leſs concerned to ſee the Impiety with which theſe reſearches are replete. I alſo obſerved all that ridiculous diſplay of erudition on the *Baffomet* of the Templars; but I cannot deny that his quotations are perfectly exact.

bore testimony of his zeal. He had attempted in vain to insinuate the Chevalier Zimmerman; but Nicolai afforded an easy conquest. It was soon complete; Gedike and Biester, following his example, only combined their conspiracy with Weishaupt's mysteries. The Doctor BAHRDT had fallen as easy a prey to the Assessor *Minos*; but the Doctor viewed what had been done by his new Brethren, to second his views and writings against Christianity, as of little avail—He thought he could surpass all the artifices of Weishaupt, Knigge, and Nicolai; and his evil genius afforded him the means.

The plan that he had conceived was nothing less than to reduce all Germany, and by process of time the whole world, to the impossibility of receiving any other lessons, or of reading any other productions than those of the Illuminees. The means of reducing the literary world to this new species of slavery are all contained in the laws laid down by this strange adept for a coalition famous in Germany under the title of the Germanic Union, *Die Deutsche Union*.* Its plan.

* The *Sieur Boettiger* writes from Germany, and his letter is inserted in the *Monthly Magazine for January*, 1798, that this plan, and the whole confederation of Dr. Bahrdt, are only known to Mr. Robison through the medium of the *obscure and despicable Journal of Geissen*. This journal of Geissen was never *despicable* in any one's eyes but those of the Illuminees, or of their votaries. They had their reasons for crying it down; and those very reasons must enhance its value in the eyes of every honest man. In the next place, how can this Boettiger presume to assert that this Journal was the only source whence Mr. Robison had derived his information? The great number of works quoted by Mr. Robison must evidently belie such an assertion, and I willingly declare that it was difficult to procure more. Had he been in possession of no other than that famous work known in Germany under the title of *Mehr Noten als Text, order, die Deutsche Union der Zwei und Zwanziger*,—(More Notes than Text; or, the German Union of the Twenty-Two,) that work which, according to Boettiger, alone sufficed to open the eyes of the public, is that only known by the Journal of Giessen? With a similar assurance does this champion of Illuminism assert this work to have been written by Bode, as if there could be the least probability that Bode, who had taken so active a part in this conspiracy, would be very forward in laying it open to the public, and exposing the *Baronne de Recke, Countess of Medem*, the daughter of *Wander* (the *Stroller*), to public ridicule, a woman whose charms he so much admired, and with whose writings he was so well acquainted. If Bode

This confederacy was to be governed by twenty-two adepts chosen from among that species of men, who by their functions, their knowledge, or their labors, had acquired a greater facility in directing the public opinion toward all the errors of the Sect. The other brethren, dispersed through the different towns, were to contribute by different means toward the grand object under the direction of the *twenty-two*, each of whom had his department assigned to him, as in Weishaupt's Areopage.

The persons who were chiefly to be sought after were authors, post-masters, and booksellers. Princes and their ministers were absolutely excepted against; and people in favor at court, or in the different public offices, were not to be chosen.

These confederates were divided into *simple associates* and *active Brethren*; and the latter alone were initiated into the secret, means, and object, of the coalition. The instructions imparted to the brethren were drawn up in the same style and method that had long since been adopted by Bahrdt, and other apostates from the protestant universities, to reduce Christianity to their pretended natural religion, by declaring Moses, the Prophets, and even Christ, to have been men distinguished, it is true, by their wisdom, but who had nothing divine either in their doctrines or their works. "To root out superstition, to restore mankind to liberty by enlightening them, to con-

was the writer of this publication, which so well displays the knavery of the German Union, how comes it to pass that Mr. Göschen, a Bookseller of Leipsic, has avowed himself the author of it, and is universally acknowledged as such? My readers must perceive, that by entering into these digressions, I only design to warn the public against the different publications which the Illuminees are daily dispersing to persuade nations that their plots are chimerical, while they are pursuing them with redoubled ardor.

I shall also follow nearly the same documents that Mr. Robison has adopted, as they perfectly coincide with the memorials that I have received from Germany. All that I shall say before my readers in this chapter may be said to be extracts from the following German writings: *News of a great and invisible confederation against the Christian religion and monarchy.—The System of the Cosmopolitans discovered.—The Vienna Journal by Hoffman.—Notice given before it is too late*, by the same.—*More Notes than Text, &c.—The Knowledge of the World and of Men, &c.* besides many other private letters and memorials on the Illuminees.

" ſummate the views of the founder even of Chriſtianity " without violent means, ſuch is our object, (would they " ſay to the Brethren). It is for that purpoſe that we have " formed a ſecret ſociety, to which we invite all thoſe who " are actuated by the ſame views, and are properly ſenſi- " ble of their importance."

As a means of accompliſhing theſe objects, and of propagating their pretended light, theſe active brethren were to eſtabliſh in every town certain *literary ſocieties*, or *reading clubs* (leſgeſchaften), which were to become the reſort of all thoſe who had not the means of procuring the daily publications. Theſe were to attract as many aſſociates as poſſible to theſe reading-rooms; watch their opinions, imbue them with the principles of the Order, leave thoſe whoſe zeal and talents gave but little hopes, among the common brethren; but initiate after certain preliminary oaths, thoſe who could be of any real ſervice, and who entered fully into the views and plans of the Order.

The ſociety was to have its gazettes and journals, which were to be under the direction of thoſe adepts whoſe talents were the moſt conſpicuous; and no pains were to be ſpared to deſtroy all other periodical prints.

The libraries of theſe literary ſocieties were to be compoſed of books all according with the views of the Order. The choice of theſe books and the care of furniſhing them were to be left to the ſecretaries, and particularly to bookſellers who were initiated in the myſteries of the coalition.

The hopes conceived by the man who had planned this aſſociation were held out to the elect as an incitement to the founding of new ones. What advantages (would he ſay) ſhall we not gain over ſuperſtition by thus directing the lectures in our muſeums? What will we not do for men who, zealous in our cauſe, and diſperſed in all parts, circulate every where, even in the cottages, the productions of our choice? ſhould we ever be maſters of the public opinion, how eaſy will it be for us to cover with contempt, and bury in oblivion, every fanatical work that may be announced in the other journals, and on the contrary extol thoſe works that are written according to our views. By degrees we ſhall become maſters of the whole trade of bookſelling. Then will it be in vain for fanatics to write in defence of ſuperſtition and deſpots, as they will neither find ſellers, buyers, nor readers.

Leſt bookſellers themſelves ſhould proteſt againſt an

institution of this nature, they were to be drawn into it by advantages proposed to them, and by the fears of being ruined should they not accede to the views of the coalition. They were to be assured, that the brethren would employ every possible means to encourage the sale of works that met with the approbation of the union; but would also impede the circulation of, and discredit by their journals all such as were hostile to their views. Neither had they to fear a diminution in their trade; the association could encourage writers to multiply their productions by ensuring their sale; indeed, funds were to be established to indemnify any bookseller who, in place of selling such works as were inimical to the views of the Union, would leave them concealed in his shop, pretend that he had never heard of such works, or flatly refuse to sell them, thus abusing by every possible means the confidence of authors and of the public.

Such was the plan of the *Germanic Union*, or Dr. Bahrdt's master-piece. Never had the desire of tyrannically governing the public opinion invented a more perfidious plan. One might be led to think it the reverie of some evil genius who had sworn to extirpate from the minds of the people all ideas of any social or religious doctrine. There do, however, exist crimes which in the eyes of the honest man are almost chimerical, but which present little difficulty when undertaken by a villain. He that had conceived the plan was with mischievous propriety placed at the head of the association. The dissoluteness and infamy of his morals had not left him wherewith to subsist in any decent way, when on a sudden he purchased, near Halle, a large mansion which he called after his own name *Bahrdt's-ruhe*. This was soon converted into the head-quarters of the new Union. But it could never have acquired any great consistency had it not been for Nicolai, who had long been laboring according to Bahrdt's views. The immense correspondence that he had by means of his commerce with the other booksellers of Germany; the sort of dominion that he enjoyed over the literary world by means of his *Universal Library*; the court paid to him by different authors whose fortunes depended on the rank he chose to assign them in his *Library*, or in the Berlin Journal, the *Monathschrift*; and more particularly the art with which he contrived to gain over a great number of booksellers, gave him a pow-

er that no ſovereign could ever pretend to. His illuminized co-operators, Bieſter, Gedike, and Leuchſenring, became more ardent, daring and impious, than ever in the journals which they compiled. Bode likewiſe would have one at Weimar under the title of *the Univerſal Literary Gazette.* Another of the ſame nature was ſet on foot at Saltzbourg, by HUBNER, who was alſo an Illuminee.—The offspring of Weiſhaupt were all warned of the ſtreſs which they were to lay on theſe publications, and they ſoon became a moſt terrible ſcourge on all writers who would not ſacrifice their principles to impiety. The fable of the Jeſuits Maſonry was now improved by a new fiction that ſpread diſmay in the mind of every writer who wiſhed to oppoſe the progreſs of Illuminiſm.

Thoſe very Jeſuits who have juſt been ſeen repreſented as the moſt artful infidels, and as ſecretly preſiding over the Maſonic lodges, were now become moſt zealous Catholics, who had ſecretly mingled among the Proteſtants, in order to bring theſe provinces back to the Roman Catholic religion and ſubject them to the dominion of the Pope. Every man who dared defend any one of thoſe myſteries that can only be known either to Catholic or Proteſtant through Revelation, every man who preached ſubmiſſion to ſovereigns and the laws of the ſtate, was immediately proclaimed a *Jeſuit*, or the ſervile ſlave of Jeſuitiſm. One might have thought that all the proteſtant provinces were filled with theſe Jeſuits, ſecretly conſpiring againſt the proteſtant religion; and my readers will eaſily conceive what an impreſſion ſuch a charge muſt have made to the diſadvantage of any writer in thoſe provinces. Neither the office of miniſter nor of ſuperintendant of a church could ſcreen a perſon from ſo terrible an imputation. Even that man was not proof againſt it, who out of zeal for Luther and Calvin, had given full vent to all his hatred and prejudices againſt the Jeſuits; I mean Dr. Stark. In his work on *The Ancient and Modern Myſteries* he had declared, "that ſovereigns had, "by the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, rendered an ever me-"morable ſervice to religion, to virtue, and to humanity." Nevertheleis M. Stark, at that time, as he ſtill continues to be, a preacher and doctor of the Lutheran church, and alſo counſellor of a Conſiſtory at Darmſtadt, was obliged to employ many pages of his apology in proving that he was neither a Roman Catholic nor a Jeſuit, and particu-

larly that he was not *one of the profeſſed Jeſuits, who, having taken the four vows, were obliged at the command of the Pope to go and preach the catholic faith wherever he choſe to ſend them.**

The Chevalier Zimmerman met with a ſimilar fate, merely becauſe he had laid open the plots of the Illuminees, and dared to ridicule the adept *Leveller*-Leuchſenring, who had propoſed to initiate him into the Brotherhood that was ſoon to reform and govern the world.†—That celebrated man, an ornament to the Royal Society of London, is nevertheleſs repreſented by the journaliſts of the Sect as an *ignorant fellow, wallowing in ſuperſtition*, and *an enemy of Light*.‡

The Profeſſor Hoffman, notwithſtanding the high encomiums that had been laviſhed on him by theſe very journals, no ſooner gave proofs of his zeal for religion and ſocial order, than he was repreſented in ſimilar colors. Never had the diſciples of Weiſhaupt ſo well practiſed that law laid down by their teacher, "Diſcredit by all "means poſſible every man of talents that you cannot "bring over to your party." Nicolai gave the ſignal in his *German Library*, or in the *Berlin Monathſchrift*. The Brethren of Jena, of Weimar, of Gotha, of Brunſwick, and of Slewick, immediately obeyed the ſignal, and repeated the ſame calumnies. "Shortly there were no "means of ſcreening oneſelf from a ſwarm of periodical "writers, who had leagued with the modern *Lucian*; "they praiſed what he had praiſed; they condemned what "he had condemned; the ſame turn in their phraſes, even "the ſame terms are to be obſerved when they praiſe or "when they blame an author, and particularly the ſame "ſarcaſms and groſſneſs of abuſe."§ Scarcely could there be found in all Germany above two or three journals that were not in the hands of the united brethren, or perſons of the ſame caſt.

Meantime the adept writers, together with Bahrdt, Schultz, Riem, and even *Philo*-Knigge, who in abandoning the Illuminees had not renounced their plots, with hundreds of other writers of the Sect inundated the pub-

* See his Apology, Page 52 to 59.

† Life of Zimmerman, by Tiſſot. ‡ Ibid.

§ The ultimate fate of Maſonry, Page 30; and News of an viſible Aſſociation, Appendix, No. 11.

lic with their libels in verſe or proſe, under the forms of comedies, romances, ſongs, and diſſertations. All the tenets of religion, Catholic and Proteſtant, were attacked with the moſt bare-faced impudence. Now the ſcene began to change; it was no longer to defend the Proteſtants againſt the attacks of the Catholics; but the obliteration of every religious tenet became their obvious deſign. The moſt pompous eulogiums were pronounced by the journaliſts of the Sect on all thoſe productions of the brethren that openly diſſeminated every principle of Impiety and Sedition.* But what muſt appear a ſtill more aſtoniſhing contradiction, though perfectly coinciding with the views of the Sect, is, that theſe very men who wiſhed ſo deſpotically to ſway the public opinion, and cruſh every writer that had not imbibed their principles, would pretend to perſuade Sovereigns that their ſole object was to obtain that right inherent to them from nature, 'to publiſh their opinions and ſyſtems without danger or conſtraint.' Bahrdt in particular vindicated this pretended right, in his publication *On the Liberty of the Preſs*. It contained the ſentiments of a rank Atheiſt, who wiſhed to imbue his reader with all the moſt abominable principles of Anarchy and Impiety; the author, nevertheleſs, was extolled by the hebdomadary adepts, and, notwithſtanding Bahrdt's vindication of the liberty of the preſs, they united all their efforts to cruſh every writer that dared to aſſert an opinion contrary to theirs.

The uſe which the brotherhood made of this liberty at length rouſed the attention of ſome few ſovereigns.—Frederic William, King of Pruſſia, alarmed at the progreſs which theſe impious and ſeditious writings were making, thought it neceſſary to put a curb on them. He publiſhed ſome new regulations, called the *Edicts for Religion*. This was received by the Illuminees with an audacity which ſeemed to denote that they had acquired a ſtrength ſufficient to bid defiance to ſovereigns, and both the Prince and the Edict became the object of their ſarcaſms and moſt violent declamations. At length appeared a work attributed to Bahrdt, that was the acme of inſolence, and, through deriſion, was alſo called the *Edict for Religion*. The magiſtrates ordered to take cogni- Its diſcovery.

* Ibid.

zance of this insult seized on the person and papers of Bahrdt, and all the necessary proofs of this coalition and of its object were acquired. It might seem that the court of Berlin would have done well to have imitated the example of that of Bavaria by making them public; but the adepts had too powerful agents about the ministry; and numerous arguments were invented for condemning to oblivion these archives of a new species of conspiracy.—All that transpired was, that the plan had been really formed, and that a number of authors, booksellers, and persons even who could scarcely have been suspected, had entered into the association. It is not known how far Weishaupt had contributed personally to it; but it appears that he twice attended at the head-quarters of the united brethren; that he spent several days with Bahrdt; and that the most zealous and active of the united brethren were also disciples of Weishaupt. If we are to believe Bahrdt, his secret was betrayed by two associates well worthy of their master. These were two young libertines, nearly beggars, but who had the talents and meanness necessary to become the clerks of his impiety. Notwithstanding the proofs adduced against him, he got off with a slight imprisonment, and spent the remainder of his existence in distress, but without atoning for his vices. He was reduced to keep a coffee-house at Bassendorff near Halle, where he ended his days as miserably as he had lived.—The Illuminees have thought fit to abandon his memory to that contempt which his vicious life had entailed upon him; but though they affected to blush at his name, they nevertheless continued to prosecute his plans.

Its continuation and its successes.

Indeed, at the time of the discovery of this monstrous conspiracy, it had gained too much ground to be crushed by the fall of its first contriver; and Prussia, and all Germany, soon became infected with those literary societies which were nothing more than a modification of Weishaupt's *Minerval* schools. Nor was there in a short time a town or a large village more free from this species of literary societies that from the Illuminized Lodges; and they were all under the direction of the followers of the modern *Spartacus*.

Bahrdt's great object was, to place the associates and other readers under a sort of impossibility of procuring any other writings, or of applying to any other studies, than those of the Sect; and the precaution it had taken

to initiate so many bookſellers proved a powerful ſupport. The conſpiracy might have aſſumed a new form; but it ſtill continued active, and its effects became more perceptible after its diſcovery. It was then that the coalition appeared between the bookſellers and the journaliſts of the Sect to ſuppreſs all books that counteracted the progreſs of Sedition and Impiety. It was in vain for virtuous and pious men to attempt to open the eyes of the people; they could ſcarcely find a bookſeller or a printer who would ſell or print their works; or if any had conſented they would endeavor to diſguſt the author by delays, and a hundred other pretexts. Did the author undertake to print it at his own expenſe, the work was then thrown by in ſome obſcure corner of the ſhop and never expoſed to ſale, nor would any bookſeller attempt to ſell it; and the whole work would be ſent back to the author under pretence that nobody would buy it. The very exiſtence of ſuch works was not mentioned at the fairs held in Germany for the ſale of books. At other times the author was ſtrangely betrayed, the printer giving up his manuſcript to the writers of the Sect, and the refutation (if the moſt ſcurrilous abuſe can deſerve that name) was advertiſed on the back of the book as ſoon as the firſt edition made its appearance. Many authors might have brought actions againſt their printers of a ſimilar nature to that which Doctor Stark was obliged to bring, and demonſtrate a ſimilar connivance with the Sect and breach of truſt. "At leaſt it is an undeniable fact, that "many learned writers made fruitleſs applications to "different bookſellers for publications that had been "ſuppreſſed ſolely becauſe they gave umbrage to the "Illuminees. Their letters were never ſo much as an"ſwered; and the very bookſellers who refuſed to ſend "theſe books to thoſe who applied for them, affected to "defer the ſale till the next fairs, as no buyers were to be "found." Many others of theſe works had ſcarcely been delivered to the bookſellers when they were ſent back under the moſt opprobrious pretences; and what may ſurpriſe the reader is, that no perſons were ſo certain of receiving ſuch refuſals as thoſe who moſt openly defended their Princes. In the very ſtates of the King of Pruſſia it was found impoſſible to get this ſovereign's *Apology* and his *Edict for Religion* ſold in the common way.—Scarcely had the author ſent a few copies to the bookſellers when they were all returned to him. But did the

writers of the Sect wish to publish the most scandalous disputations and the most scurrilous abuse against sovereigns and religion, or against men in office or of high respectability, the booksellers were alert in selling them, the journalists extolled their excellence, and sought numerous readers for the author.*

On one hand, the great trade in these productions carried on by the Sect, with the certainty of selling them to the literary clubs; and on the other the great pecuniary contributions made by the rich brethren, formed large funds for the coalition. To these if we add the sums contributed by the brethren whom the Sect had stationed at different courts, in the church and the councils, either out of their own emoluments, or the revenues of the church and state, the reader will easily conceive how well these funds sufficed for indemnifying those booksellers who had suffered losses by restraining their commerce to works approved of by the Areopage. A particular fund was established for this purpose. At the appointed time the bookseller had but to produce the list of the works he had suppressed or refused to sell with the proper proofs, and he received a sum of money sufficient to indemnify him for such losses. The memorials which I have received from Germany, as well as several letters, inform me that this fund still exists in that country; and the French Revolution has only furnished it with many others means of enriching itself.

Among the great advantages reaped by the Sect from this plan which had been so well concerted, we may first observe the impossibility under which authors lay of warning the public against the artifices of Illuminism. In the next place it drew over to their interest that swarm of writers who, more hungry than honest, are regardless of truth or falsehood, provided they obtain a good price. In short, it emboldened that multitude of Sophisters, more numerous still in Germany than they were in France; Poets, Historians, and Dramatists, nearly all of whom courted the united brotherhood by assuming the tone of impiety and anarchy. The most dangerous device practised by the adepts against society was the great care with which

* See Nachrichten von einem grossen aber unsichtbaren Bunde, the Appendix, Nos. 8 and 13, and the Journal of Vienna, by Hoffman.

they initiated the different professors of the Protestant universities, the school-masters, and the tutors of princes.—It is a painful truth, but we must declare it, and on the authority of those who are best acquainted with the history and progress of Illuminism, that the greater part of the universities of the north of Germany were at that time, and still continue to be, the haunts of Illuminism, whence its baneful poisons are circulated throughout the neighboring states by the writings and lectures of such men as the Professors FREDERIC CRAMER, EHLERS, and KOPPE.*

Let not the reader think that the writers of the Catholic states were exempt from the infection. Vienna was overrun with zealots who sought to diffuse the principles of the Sect. The Chevalier DE BORN, who should have contented himself with the high rank which he held in chymistry, degraded himself in that town by becoming a leader of the adepts; and when the Sect was discovered in Bavaria he was so zealous in the cause, that he sent back his letters of Associate of the Academy of Munich, protesting that he would have no intercourse with men who had been so little able to judge of Weishaupt's merits.

Next on the Vienna list we find the Sieur SONNENFELD, one of those writers who in this age are called wits, though destitute of common sense. He also was one of the propagators of Illuminism under the mask of literary societies. I am informed by persons who attended his clubs, and whom he wished to initiate, that these meetings began and were held as common academies hold theirs: but at the time appointed the sittings broke up, when, only the adepts remaining behind, a secret council was held, in which every thing was concerted and planned according to the laws of the united brethren.

A man whose name would have given great weight to the united brethren, had he hearkened to the praises lavished on him by the Illuminees at that time,† is the

* See Hoffman's Admonition, Sect. XVI, XVII, and XVIII.

† It is really laughable to compare the contempt which the Illuminees affect for Mr. Hoffman at present, with the high encomiums which they pronounced on him before he undertook to lay open their imposture, or even with those letters (full of compliment on his wit, style, and talents) which they wrote to him so lately as the year 1790, in hopes of enticing him into their party.

Professor Hoffman, he who so nobly joined with Zimmerman to tear the mask from these impostors, and has ever since, with his worthy co-adjutor, been the object of their most virulent declamations. In the account given by Mr. Hoffman himself, we find that the Illuminizing recruiters followed him as far as Pest in Hungary. On the 26th of June, 1788, he received from the *twenty-two chiefs* an invitation to become a fellow of the literary society which they had already established in that town. "My answer (says he) was, that I hoped they would give "me some further information respecting these societies, "and then my duty and my prudence would dictate the "answer that I should make. . . . On divers occasions "afterward, they gave me distant hints as to the spirit of "their system. They also sent me several times a list of "the new members; and the signature of the twenty-two "authenticated these various documents; but it was this "very authentication which made me conceive the horrid "plot that was concealed under this association."

The reader will easily conceive, that for a man of his merit and probity, this was more than sufficient to make him reject the offers of such a brotherhood. They had already inscribed his name on their registers, and they were obliged to erase it. As a proof that he had judged rightly of them, he quotes the letter of a virtuous and clearsighted statesman, who, after having *officially* examined the whole plan of the German Union and its mysteries, pronounces them to be *abominations that would make one's hair stand on end!* Such are his expressions!

These abominations, however, were far from making a similar impression on the other apostles of the Germanic Union. Meanwhile Weishaupt, a tranquil spectator of the progress of his Illuminism, seemed to take no part in it. The most active adepts lived round about him at Gotha, at Weimar, at Jena, and at Berlin; but one might have thought him quite indifferent as to their success. If we except the visits he received from the brethren, a few journies that he took, and particularly those which he had made to see the founder of the Germanic Union, nothing could depose against him as the founder or chief who continued to direct the plots of the Sect. But let the reader never lose sight of his precepts on the art of appearing perfectly idle in the midst of the greatest activity; let him reflect on those menaces which he issued six months after

his flight from Munich: *Let our enemies rejoice. Their joy ſhall ſoon be changed into ſorrow. Don't think that even in my baniſhment I ſhall remain idle.** After this, it is eaſy to judge of his ſuppoſed nullity in the progreſs of his conſpiracy. However ſecret he may have been in the part he was acting, he could obſerve but too well the approaching accompliſhment of the prediction he had made ſo early as the ſecond year of his Illuminiſm, when he wrote to his firſt adepts, "The great obſtacles are over-come; you will now ſee us proceed with gigantic ſtrides." The Sect had not been in exiſtence twelve years when Germany was overrun with an immenſe number of adepts and demi-adepts. It was aſſuming a menacing aſpect in Holland, in Hungary, and in Italy. One of the adepts called ZIMMERMAN, who began by being the chief of a Lodge at Manheim, and who ſoon became as zealous for the propagation of the Sect, as the *Famous* ZIMMERMAN had been to counteract their dark deſigns, would often brag that he had founded more than a hundred of thoſe conſpiring clubs known under the name of literary ſocieties, or of Maſonic Lodges, during his career thro' Italy, Hungary, and Switzerland. To give the fatal impulſe to the world, it now only remained for the Sect to carry its myſteries into a nation powerful and active indeed, but unfortunately more ſuſceptible of that effervescence which bereaves man of the power of thinking, than of that judgment which foreſees diſaſters; to a nation which in its ardor and enthuſiaſm, too eaſily forgets that true greatneſs is not that courage which bids defiance to danger (for the vandals and barbarians can boaſt of ſuch heroes;) to a nation, in ſhort, that has ever been a prey to illuſions, and which, before it would hearken to the councils of wisdom, might in its firſt fury overturn the altar and ſhiver the ſcepter, returning to reaſon only in time to weep over the ruins, and lament the devaſtation of which it had been the cauſe.

This deſcription unfortunately was too applicable to France, which in many reſpects might claim the primacy among nations, but was too eaſily led away by illuſions. The ſcrutinizing Areopage had fixed its eyes on her, and now judged it a convenient time for ſending its emiſſaries to the banks of the Seine. This will be the proper

* Letter to Fiſher, 9th Auguſt, 1785.

commencement of the fourth Epoch of Illuminiſm.—Now let the reader prepare to contemplate ſtates convulſed, citizens butchered, in a word, to ponder over all the crimes and diſaſters inherent in the very nature of Revolutions.

CHAP. XI.

Fourth Epoch of Illuminiſm.

The Deputation from Weiſhaupt's Illuminees to the Free Maſons of Paris.—State of French Maſonry at that period.—Labors and Succeſſes of the Deputies.—Coalition of the Conſpiring Sophiſters, Maſons, and Illuminees, generating the Jacobins.

Projects on France.

AS early as the year 1782, *Philo* and *Spartacus* had formed the plan of converting the French nation to their Syſtem of Illuminiſm; but the vivacity and capricious temper of the people, ſo difficult to be reſtrained, made it ſeem prudent for the two Chiefs at that time not to extend their attempts beyond Straſbourg. The exploſion in France might be premature; its too volatile and impetuous people might be unwilling to wait till other nations were properly prepared for the grand object; and Weiſhaupt, in particular, was not a man to be ſatisfied with partial or local inſurrections, which might only ſerve to put other Sovereigns on their guard. The Reader has already ſeen him in ſecret, preparing his Adepts, and contriving the concatenation of his correſpondence, in ſuch a manner, that he had but to give the ſignal when the favorable moment ſhould come. On the fatal day of revolution, and at the appointed hour, legions of brethren were to ſpring forth on all ſides from their ſecret receſſes, whether Lodges, Academies, or under what other denomination ſoever, from the North to the South, and from the Eaſt to the Weſt. All Europe in ſhort was to be revolutionized at the ſame inſtant; all nations were to be hurried into a 14th of July; and all kings were, like Lewis the Sixteenth, to awake priſoners in the hands of their own ſubjects. Altars and thrones were ſimultaneouſly to vaniſh from the earth. According to this plan, as has juſt been obſerved, the French were to be the laſt people initiated in the myſteries, as the Chiefs took it for granted, that with their natural impatience they would never

be brought to wait till the explosion could be universally prepared.

hastened by Mirabeau.

Already, however, there existed some adepts in the very heart of the kingdom. Some few had been initiated by Knigge at the time of the meeting at Willemsbaden.—During that very year, we find on the list of brethren, DIETRICH, that Mayor of Strasbourg who has since in Alsace rivalled Robespierre by his cruelties.* Another adept of vast importance to the Sect was the Marquis DE MIRABEAU, who was afterwards to become so famous in the revolutionary annals of his country. What strange infatuation possessed the ministers of the most honest man that ever swayed a sceptre, to entrust this Marquis with the interests of their master at the court of Berlin, well knowing (as they did) the monstrous immorality of his private life, is more than I shall attempt to explain. One might be led to think that it was not deemed sufficient that Lewis XVI. had saved him from the scaffold, but his villany was to be recompensed by a secret mission which seemed to denote the utmost confidence of his sovereign. Mirabeau at Berlin conducted the King's affairs just as he had formerly done those of his father and mother, fully ready to sacrifice all parties and to sell himself to the highest bidder. With such a disposition, he could not long avoid the notice of the Prussian Illuminees; and Nicolai Biester, Gedike, and Leuchsenring soon became his constant companions. At Brunswick he met with MAUVILLON, the worthy disciple of Knigge, and at that time a Professor in the Caroline College. This was the man who initiated the profligate Marquis in the last mysteries of Illuminism.†

Long before his initiation Mirabeau had been acquainted with all the revolutionary powers of the Masonic Lodges; nor did he, when initiated, undervalue those which flowed or might flow from Weishaupt's inventive genius. On his return to France he began to introduce the new mysteries among some of his Masonic brethren.—His first associate was the Abbe TALLEYRAND DE PERIGORD, who had already begun to act the part of Judas

* Welt un menschen Kentnis, P. 130.

† See the Discourse of a Master of a Lodge on the ultimate fate of Masonry; Appendix to this Discourse—Important Admonition by Hoffman, Vol. II. Sect. VII. &c. &c.

in the first order of the church. But to have only introduced the mysteries was not sufficient for the Marquis; he would have teachers come from Germany, who were better versed than he was in the illuminizing arts. Well acquainted with the reasons that had induced the chiefs of the Order to defer the conversion of France, he found means to convince them, that the time was now come for the accomplishment of their views; that the whole nation only waited for their new revolutionary means, to burst into an open rebellion, for which they had been so long prepared by other conspirators; and that the Illuminees might most certainly turn the scales. A private correspondence then took place between him and Mauvillon;* but of this a sufficiency has not transpired to enable the historian to describe the intrigues that took place on the occasion; certain it is, however, that Mirabeau's plan was adopted by the Areopage; and by a plurality of votes it was decided, that France should be immediately illuminized. This was an undertaking of too great importance to be entrusted to a common adept.—The man who, since the retreat of *Spartacus*, had been looked upon as the Chief of the Order, offered himself; and *Amelius*-BODE, the worthy successor of both Knigge and Weishaupt, was deputed to the French Lodges, in which the illuminization was to commence. Bode received as an associate in this mission *Bayard* that other pupil of Knigge's whose real name was WILLIAM BARON DE BUSCHE, a Captain in the Dutch service, heir

Deputation of the Illuminees from Germany.

* It is to this same Mauvillon that the German writers attribute the greater part of those two works published by Mirabeau, under the titles of *The Prussian Monarchy*, and *An Essay on the Illuminees*. Hence the high encomiums passed on Weishaupt in the former, (Vol. V. Book VII.) and all the cunning artifice that is observable in the latter, which was written with no other view than to mislead the public, by professing to betray the secrets of the Sect, without, in truth, saying a single word that could expose its views; and by leading astray the reader's attention to far different objects. This device made the French believe that they were thoroughly acquainted with Illuminism, though they were so perfectly ignorant on the subject as to have confounded Weishaupt's Illuminees with the Swedenborgians. The artifice also served as a cloak under which Mirabeau introduced Illuminism into France, at the time when he pretended to write against it. The very appellation of *Philalete* which he gave to his adepts was a trick, as it denoted the Theosophical Illuminees, quite another species.

to a large fortune, a man of talents, and well verſed in all that artifice and low cunning which the Inſinuators were wont to ſtyle prudence and wiſdom. This Baron had been formerly employed to propagate the plots of the Sect in thoſe very provinces which had a right to expect from him even the ſacrifice of his life in defence of its laws.* The zeal with which he had fulfilled his firſt miſſion ſeemed to give him an indiſputable title to the honor of attending on the Chief of the Order in his journey to Paris.

State of Maſonry in France at that period.

Circumſtances could not have been more favorable than they were at that time for the deputies, nor more diſaſtrous for France. The Philoſophiſm of the age had operated on the Lodges as fully as could be expected, to prepare the reign of that Equality and Liberty taught by Voltaire and Roſſeau, and which only needed the laſt myſteries of Weiſhaupt to convert them into the moſt abominable impiety and moſt abſolute anarchy. A line had been drawn between the degrees of ancient and of modern Maſonry. The former with the puerile paſtimes, and obſcure ſymbols, were left to the commonalty of the Brethren. The latter, ſtyled *philoſophical*, comprehended thoſe which I have deſcribed under the titles of *Knights of the Sun*, the higher *Roſicrucians*, and the *Knights Kadoſch*. At the head of all theſe ſocieties (whether ancient or modern) were three Lodges at Paris, particularly remarkable for the authority which they exerciſed over the reſt of the Order, and for the influence that they poſſeſſed over the opinions of the Brethren.

The GRAND ORIENT of Paris.

The firſt of theſe, *The Grand Orient*, was rather *a re-union of all the regular Lodges of the kingdom (repreſented by their deputies)* than a Lodge. It might be called a ſort of Maſonic Parliament ſubdivided into four Committees, which, when united, formed the Grand Council or Lodge, where all the affairs of the Order *were definitively determined*. The Committees were ſub-divided into that *of Adminiſtration of Paris, of the Provinces, and of the Degrees*. Of all theſe, the latter was the mainſpring and the moſt impenetrable; for no viſitors were admitted to it, as they were to the three others, to the ordinary meetings of which all Maſters or *Venerables* of Lodges had free acceſs.

* Original Writings, and Philo's Berichte, 6.

Three great Officers of the order were attached to this Maſonic Parliament; to wit, *the Grand Maſter*, *the General Adminiſtrator*, and *the Great Conſervator*. His moſt Serene Highneſs *Brother-Philip* of Orleans, firſt Prince of the blood, was Grand Maſter at the time when the Illuminees arrived in Paris. The two other offices were filled by perſons of the firſt diſtinction; but their characters are ſuch, that they will ever ſtand inconteſtable proofs of what I have already aſſerted, that even in the very higheſt degrees of the Order, there were modified myſteries for thoſe who, by their rank, were to ſerve as a protection for its plots without even ſurmiſing their tendency.*

Such, however, was not the caſe with Philip of Orleans. His rank of Grand Maſter, his impiety, and inſatiable thirſt for vengeance, ſufficiently demonſtrated to the Illuminizing Miſſionaries how well he was qualified and how far prepared to ſecond their deſigns in the multitude of Lodges that recognized him as Grand Maſter. So early as the year 1787 we find that France contained (as may be ſeen in the ſtatement of its correſpondence), two hundred and eighty-two towns, in which were to be found regular Lodges under the direction of the Grand Maſter. In Paris alone there exiſted eighty-one; ſixteen at Lyons, ſeven at Bourdeaux, five at Nantes, ſix at Marſeilles, ten at Montpellier, ten at Toulouſe; in ſhort, in almoſt every town the Lodges were in pretty juſt ratio to the population. Indeed it would ſeem that even this vaſt empire over French Maſonry was not ſufficient for the Grand Orient, as by the ſame ſtatement we find the Grand Maſter iſſuing out his inſtructions to the Lodges of Chambery in Savoy, of Locle in Switzerland, of Bruxelles in Brabant, of Cologne, Liege and Spa in Weſtphalia, of Leopold and Warſaw in Poland, of Moſcow in Ruſſia, of Portſmouth in Virginia, of Fort Royal in Grenada, and in ſhort to Lodges in all the French Colonies. Thus did Philip of Orleans and his *Grand Orient* enſure to the Illuminees as powerful an alliance as that formerly made by Knigge with the German Lodges under the direction of Weiſhaupt.†

* See the Alphabetical Statement of the Correſpondence of the Lodges of the G. O. of France.

† Ibid. Art. Foreign States.

The Lodge of the Amis Reunis.

Subject to the Grand Orient we next find at Paris a Lodge called *Les Amis Réunis* (or United Friends), which was more particularly charged with all Foreign Correſpondence. The famous Revolutioniſt Savalette de Lange, was one of its leading members. This adept held under government the office of *Garde du Treſor Royal*; that is to ſay, he enjoyed that confidence to which none but the moſt faithful ſubject could be entitled; yet at that very time was he engaged in the various plots and myſteries of all the different Sects. In order to form an union of them all, he had introduced into his Lodge the different ſyſtems of the Sophiſters, of the Martiniſts and of the other Maſons; and, the more to impoſe on the Public, he alſo introduced all the luxuries and amuſements of the Great. Concerts and balls made Brethren of high rank flock to his Lodge, and they came with the moſt brilliant equipages. Soldiers ſtood ſentry in the avenues, that the multitude of carriages might not occaſion diſorder; indeed a ſtanger might have thought that it was under the auſpices of the King himſelf that theſe balls were given. The Lodge was reſplendent, as the more wealthy Maſons contributed to the expenſes of the Orcheſtra, lights, refreſhments, and, in ſhort, of all thoſe diverſions which appeared to be the ſole object of their union. But while the Brethren were dancing with their female adepts, or were chaunting in the common Lodge-room the ſweets of Equality and Liberty, they little ſuſpected that a *Secret Committee* held its ſittings over their heads, and were employed in preparing the means for diffuſing that Equality and Liberty over all ranks and conditions, from the palace to the cot.

It was actually over the common Lodge-room that the Committee held its ſittings under the title of *the Secret Committee of United Friends*, whoſe grand adepts were two men equally famous in the myſteries at Lyons and at Paris.—Theſe were Willermoz and Chappe de la Henriere. During the whole time of the feſtivity two tylers, with drawn ſwords, ſtood, one at the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, the other near the upper door, to defend the entrance of the new Sanctuary, where were kept the archives of the Secret Correſpondence. Even the man to whom all the packets from the Brethren of Germany or Italy were directed, was not permitted to paſs beyond the threſhold of the door. He was unacquainted with the cypher of the

Correſpondence; his duty was merely to carry the packets to the door of the Committee;* Savalette de Lange came to receive them, and the ſecret never tranſpired beyond the walls of the Committee. The Reader may eaſily conceive the nature of this Correſpondence, and of the Councils held in conſequence of it, when he is informed, that to gain admittance into this Secret Committee, it was not ſufficient to have been initiated in all the degrees of ancient Maſonry, but it was neceſſary to be *a Maſter of all the Philoſophical Degrees*; that is to ſay, to have ſworn *hatred to Chriſtianity* with the Knights of the Sun, and *hatred to every worſhip, and to all Kings* with the Knights Kadoſch.

The Lodge in the *Rue de la* SOURDIERE.

There exiſted other lurking haunts of rebellion, leſs known, but ſtill more formidable; ſuch as that in the *Rue de la Sourdiere*, where the Brethren of Avignon, pupils of Swedenborg and St. Martin, came to mingle their myſteries with thoſe of the Roſicrucians and other Maſons both ancient and ſophiſticated. In public, under the diſguiſe of quacks and viſionary ghoſt-raiſers, theſe new adepts ſpoke of nothing but their powers of evoking ſpirits, raiſing and interrogating the dead, and a hundred other phenomena of a ſimilar nature. But in the dark receſſes of their Lodges, theſe new law-givers were foſtering plots nearly of the ſame tendency as thoſe of Weiſhaupt, but more atrocious in their conſtruction. I have already expoſed their diſorganizing myſteries in treating of Swedenborg and St. Martin. I ſcarcely dared to credit the horrid trials and abominable oaths ſaid by ſeveral writers to be exacted from the adepts. I could wiſh to have ſpoken of them on the authority only of the adepts them-

* I was informed by one of the Brethren who for a long time was the carrier of theſe diſpatches, that, after ſome time, wiſhing to become a Member of the Committee, he was induced to get himſelf initiated in theſe degrees; but that he forbore doing it, becauſe *an engagement for life was required, and alſo an annual contribution of ſix hundred livres, (25l.)* He alſo informed me, that each Brother paid a ſimilar contribution, and that the whole management of theſe Funds was left to the Brother Savalette, who never gave in any accounts. This was a Fund to be added to the many means of corruption already in the poſſeſſion of the adepts of the Occult Lodges. Who can ſay how far theſe reſources were extended in the hands of a man who had the care of the *Treſor Royal?* The Conſpirators very well knew how to chuſe both their men and their places.

ſelves or of the Code; but thoſe with whom I have as yet been acquainted, had only been initiated in part of the myſteries; yet by what they had learned, it will not be difficult for the reader to form a judgment of the remainder.

It is an inconteſtible fact to begin with, that Swedenborg's Illuminees, ſtyled in France the Martiniſts, and alſo calling themſelves the *beneficent Knights*, had their travelling adepts after the manner of the Illuminees of Weiſhaupt. It is alſo certain that the pretended *Philaletes*, or lovers of truth, had formed a code of laws for themſelves, had organized ſocieties, and, like Weiſhaupt, had intruded them into the Maſonic Lodges, there to ſearch after men who might be diſpoſed to receive their myſteries, and adopt their new degrees. Among the latter was one called the *Knights of the Phœnix*. A Knight of this degree giving himſelf out for a Saxon, and a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, poſſeſſed of the moſt pompous certificates from ſeveral Princes of Germany, came to exerciſe his Apoſtleſhip in France a very few years before the late Revolution.* After having ſpent ſome time in a *central* town, viſited the Lodges, and obſerved the Brethren, he thought that he had diſcovered three worthy of being initiated in the higher ſciences.—The *Venerable* or Maſter of the Lodge, in whoſe words we ſhall relate the ſtory, was one of theſe worthies. "All "things agreed on, (ſaid the Venerable) we three waited "on our Illuminee, ardent to be initiated in the new mys-"ries which he had promiſed.

"As he could not ſubject us to the ordinary trials, he "diſpenſed with them as much as lay in his power. In "the middle of his apartment he had prepared a chaffing-"diſh and a braſier full of fire; on his table were various "ſymbols, and among others a Phœnix encompaſſed by a "Serpent with its tail in its mouth, forming a circle.—"The explanation of the myſteries began by that of the "braſier and other ſymbols. 'This braſier (ſaid he) is "here to teach you, that *fire is the principle of all things*; "that it is the great agent of nature, and imparts action

* I could have named this man, as he is mentioned in my manuſcript Memoirs as a *Philalete* Illuminee very famous in Pruſſia. But the perſon whom the reader will obſerve ſo indignant at theſe myſteries is at preſent in France; prudence, therefore, on his account, forbids me to mention names.

" to bodies. That man receives from that agent life, " with the power of thinking and of acting.' Such was " the tenor of his firſt leſſon. Our Illuminee then pro- " ceeded to explain the other ſymbols.—' This ſerpent " forming a circle (ſays he) is the emblem of *the Eterni- " ty of the World*, which, like this ſerpent, has neither " *beginning nor end.* The ſerpent, you may alſo know, " has the property of annually renovating its ſkin; this " will figure to you the revolutions of the univerſe, and " of nature, which appears to weaken and even to periſh " at certain epochs, but which, in the immenſity of ages, " only grows old to become young again, and to prepare " for new revolutions. This Phœnix is a ſtill more na- " tural expoſition and perpetuation of " theſe phenomena. Mythology has repreſented this bird " as re-vivifying from its own aſhes, only to ſhow how " the univerſe is reproduced, and will continue to be ſo, " from itſelf.'

" Thus far the Illuminizing Baron had taught us, un- " der the common promiſe of ſecrecy, when on a ſudden " he ſtopped and informed us, that he could not proceed " any farther without previouſly exacting an oath, the " formula of which he read to us to ſee whether we were " diſpoſed to take it. We all ſhuddered at hearing it.— " The exact words I do not pretend to ſtate; but it was " a promiſe, in the moſt execrable terms, to obey the " chiefs of his Illuminiſm. We endeavored to conceal our " indignation, that we might hear to what lengths he " would proceed; he then came to the promiſe of *renoun- " cing and abjuring the moſt ſacred ties, thoſe of citizen, " of ſubject, of one's family, of father, mother, friend, chil- " dren, huſband.* At theſe words one of the three, unable " to endure it any longer, ſallied forth from the room, re- " turned with a drawn ſword in his hand, and ran at " the Illuminizing Baron in a moſt violent rage. We " were happy enough to ſtop and hold him until he had " recovered his ſenſes a little. Then, however, our col- " league burſt into the moſt violent paſſion, abuſing the " Baron for a raſcal, and telling him, that if he were not " out of the town in twenty-four hours he would have " him taken up and hanged." The reader will readily ſuppoſe that the Baron made the beſt of his way out of the place.

Another affair that will throw ſome light on this mon-

ſtrous Sect took place at Vienna. A young man of high birth, and who has ſignalized himſelf by his bravery during this war, felt an impulſe, like many others of his age, to become a Free-maſon. His Lodge, though he knew it not, was one of thoſe under the direction of the ſame ſpecies of Illuminees. He had often been made the bearer of letters which he ſtrongly ſuſpected. At length he determined not to deliver them, under pretence that he had not found the perſons at home to whom they were directed, but in fact becauſe he did not wiſh to be made the inſtrument of treaſon. Curioſity, however, getting the better of him, he ſtill continued to ſolicit admiſſion to the higher degrees. At length his initiation was fixed for the next day, when he received a letter demanding an immediate interview, and written in the moſt preſſing ſtyle.—When he came to the place appointed he found an adept the former friend of his father. "I am now taking ſuch "a ſtep (ſaid he), that the leaſt indiſcretion on your part "will certainly coſt me my life; but I thought myſelf "bound to it in conſequence of the friendſhip which your "father always ſhewed me and the regard that I have per-"ſonally for yourſelf. I am a loſt man if you do not keep "my ſecret; but on the other hand, you are forever un-"done if you preſent yourſelf at the Lodge to receive the "degree for which you have been ſoliciting. I know you "too well to think that you would take the oath which "will be propoſed to you: You cannot diſſemble; and "ſtill leſs will you be able to think or act as they would "wiſh to make you. Horror will betray you, and then "all will be over with you. You are already on the BLACK "LIST *as ſuſpected*. Knowing you as I do, I can aſſure "you that you will ſoon be on the *Red*, or BLOOD LIST "*(blode liſt)*; and then never flatter yourſelf with a hope "to eſcape the poiſons or the aſſaſſins of the Sect." This youth's reſolution was not to be ſubdued by fear. Before he would acquieſce, he wiſhed at leaſt to be made acquainted with ſome of thoſe terrible engagements in which he was to bind himſelf, and which he would not be able to keep. His friend then explained the oath that would be required, and he found it to be no other than the utter renunciation of all the moſt ſacred ties of Religion, of ſociety, and of nature; and a vow to recognize no other law than the commands of his Illuminizing Superiors. He ſhuddered at hearing of ſuch bonds; he found means of

deferring his initiation, and abandoned the Lodges entirely before it was too late. Since the Revolution, circumſtances have induced this Gentleman to leave the Auſtrian ſervice and engage in the Engliſh; but it was from his own mouth that I learned how much he feared that his friend had been put on the *Red Liſt* for the friendly ſervice he had rendered him. Certain it is, that he heard of his death a ſhort time after this interview had taken place.

The reader will naturally wiſh to return to our Bavarian Illuminees; but that he may better underſtand what was and what ought to be the effect of their miſſion, I muſt firſt deſcribe the compoſition of the Lodge in which they were to be received; and for that purpoſe, I muſt again inſiſt on thoſe Illuminees ſo well known in France under the name of *Theoſophes*. Let us compare the above-mentioned *black liſt* and BLOOD LIST with an anecdote that indeed I could never credit until I was at length informed of the circumſtances by men who were perfectly well acquainted with them. Every body knew that the large manſion of Ermenonville, belonging to Mr. Gerardin, and ſituated about thirty miles from Paris, was a principal haunt of Illuminiſm. It is alſo well known, that there, at the tomb of Jean Jaques Rouſſeau, under pretence of regenerating man and reſtoring him to the age of nature, the moſt horrible diſſoluteneſs of morals was practiſed. The famous impoſtor *Saint Germain* preſided over theſe myſteries; he was the God of them, and he alſo had his *blood liſt*. The Chevalier de LESCURE fell a fatal victim to it. He wiſhed to withdraw from this horrid ſociety; perhaps even to diſcover its abominations. Poiſon was mingled with his drink, and he was not a ſtranger to the cauſe of his death. Before he expired he poſitively declared to the MARQUIS DE MONTROI, a general officer, that he fell a victim to this infamous crew of Illuminees.*

The Lodge at Ermenonville.

* Nothing can equal the profligacy of morals that raged among theſe inhabitants of Ermenonville. Every woman admitted to the myſteries became common to the Brotherhood.—That which *St. Germain* had choſen for himſelf was called the Virgin; ſhe alone had the privilege of not being delivered over to chance, or to the commands of theſe true Adamites, unleſs St. Germain thought proper to confer the title of Virgin on ſome other woman. This vile impoſtor, more adroit than Cag-

Having ascertained these facts, I shall no longer hesitate to consider as so many historical truths, first, all the oaths and wishes for the destruction of the Altar and the Throne; secondly, all those doctrines so exactly coinciding with what has been already extracted from the works of the Sect; and, lastly, all those abominable oaths and horrid trials described by a multitude of authors. Nor shall I be guilty of any calumny when I declare, that the sole difference between this Sect and Weishaupt's lies in the ceremonial. Atheism is as precisely the ultimate object of their theosophy, as it is of Weishaupt's mysteries. Neither will allow, that a man of nature can be bound by the laws of society; both declare that sovereigns are nothing more than tyrants; and both agree, that all means of annihilating Priests, Kings, Altars, and Laws, (however atrocious they may be in themselves) become meritorious and noble when directed to that end. But they excel even the modern *Spartacus* in their arts for kindling and inflaming the zeal of their assassins and parricides. That the means of the former are not to be compared with those of the latter, let the reader decide on the following statement.

When one of those unfortunate men who have been led away by the Sect into all the illusions of their visions, wishes to be initiated into the art of prodigies, the science of sciences, in short into the last secrets of the adepts, the proposition is made to him to consummate his devotion to the superiors who are entrusted with these sciences. This will be a new contract, and will make him

liostro, had actually persuaded his adepts that he was in possession of an *Elixir of Immortality;* that he had gone through several changes by means of the metempsychosis; that he had already died three times, but that he would die no more; that since his last change he had lived fifteen hundred years:—And there were dupes who, too wise to credit the eternal truths taught by a God-made-man, firmly believed in this metempsychosis and in the fifteen hundred years of their God St. Germain!!—Neither did they know that that period of time was no more than an allusion to the Masonic degrees. According to the Masonic fiction, an Apprentice is three years old, a Fellow-Craft five, and a Master seven. This age goes on in such an increasing ratio in certain degrees, that a Scotch Knight is said to be *five hundred years old.* When a Mason therefore comes and says, I am so many years old, it is no more than saying I am of such a degree. *(See Geschickte der unbekanten on the Scotch Degrees.)*

the blind inſtrument of all the plots into which he will ſoon be plunged. On the day appointed for his initiation he is led through dark windings to the den of trials. In this cavern the image of death, the mechaniſm of ſpectres, potions of blood, ſepulchral lamps, ſubterraneous voices, every thing, in ſhort, that can affright the imagination, and ſucceſſively hurry him from terror to enthuſiaſm, is put in action, until at length, worn out by fright, fatigue, hope, or enthuſiaſm, the candidate is ſo perfectly deprived of his reaſon, that he cannot help following any impulſe that he may receive. Then it is that the voice of the inviſible Hierophant burſts forth from this abyſs, makes the vaults reſound with its menaces, and preſcribes the following execrable oath, which the Candidate repeats after him:

"I here break all the ties of the fleſh that bind me to "father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, wife, relations, friends, "*miſtreſſes*, kings, chiefs, benefactors; in ſhort, to every "perſon to whom I have promiſed faith, obedience, gra- "tude, or ſervice."

"I ſwear to reveal to the new chief whom I acknow- "ledge every thing that I ſhall have ſeen, done, read, heard, "learned, or diſcovered; and even to ſeek after and ſpy "into things that might otherwiſe eſcape my notice. I "ſwear to revere the *Aqua Tophana*, as a certain, prompt, "and neceſſary means of ridding the earth by the death or "ſtupefaction of thoſe who revile the truth, or ſeek to "wreſt it from my hands."*

Scarcely has the candidate pronounced this oath when the ſame voice informs him, that from that inſtant he is releaſed *from all other oaths that he had taken either to his country or to the laws.* "Fly (it ſays) the temptation of "ever revealing what you have juſt heard; for light- "ning is not more inſtantaneous than the dagger that "ſhall reach you in whatever part of the world you may "be."

Thus did this atrocious Sect form its adepts. Springing from the delirious reveries of a Swedenborg, it travels from England to Avignon, Lyons, and Paris. In this latter town, and as early as the year 1781, a club of this ſpecies of Illuminees (to the number of 125 or 130)

* See the Red Lodge unveiled, Page 11, and the Hiſtory of the Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III. King of Sweden, Sect. 4.

had formed itſelf, holding its ſittings in the above mentioned Rue de la Sourdiere. Savalette de Lange, the ſame man whom we have ſeen ſo immerſed in the correſpondence of the Committee of the *Amis Reunis*, preſided over this club. The famous Count St. Germain often held meetings at this ſame Lodge. CAGLIOSTRO was invited to it by a ſpecial deputation for the purpoſe. Hitherto this man's myſteries had only been thoſe of an impoſtor; but here he ſoon learned to be a conſpirator. It was from this Lodge that he derived that knowledge of the revolution which he pretended to foretel in a ſort of prophetic cant when he made his appearance in London after he had been liberated from the Baſtille. It was thence that he received his miſſions for Rome, where he was to ſow the ſeeds of Revolution. One of the Adepts that had been deputed to him was a Mr. RAYMOND, who had been the maſter of the Poſt-office at Beſancon. He was an enthuſiaſt, and his imagination was bewildered with Swedenborg's viſions. From him the knowledge was derived of this Lodge having had a hundred and thirty reſident members at Paris, and more than a *hundred and fifty* travelling members or correſpondents in different parts of the Globe; that, after the example of Holbach's club, they had their compilers and printers who were circulating their revolutionary poiſons among all claſſes of the people.* In the perſon of DIETRICH, Secretary to the Lodge, we find every ſpecies of Illuminiſm. CONDORCET alſo was a member; he who needed only to be made acquainted with Weiſhaupt's plots to belong to every conſpiring Sect; though it is not certain, that Dietrich had not already put him in direct correſpondence with the modern *Spartacus*.—Let the reader mark well of what perſons this Lodge was compoſed. We ſhall have occaſion to advert to it again for the illuſtration of many a ſanguinary ſcene. In the mean time let us take a view of other maſonic haunts, that we may diſcover all

* I have been informed of all theſe circumſtances by a man who was for a long time connected with the Poſtmaſter Raymond, but who reſiſted all his arts of ſeduction. This ſame perſons, on whom I can perfectly rely, alſo informed me, that he had ſeen the minutes of the Lodge, which were regularly printed by *Clouzier* in the *Rue de Sorbonne;* but that they were ſo overloaded with *ſigns* and *hieroglyphics*, that it was impoſſible for any but the adepts to read them.

these different Sects, the harbingers of such horrors, uniting and combining into one hideous mass of conspirators under the disastrous name of Jacobins.

Beside the lodges that I have already named, there existed two others in Paris, the more remarkable as they shew how the conspirators would as it were class themselves according to the degree of error they had adopted, or the views that had prompted them to engage in the general conspiracy. One of these Lodges was called *the Nine Sisters*. This was the re-union of the Masonic brethren who styled themselves Philosophers. The other was named the *Lodge of Candor*, and was chiefly composed of those Masons who in the world held a high rank and bore titles of nobility, while in the Lodges they traiterously conspired against Nobility, and more particularly against the monarchy and against religion.

The unfortunate *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, at once the dupe and protector of the Sophisters, belonged to the Lodge of the *Nine Sisters*. *Pastoret* was the Master of it, he who in public appeared to sacrifice to rank and riches, and even to court religion; but whose revolutionary career would have caused less surprize had the active part he had taken in the dark recesses of this Lodge been more generally known. The name of *Condorcet* also appears here, as it does in every haunt of rebellion.—Together with him we find a long list of all the Sophisters of the day, such as *Brissot*, *Garat*, the commander *Dolomieu*, *Lacepede*, *Bailly*, *Camille Desmoulins*, *Cerutti*, *Fourcroi*, *Danton*, *Millin*, *Lalande*, *Bonne*, *Chateau*, *Randon*, *Chenier*, *Mercier*, *Gudin*, *La Metherie*, and the *Marquis de la Salle*, who not finding the Lodge of the Social Contract sufficiently philosophized, had come over to Condorcet. There was also *Champfort*, who never could think that the revolution of Equality and Liberty advanced with sufficient rapidity, till at length fettered in its chains, he could find no other resource in his Philosophism than suicide. Among the apostate clergy that had flocked thither, we find *Noel*, *Pingré*, and *Mulot*. The two latter, together with *Lalande*, were also members of the Secret Committee of the *Grand Orient*. *Dom Gerles*, in company with *Rabaud de St. Etienne* and *Petion*, came and joined the Lodge of the Nine Sisters in the early time of the Revolution. *Fauchet* took his station at the *Bouche de Fer*, with *Goupil de Prefeln* and *Bonneville*.

The Lodge of the Nine Sisters.

As to *Syeyes*, the moſt zealous of this brotherhood and of the whole revolutionary crew, he had formed a new Lodge at the *Palais Royal*, called the *Club of the Twenty-two*, and compoſed of the choſen of the Elect.

Such perſons as wiſh to form a more preciſe idea of the revolutionary ſpirit that predominated in this Lodge, need only to conſult thoſe works publiſhed by its members, when the court, at the inſtigation of Necker, imprudently invited all the Sophiſters to lay before the public their views on the compoſition of the States General. A work of this nature, written by La Metherie, being read at the hotel, and in preſence of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, a French nobleman, who has ſince mentioned it to me, ventured to ſay, that the poſitions laid down in that work were derogatory to the rights of the ſovereign and to religion. '*Well*, (ſaid the duke, a mere dupe of his Sophiſters), *either the court will admit of theſe plans, and then we ſhall be able to arrange matters as we pleaſe; or elſe, the court will reject them, and in that caſe we muſt do without a king.*' Such, indeed, was the opinion generally entertained and declared by the ſophiſticated Maſons, ſuch as Bailly, Gudin, La Metherie, Dupont, &c.* They wiſhed to eſtabliſh a king ſubjected to all their theory of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the people; but it was only through them that the people were to dictate the laws; and ſome of theſe *ſoi-diſant* ſages wiſhed to annihilate royalty entirely. Several of them, ſuch as Briſſot and his faction, already ſhewed diſpoſitions to reject all terms with the throne; and reviling it was only the prelude to its utter ſubverſion.

The Lodge *de la Candeur.*

There was another ſet of brethren, who frequented the *Loge de la Candeur*; but, following other plans, they ſought to combine their ambition with the Maſonic Equality and Liberty. There did *La Fayette*, the diſciple of Syeyes, liſping the *Rights of Man*, and already aſſerting that *inſurrection was a moſt ſacred duty*, dream that he was the rival of the immortal Waſhington. The Brothers *Lameth*, ſurnamed the *ungrateful*, flocked thither to puniſh the court for the favors conferred on them; ſo did the *Marquis de Monteſquiou*, *Moreton de Chabrillant*, and *Cuſtines*, in hopes of revenge for having been ſlight-

* See the account given of their works in Vol. II. of theſe Memoirs.

ed by that ſame court. Here alſo were ſeated many agents of Philip D'Orleans, ſuch as his counſellor *La Clos*, his chancellor *La Touche*, *Sillery* the vileſt of ſlaves, and *D'Aiguillon* the moſt hideous of mummers.* Thither alſo had reſorted the Marquis de *Luſignan* and the Prince of *Broglio*, whoſe youth was about to tarniſh the glory of a name that deſerved a better fate. The Phyſician *Guillotin* is the only brother that I can find in this Lodge who did not bear a title. He ſoon felt the effects of its power, when cited before the Parliament to anſwer for a ſeditious publication; he beheld thouſands of adepts flocking in on all ſides and threatening the magiſtrates, who might now plainly perceive that it was too late to contend againſt the federated bands of Maſonry.

Such was the ſtate of the Lodges, and of the moſt remarkable Brethren at Paris, when the Deputies of Illuminiſm arrived from Germany. Moſt authors make them alight at the Lodge of the *Contrat Social*, *Rue Coq-heron*. I fear that I have myſelf prepared my readers for a ſimilar error, when ſpeaking (in Vol. II. Chap. XIII. of theſe Memoirs) of a Lodge eſtabliſhed in that ſame ſtreet. I recollect, however, that I particularly mentioned them to be the Sophiſters adherent to the Duke de la Rochefoucault; and none of thoſe belonged to the *Contrat Social*. Though I may have miſtaken the ſtreet in which they aſſembled, I was not in any error with reſpect to the perſons of the Conſpirators. The better to diſtinguiſh them, and that I might not confound them with another ſpecies of Maſons, I made the ſtricteſt inquiries. Among other documents, I procured a very numerous liſt of the Brethren of the *Social Contract*.† I therein found men who are well known for their attachment to royalty, and not a ſingle one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for

Lodge of the *Contrat Social*.

* All Paris was acquainted with his accoutrements and remembers the hideous figure that he cut on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, in the midſt of the Poiſſards at Verſailles.

† I ſhould have given this liſt, but that I could not ſuppoſe that ſo many Dukes, Marquiſſes, and Barons, would like to ſee their names made public. Beſides, I am not writing the hiſtory of the dupes, but of the conſpiring Brethren.—I think it, however, proper to obſerve, that when the fœderation, of which I am about to ſpeak, was undertaken, they, (by the advice of the queen) admitted ſeveral members of a leſs ariſtocratic turn, leſt their Lodge ſhould be ſuſpected of ariſtocracy.

the revolution. I alſo found that this error (ſo ſcandalizing to the *Social Contract*) originated in a work called *Les Moſques Arrachés* publiſhed under the feigned name of *Jaques Le Sueur*, which is nothing but a ſcurrilous libel on perſons of the higheſt reſpectability. This author transforms men whom I have known to be the moſt violent enemies to the revolution into the moſt zealous abettors of it. He alſo makes the Duke de la Rochefoucault, the Abbé Fauchet, Bailly, and La Fayette, members of the *Social Contract*, though they never belonged to it. He places it under the direction of the Grand Master Philip of Orleans, whereas it never filiated from any Lodge but that of Edinburgh. He paints the venerable Cardinal of Malines in the falſeſt colors, as will evidently appear to every perſon who is acquainted with his high reputation for virtue and wiſdom. On the whole I do not think that this ſuppoſed *Le Sueur* can be quoted as an authority in any thing, except in what he ſays on the reception of the *Philalete Illuminees*; and even there he is moſt abominable in his perſonalities, and pretends to have been an actor in the ſcene when he is but the plagiary copyiſt of Mirabeau.

I have beſides acquired a certainty that Weiſhaupt's emiſſaries could not have applied to men more inimical to his ſyſtems, whether Maſonic or Anarchical, than the members of the *Social Contract*, as by their orders the famous work written by Bonneville, Bode's great friend, was burnt in open Lodge. In ſhort, I have in my poſſeſſion the *original letter* (or, in Maſonic language, the *planche tracée*) written by a man with whom I was acquainted, and on the formal deliberation of the *Social Contract* tranſmitted to ſeveral other lodges, to engage them to join in a federation for the ſupport of Louis XVI. againſt the Jacobins. It is true, that the royaliſt brethren of this Lodge were the complete dupes of this projected federation, for they invited the Lodges to form an union for the maintaining of the King according to the conſtitution of 1789. Louis XVI. who really wiſhed to keep the oath that had been forced from him to be true to the conſtitution, was very well pleaſed with the liſt of the federated Maſons; but Mr. de La Porte, then miniſter, was of a different opinion. When he ſaw the *circular letter*, and the number of perſons who had ſubſcribed it, he ſaid, "It is impoſſible that theſe perſons can be other

"than conſtitutionaliſts, or that they can ever become "ſtaunch royaliſts."—"Let us begin (rejoined the agents "of the Social Contract) by maintaing the king in his "preſent ſtate, and we will afterwards find means of re-"eſtabliſhing the true Monarchy." This anſwer may ſerve as a vindication for the members of the *Social Contract*; but their good intentions did not make their deluſion the leſs complete. In the firſt place, they *might* have ſeen, but they *did not* ſee, that the greater number of thoſe who had ſigned the letter were men who wiſhed to continue to enjoy their Equality and Liberty under a King reduced to the condition of a mere Doge to the ſovereign and legiſlative people; and that La Fayette, Bailly, and many other revolutioniſts, would have ſigned this letter, without ceaſing on that account to be jacobins and rebels. Neither did they reflect, that many of thoſe conſtitutional brethren would have turned againſt the *Social Contract*, as ſoon as they perceived the plan for reinſtating the Monarch in his ancient rights; nor that it was far more eaſy to entice theſe conſtitutionaliſts into the moſt outrageous democracy of the great club, than to bring them back to the principles of real monarchy. In ſhort they had overlooked the vaſt number of adepts of democracy who would infallibly denounce them as traitors to Equality and Liberty, which afterwards proved to be the caſe. It was to very little purpoſe that the abettors of this federation terminated their letter with the following words:—"This *table* is only for your chapter. "Make diſcreet uſe of it. We have *two ſacred intereſts* "to manage, that of the French Monarchy and its King, "and that of Maſonry and its Members." The intereſts of Maſonry carried the day; for, at the very time that the demi-adepts were ſubſcribing the letter, the more profound adepts were from every quarter denouncing the federation to the great club, and the *Social Contract* was itſelf proſcribed.

Certain of this fact, and obſerving that the brethren of the *Social Contract* poſitively declare, in the *table tracée* (which I have before me) *that all political and deliberating clubs ſhould be ſuppreſſed*; being alſo aſſured, by ſeveral Maſons, that it was from the Committee of the *Amis Réunis* that the invitations were ſent to go and deliberate with the German deputies, I find myſelf obliged to differ with thoſe writers who declare the Emiſſaries of Illuminiſm to have alighted at the Social Contract, and

who attribute to that Lodge the political committees eſtabliſhed on their arrival. It may very poſſibly have happened, that ſome one of theſe committees may have taken its ſtation in the ſame ſtreet; but certain it is, that ſuch committee was not compoſed of members from the *Social Contract*. So likewiſe is it a mere fable that has been ſpread, with regard to the inſcription ſuppoſed to have been written by Philip of Orleans on the door of this Lodge, *Hither each brings his ray of light*. Let it then be remembered, that it was to the Committee of the *Amis réunis* that Mirabeau had directed the illuminizing brethren from Germany.—Savalette and Bonneville had made this committee the central point of revolution and of the myſteries. There met in council, on the days appointed, not only the Pariſian adepts, but thoſe of all the provinces who were judged worthy of being admitted to the profound myſteries of the Sect. There were to be ſeen the Elect of the Philaletes, the profound Roſicrucians and Knights Kadoſch, the Elect of the *Rue Sourdière*, of the *Nine Siſters*, of the *Lodge of Candour*, and of the moſt ſecret committees of the *Grand Orient*. This was the landing place of the travelling brethren from Lyons, Avignon and Bourdeaux. The emiſſaries from Germany could not find a central point better adapted to their new myſteries than this committee; and there it was that they unfolded all the importance of their miſſion. Weiſhaupt's code was ordered to lie on the table, and commiſſioners were named to examine it and make their report.

But here the gates of this ſecret ſenate are ſhut againſt us. I do not pretend to penetrate the dark receſs, and deſcribe the deliberations that took place on this occaſion. Many brethren have informed me, that they remember the deputation, but they ſcarcely recollect *Amelius*-Bode and *Bayard*-Buſche under any other denomination than that of the *German brethren*. They have ſeen theſe deputies received in different Lodges with all the etiquette due to viſitors of high importance; but it was not on ſuch occaſions that a coalition was debated on, between the ancient myſteries of Maſonry and thoſe of the modern *Spartacus*. All that my memorials ſay on the ſubject is, that negociations took place; that the deputies reported to their Areopage; that the negociations laſted longer than was expected; and that it was at length decided, that the new myſteries ſhould be introduced into the French Lodges, but under a Maſonic form; and that they ſhould all be

illuminized without even knowing the name of the Sect whose mysteries they were adopting. Only such parts of Weishaupt's code were to be selected as the circumstances would require to hasten the revolution. Had not the facts that immediately followed this negociation transpired to point out its effects, we should still have been in the dark as to its great success; the news of which *Amelius* and *Bayard* carried back to their illuminized brethren in Germany. But, happily for history, facts have spoken; and it will be easy to see how far this famous embassy influenced the French Revolution.

At the time of their arrival, Paris swarmed with impostors, all raising spirits or conjuring up the dead, in order to pick the pockets of the living; or magnetizing and throwing *into a crisis* certain *knowing dupes*, or knaves, who well knew the parts they had to act. Others again would work cures on *healthy dupes*, to swindle away the money of those who were really ill. In a word, *Mesmer* presided there in all his glory. I make this observation, because the illuminizing deputies pretended that they had been attracted from Germany by the fame of *Mesmer's* science, which had spread throughout their country; it also serves to shew, that their arrival could not have been later than the year 1787, as in the very next year *Mesmerism* and its *tubs* were entirely abandoned, or confined to a few adepts, the object of public ridicule, who resorted to the hotel of the Dutchess of Bourbon. Such a pretext, therefore at that period would have been as much ridiculed as were *Mesmer's* dupes. The *Notables*, the Parliament, Brienne, and Necker, at that time furnished the Parisians with more important matter for consideration. Beside, my instructions, as well as many persons the best informed on the subject, even Masons at whose Lodges these German brethren attended as visitors, state their arrival to have taken place about the time of the convocation of the first assembly of the *Notables*, which opened on the 22d February 1787. And, in fact, it is from that very year that we may observe the code of Weishaupt influencing French Masonry.

The illuminization of France demonstrated by facts.

In that year we see all the mysteries of the *Amis réunis*, and of the other Lodges that had adopted the pretended mysticity of the Martinists, disappear. The very name of *Philalete* seemed to have been forgotten. New explanations are given to the Masonic secrets; a new de-

gree is introduced into the Lodges; and the brethren of Paris haſten to tranſmit it to thoſe in the provinces. The adepts flock to the new myſteries. I have now before me a memorial written by an adept, who about the end of the year 1787 received the code at his Lodge, though he lived at eighty leagues diſtance from Paris. According to the agreement made with the Deputies, all the forms of Maſonry were preſerved in this new degree; *the ribbon was yellow, the badge was a ſtar, and its feſtivals were kept at the Equinox*; but the ground-work of its myſteries was a diſcourſe entirely copied from that pronounced by the illuminizing Hierophant in the degree of Epopt. *The dawn of a great day begins to break upon us, when the ſecrets of Maſonry hitherto unknown, ſhall become the property of all free men.* In ſhort, it contained all the *principles of Equality and Liberty, and of natural religion*, detailed in the degree of Epopt; and even the enthuſiaſm of ſtyle was preſerved. The diſcourſes pronounced by the *Knights of the Sun*, or Knights *Kadoſch*, on ſimilar occaſions were not to be compared to this.—The very Maſon who has given me this information, though he had been admitted to all the other degrees, was ſo diſguſted with this, that he refuſed it; but the greater part of the brethren of his Lodge were ſo much electrified by it, that *they became the moſt zealous ſticklers for the revolution.* Some have even held conſpicuous places in it, *and one actually became miniſter.* In this new degree, the reader muſt remark the very name of Illuminee was not mentioned; it was merely a farther explanation of the origin and ſecrets of Maſonry. The French Maſons were now ripe for ſuch an explanation; they were in a ſtate ſimilar to that deſcribed by Knigge when ſpeaking of the Brethren who inhabited the proteſtant parts of Germany; they needed no long trials; they were illuminized with the ſame facility; the name ſignified little; they received the degree, and ran wild with the ſame enthuſiaſm.

It was difficult, however, as yet, to judge by the diſpoſitions of the different Lodges what turn the revolution would take. The Maſons in general wiſhed for a change in the conſtitution; but the cheſen of the Elect alone were initiated in all the diſorganizing plans of their Equality and Liberty. Their myſteries, it is true, were unfolded in the higher degrees; but it muſt be alſo re-

membered, that terror had there much more influence than conviction. I was acquainted with Maſons who had ſworn *hatred to kings* on their reception to the degree of *Kadoſch*;—nevertheleſs I have ſeen them regardleſs of that oath become the ſtaunch friends of Monarchy. That ſpirit, inherent to the French nation, got the better of the Maſonic views; that was the ſpirit which was to be eradicated from the minds of the brethren; and all the ſophiſtry and deluſions of the illuminizing Hierophants were to be practiſed for that purpoſe. It was in his degree of *Epopt* that the modern *Spartacus* had condenſed all his poiſons by which he was to infuſe into his adepts that frantic rage againſt kings, which he had himſelf imbibed. Such alſo was the intention and effect of the degree of the *Maſonic Epopt*.

But Illuminiſm was not to be appeaſed by ſeeing the adepts of the ancient Lodges ſacrificing at its ſhrine.—The Hierophant tells his diſciples, that *they are to acquire ſtrength by gaining over the multitude*. II. This is alſo the period (at the introduction of the new degree, and the return of the deputies to Germany) when the Lodges are multiplied beyond any former precedent, both in Paris and the provinces, and when the ſyſtem for the reception of Maſons is changed. However low Maſonry may have ſtooped in queſt of candidates, it had not as yet been ſeen recruiting in the ſuburbs among the loweſt rabble; all at once we ſee the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau filled with Lodges compoſed of porters and laborers, now decorated with the levelling badges of Maſonry. In the country towns and villages, Lodges are opened for aſſembling the workmen and peaſantry, in hopes of heating their imaginations with the ſophiſticated ideas of Equality and Liberty and the Rights of Man.—At that ſame period does Philip of Orleans introduce to the Maſonic myſteries thoſe French Guards, whom he deſtined to the ſubſequent attack of the Baſtille and the ſtorming of the palace of his royal maſter and kinſman. Let the officers of thoſe legions be queſtioned why they abandoned the Lodges; and they will tell you, it was becauſe they did not chooſe to be confounded with their common ſoldiers in this Maſonic Equality.

At that ſame period is Paris over-run with an immenſe III. number of clubs and literary ſocieties, on the plan of the Germanic union, and ſuch as it had already eſtabliſhed on

the banks of the Rhine. They are no longer Lodges, but Clubs, *regulating committees*, and *political committees*. All these clubs deliberate. Their resolutions, as well as those of the committee of the *Amis des Noirs*, are all transmitted to the committee of correspondence of the *Grand Orient*, and thence are forwarded to the Venerables in the provinces. This is no more than that concatenation of revolt, invented by Weishaupt to revolutionize nations from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, at one and the same hour. The chief committee of these *regulating committees* is no other than the French *Areopage*. In place of *Spartacus*-Weishaupt, *Philo*-Knigge, *Marius*-Hertel, &c. we find, wielding the firebrands of revolution in the capital of France, a *Philip of Orleans*, a *Mirabeau*, a *Syeyes*, a *Savalette de Lange*, a *Condorcet*, &c.

IV. Scarcely is the construction of this chain of rebellion made known to them, before they set about forming it throughout the state. Instructions are sent to the very extremities of the kingdom; all the Venerables are ordered *to acknowledge the reception of them, and to subjoin to their answer the oath of faithfully and punctually executing all commands they may receive through the same channel.* Those who might hesitate at such an oath are menaced with all the *poignards* and *aqua tophana* that await traitors to the Sect.*

V. Those Masters of Lodges who through fear or disgust were unwilling to engage in so awful an undertaking, had no other resource left but to abandon the Lodge and the mallet, under whatever pretence their fears could suggest. They were replaced by more zealous brethren,† and the orders continued to be transmitted until the meeting of the States-General. The day of general insurrection is fixed for the 14th of July 1789. At the same hour, and in all parts of France, the cries of Equality and Liberty resound from the Lodges. Paris bristles up in a phalanx of pikes, hatchets, and bayonets; couriers are sent into the provinces, and they return with the news of a similar

* See Vol. II. of these Memoirs, Chap. XIII.

* These letters and menaces were transmitted during the sitting of the States of Brittany, that is to say, about June or July, 1788; at least it was at that time that a member of those States, a Mason and a Knight Kadosch, received his.—The new degree had been received at his Lodge about six months before.

insurrection; towns, villages, nay, the very fields and cots, resound with the cries of Equality and Liberty, and are thus in unison with the brethren of the capital. On this fatal day *the Lodges are dissolved.* The grand adepts are now seated in the town-houses in revolutionary committees. As they predominated in the Electoral Assemblies, so are they now predominant in the assembly styling itself National. Their cut-throat bands have been trying their strength, and the barriers of Paris are beaten to the ground; the country-houses of the nobility are in flames; the lantern posts are put in requisition; and heads are carried in savage triumph through the streets of Paris. The Monarch is attacked in his palace, and his faithful guards butchered; prodigies of valor alone could save the life of his royal consort; and the King himself is dragged a prisoner to his capital. Good God! whither am I proceeding?—all Europe is acquainted with the dreadful tale.—Let us return then to the hand that organizes this horrid concatenation of villany.

The Lodges had thus been transformed into a vast correspondence society; and, through the means of that correspondence, France had in a single day been overwhelmed by a million of demoniacs, who with horrid yell proclaimed their Equality and Liberty, while they were committing the most abominable outrages. And who were the men that presided over these primitive disasters?—History immediately points to a new den of conspirators, holding their meetings at Versailles, under the title of the *Breton Club.* And who are the members of it? Mirabeau, Syeyes, Barnave, Chapellier, the Marquis de la Coste, Glezen, Bouche, Petion; in short, an aggregate of the most profound adepts, both of the capital and of the provinces, who supply the place of the central committee, and by means of the established correspondence fix the time and manner of the insurrection. They are, however, but at the commencement of that long career of crime and iniquity which they are to run; they must concert new means, and gain over hands and numbers to accomplish the views which they were prosecuting. The better to direct this horrid course, they impatiently wait the day when they may sally forth from their dark recesses; and it is to the temple of the living God, to the church of religious men called Jacobins, that Mirabeau convokes the Parisian adepts; it is there that he establishes himself

Origin of the appellation of *Jacobin.*

with the very men who compoſes the Breton Club. The whole conſpiring crew flock around him. From that inſtant this temple is converted into a den of conſpirators, and is only known by the name of Club, the name of theſe antient religious who heretofore made it refound with the praiſes of the living God, is given to this horde of blaſphemers, the re-union of every claſs of conſpirators.—Soon does all Europe deſignate by the name of *Jacobin* the authors and abettors of the French Revolution. The curſe once pronounced on this name, it is but juſt and proper that the appellation of JACOBIN alone ſhould carry with it the idea of a general coalition of the *Sophiſters of Impiety* conſpiring againſt their God and Chriſtianity; of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion* conſpiring againſt their God and their King; and of the *Sophiſters of Impiety and Anarchy* conſpiring againſt their God, their King, and all civil ſociety whatever.

Let us now enter this den of rebellion, which may be looked upon as the prototype of thoſe numerous aſſociations which are ſoon ſpread under the ſame name thro'out the provinces. It is thither, it is to that monſtrous union of every ſpecies of conſpiring Sect, that the taſk which I undertook at the outſet of theſe Memoirs leads both me and my readers, to follow thoſe different conſpiring Sects from their origin to their terrible coalition in this den of conſpirators under the name of *Jacobins*. Darkneſs may have hitherto encompaſſed the proceedings of thoſe different Sects; and ſome readers may have been blind to conviction, and diſbelieved the evidence I have adduced to prove that the commencement of this fatal union is to be dated from the intruſion of the Sophiſters into the Maſonic Lodges, and the conſummation of it from the coalition of the latter with the deputies of Illuminiſm. But broad day-light will now betray their actions; behold the Sophiſters, the Rebels, the Adepts of every claſs aſſembled, all bound by the ſame oath, whether Roſicrucians, Knights Kadoſch, or diſciples of Voltaire and Jean Jaques, whether Knights Templar, Epopts of Illuminiſm, or diſciples of Swedenborg and St. Martin; here, I ſay, all are holding council and concerting ruin, devaſtation, and all that meaſureleſs chain of revolutionary crimes.

The Jacobins and Adepts identically the ſame; in perſons;

That impious man, who had firſt ſworn to cruſh God and his Goſpel, was no more; but his diſciples were ſtill in life and vigor. We have ſeen them ſpringing up

from their academic meetings, retailing their blaſphemies in thoſe petty aſſemblies pretending to the *bel eſprit*, under the auſpices of the female adepts, ſuch as the Dutcheſs D'Anville, the Marquiſe du Deffant, or the Geofrins, Eſpinaces, Neckers, and Staels. They then framed their conſpiracies at the Hotel D'Holbach. To ſupport the illuſions of their Sophiſtry by the ſtrength of Legions, they obtrude themſelves on the Maſonic Lodges; but now they have abandoned their pettifogging female adepts, their academies, nay, the Hotel D'Holbach and the Lodges themſelves are deſerted; the great revolutionary gulph has ſwallowed them all. Behold them muffled up in the red cap; the cloak of Philoſophy has been caſt aſide; behold them all, Condorcet, Briſſot, Bailly, Garat, Ceruty, Mercier, Rabaud, Cara, Gorſas, Dupui, Dupont, Lalande, Atheiſts, Deiſts, Encyclopediſts, Œconomiſts, in ſhort, ſelf-created Philoſophers of every ſpecies and every kind. Here they appear foremoſt in the ranks of *rebellion*, as they formerly did in thoſe of *impiety*. Behold them intermixed with the dregs of the Brigands and of the Lodges, as well as with the leaders of the bands and the heroes of the myſteries; with the banditti of Philip of Orleans, as well as with his worthy advocate *Chabroud*, or his rival *La Fayette*. Behold them in council with the traitors of ariſtocracy, as well as with the apoſtates of the clergy; with the Duke of Chartres, the Marquis de Monteſquieu, and de la Salle, the Counts Pardieu, de Latouche, Charles and Theodore Lameth, Victor Broglio, Alexander Beauharnois, St. Fargeau, as well as with Syeyes, Perigord D'Autun, Noel, Chabot, Dom Gerles, Fauchet, and all the *intruding* tribe.

It is not by accident that we ſee theſe ancient conſpirators, whether literary or maſonic, coaleſcing with the conſpiring brethren of the Provinces, ſuch as Barrere, Mendouze, Bonnecarrere, and Collot d'Herbois; it is not by chance that the Jacobin clubs both in Paris and the Provinces become the general receptacle for Roſicrucians, Knights Templars, Knights of the Sun, and Knights Kadoſch; or of thoſe in particular who, under the name of *Philaletes*, were enthuſiaſtically wedded to the myſteries of Swedenborg, whether at Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Bourdeaux, or Grenoble. The club having once founded the trump of rebellion, where elſe ſhould we go to ſearch for thoſe zealous Martiniſts, Savalette de Lange, Milanois,

Willermoz, and men of their ſtamp? They had improved on the ſyſtems of their forerunners the Roſicrucians; they will, now that they have entered the great club, outſtrip them with gigantic ſtrides. They had coaleſced with the illuminizing *Spartacus*; and in uniſon with his adepts they are now become the moſt ardent Jacobins.*

But to whatever cauſe people may chooſe to aſcribe this general reunion of ſo many conſpirators, and of their ſyſtems, the fact certainly cannot be controverted. It had been firſt ſet on foot on the arrival of Bode; it was completed at the Club of the Jacobins. The liſt is public,

* See a Liſt of the principal Jacobins in a work, entitled, "*Of the Cauſes and Effects of Jacobiniſm.*"

It is an obſervation that did not eſcape the notice of the German writers, and which I repeatedly find in the memorials ſent to me, that the greateſt viſionaries of the Roſicrucian Maſons and of the Philaletes are ſince become the moſt zealous apoſtles of Weiſhaupt's Illuminiſm, and of his Revolution.—The Germans particularly mark out one *Hülmer*, a famous Martiniſt of Pruſſia, and a *George Föſter*, who in his great zeal for the myſteries of Swedenborg would paſs fifteen days in faſting and prayer to obtain the viſion of a ſpirit, or to diſcover the *Philoſopher's Stone*. Since that time, however, they have both turned out to be moſt outrageous Jacobins.—In France many examples of this kind may be adduced: *Prunelle de Lierre*, for inſtance, a man heretofore of moſt amiable character, and a very good naturaliſt. He firſt became a recluſe Martiniſt, and ſoon after as outrageous a Jacobin as *Föſter*.—As for *Periſſe*, the bookſeller, he acted the ſame part at Lyons for the correſpondence of the Martiniſts, as Savalette de Lang did at Paris; but he did not take the ſame precautions. One might ſee him going to the Lodge followed by his port-folio, which a ſervant could ſcarcely carry. Weiſhaupt's code gained admittance to this port-folio; the revolution took place; and Periſſe, together with his co-adept Miſanois, became as outrageous Jacobins as the reſt.—What is there that cannot be ſaid of the Martiniſts of Avignon?—Was there ever ſuch atrocious ferocity ſhown as by the ringleaders of this Lodge?—All this tends to confirm the poſition, that between the adepts of Swedenborg, and the adepts of Weiſhaupt, there was but a ſlight ſhade of ſeparation. The ſuppoſed theoſophy of the one differed but little from the atheiſm of the other. Weiſhaupt goes more directly to the point; but the annihilation of all religion is the real object of both their myſteries. It is even worthy of remark, that the modern *Spartacus* was on the eve of grounding all his myſteries on that very Theoſophy where *fire is the principle*, and on the theology of the Perſians, as did the Philaletes and Martiniſts.——*(See Knights of the Phœnix, Original Writings, Vol. I. Let.* 46.*)*

and it contains the names of all the profound adepts who had hitherto been diſperſed among the Lodges. But let the reader never forget that it is not a mere local union, or an identity of perſons; it is an identity of principles, of method, of oaths, and of means; it is the general concert of theſe conſpirators that proves the coalition.

If we turn to the diſcourſes delivered in the club (for the brethren now have their journals and their public archives) we ſhall find that Voltaire and Rouſſeau are their oracles, juſt as they were of the Sophiſters when in their Literary Societies. In that club do they repeat all the blaſphemous ſophiſtry againſt Chriſtianity which they had formerly uttered at the Hotel D'Holbach; the ſame enthuſiaſtic declamations in favor of *Equality* and *Liberty*, the grand ſecret of thoſe Sects that had hidden themſelves in the occult Lodges. Theſe adepts found themſelves perfectly at home within this new den of conſpirators; the *coſtume* and the ſymbols had changed, it is true; but in ſubſtituting the red, or rather the bloody, cap of liberty for the apron and level, they only adopted a more typical emblem of their antique myſteries. The Preſident is now the Venerable; the brethren aſk leave to ſpeak, and he grants or refuſes it with all the parade of Maſonry. When deliberating, the votes are taken juſt as in the occult Lodges. The laws of the Free-maſons for the admiſſion or expulſion of brethren are the ſame. As in the *Grand Orient*, or at the *Amis réunis*, and in the Lodges in general, no candidate is received unleſs he be preſented by *two ſponſors*, who anſwer for his conduct and obedience; juſt ſo is it in the club. Here the obedience ſworn is preciſely the ſame as that ſworn in the occult myſteries of Maſonry. To be received a Jacobin, as to become a Roſicrucian or an Illuminee, the candidate is obliged to ſwear implicit obedience to the deciſions of the brethren; and alſo to obſerve and cauſe to be obſerved all decrees paſſed by the National Aſſembly *in conſequence of the deciſions of the club*. He then binds himſelf to denounce to the club any man who ſhall to his knowledge counteract the decrees propoſed by the club; and that he will make no exception in favor of *his moſt intimate friends, of his father, mother, or of any part of his family*. In ſhort he will, in common with the diſciples of Illuminiſm, ſwear to execute or cauſe to be executed all orders emanating from the privy council of the club, *though they*

in principles;

in forms;

in oaths;

in government;

should be repugnant to his sentiments and conscience;* for the Jacobin club, like the *Grand Orient*, had its committees and privy counsellors. The brethren have not abandoned their Lodges, as renouncing all their means of hastening, fomenting, and propagating revolutions. They have established here, just as at the *Grand Orient*, committees for *the reports*, for the *finances*, for the *correspondence*, and, lastly, the grand committee of all, the *secret committee*; and nearly all the members of these different committees are the very persons whom we have seen flocking from the Lodges to the great club.†

in proscriptions;

In this club of Jacobins too is to be found, in common with the Occult Lodges of illuminized Masonry the laws of exclusion and proscription. They have the *black list* and the *red list*, and this is a *list of blood*. The name of a rejected brother is never inscribed on it without effect. Paris has more than once seen such lists posted up; it has also seen those devoted victims perish, or, at best, save themselves by flight.‡

Thus, in this den of conspirators do we find every thing in perfect unison with the Occult Lodges, to which it only succeeds. Adepts, object, principles, all are the same; whether we turn our eyes toward the adepts of impiety, or rebellion, or of anarchy, they are now but one conspiring Sect, under the disastrous name of Jacobin.—We have hitherto denominated some by the name of *Sophisters*, others by that of *Occult Masons*, and, lastly, we have described those men styled *Illuminees*. Their very names will now disappear; they will in future all be fully described by the name of *Jacobin*.

It has been an arduous task to collect the proofs of this monstrous association. When we look back to that day when Voltaire swore *to crush* the supposed *wretch* in support of his Equality and Liberty; to that day when Montesquieu dogmatically asserted, that all nations subject to a Monarch, and to laws that they had not made, were slaves; to that day, in short, when Rousseau points out as a public malefactor against mankind the man who had

* See Memoirs of the Club of the Jacobins.

† See the list of the committees in *the Causes and Effects of the Revolution*.—Montjoie on the *Conspiracy of Orleans*, Book XIII.

‡ Ibid. *and Brissot to his Constituents*, when expelled from the Jacobins.

firſt encloſed a field and was preſumptuous enough to declare that it was his property, and thus became the founder of civil ſociety; from thoſe days, I ſay, until the fatal period when the diſciples of Voltaire, Monteſquieu, and Rouſſeau, in the name of that ſame Equality and Liberty, flock to the club of the Jacobins, there to repeat their ſophiſms againſt Chriſt and his religion, to proſecute their maſonic plots againſt kings, to propagate the blaſphemies of the modern *Spartacus* againſt their God, their king, their country, and all ſocial order; what ſyſtems have we not been obliged to inveſtigate, what artifices to unfold, and into what dark and loathſome receſſes have we not been obliged to penetrate, in order to trace their progreſs! At length we have traced them to their general convention of iniquity and rebellion. Hiſtory will have no further need of my reſearches to demonſtrate all the crimes and diſaſters of the French revolution that have iſſued from this haunt of conſpirators. The hiſtorian needs only turn to the public records, to their own journals, and he will ſee what crimes of the French Revolution are to be attributed to them. I might, therefore, look upon my taſk as accompliſhed.

There is, however, a certain order to be obſerved in the very growth and progreſs of theſe ſcourges. In this aſſociation appears a monſtrous wiſdom, that directs the courſe of the crimes that are ſucceſſively committed and even at appropriate moments. This wiſdom has taught them how to make their leaſt criminal accomplices prepare the way for the blackeſt deeds; it has taught them how to diſcard or deſtroy thoſe agents who, from diſguſt or any other cauſe, ceaſe to be their inſtruments and only become obſtacles. Thus, in the very club of the Jacobins, in the centre of iniquity, there exiſts a progreſſion of wickedneſs. Each Sect has retained its ultimate object, each Conſpirator his paſſions and his private views, juſt as in the Occult Lodges; yet they are all leagued in one common object, in one common meaſure, to overthrow the exiſting government, and erect their Equality and Liberty on the new order of things. But opinions will claſh as to the choice of this new order. All deteſt and hate the God of the Goſpel; but ſome will have a God according to their Philoſophiſm, while the Philoſophiſm of others reject all ideas of a God. La Fayette will have a Doge for a king, ſubject to the laws and

will of a ſovereign people. Philip of Orleans will have no king unleſs it be himſelf. Briſſot will neither ſubmit to Philip as king, nor aſſent to La Fayette's Doge; he wiſhes to exerciſe the magiſtracy of his own democracy. Mirabeau will be content with any plan, provided he be the prime miniſter. Dietrich, Condorcet, Babœuf, and the higher adepts of *Spartacus*, will aſſent to nothing but the *man-king* of Illuminiſm, *every where his own maſter*. Crimes then will be graduated by the myſteries. The grand adepts will be ſeen to make the mere novices act. Private paſſions will ſometimes clog their progreſs; I ſhall, therefore, attempt to point out in what order the French revolution has brought theſe myſteries into action, and apply its ſucceſſive progreſs to the different Sects that had ſo profoundly meditated and conceived it.

CHAP. XII.

Application of the three Conſpiracies to the French Revolution.

Identity of facts and plots;

WHILE I have been unfolding the object and means of ſo many inſidious plots, my reader has, no doubt, made frequent applications to facts that have taken place under his own eyes. He will have ſaid to himſelf, what can be this long chain of crime, deſtruction, and horror, with which the French Revolution has aſtoniſhed all Europe, but the conſequence of the principles and plans of theſe conſpiring Sects! *In darkneſs they were conceived, but in broad day are they executed.* Such may be the ſuccinct hiſtory of the Revolution, now that theſe plots have been laid open. It is ſo evidently demonſtrated, that it would be a uſeleſs labor to deſcend to details; we will alſo paſs over in our narrative thoſe bloody ſcenes which might rather ſerve to tear open wounds ſcarcely cloſed, than convince my reader. I ſhall, therefore, conſider the French Revolution in its preliminary ſteps, and in its ſucceſſive attempts againſt Religion, againſt Monarchy, and againſt Society in general. But a curſory view of theſe attempts will ſuffice for the moſt complete demonſtration.

in the Preliminaries of the Revolution:

Let us revert for a moment to that period when the conſpirators of every claſs were ſtill lurking in their hiding-places. The diſciples of Monteſquieu and Jean Jaques had, ſo early as 1771, declared that men could only regain their primitive rights of *Equality* and *Liberty*, and the people their inpreſcriptible right of *legiſlative ſovereignty* by means of a general aſſembly of national deputies. At that time alſo the ſophiſticated adepts had pronounced, that the grand obſtacle to theſe pretended rights was to be found in the diſtinctions of the three eſtates, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Eſtate.* To obtain, therefore the convocation of the States General, and to annihilate the diſtinction of the three Eſtates, muſt ne-

* See Chap. IV. and VI. in Vol. II. of theſe Memoirs.

ceſſarily have been and really were the firſt ſteps of the Revolution.

The deficit that Necker had left in the public treaſury, the depredations and diſorders of an age deſtitute of morals (becauſe theſe Sophiſters had transformed it into an age of impiety) had reduced a Monarch who ſhone forth unblemiſhed in the midſt of corruption, to ſummon the *Notables* of his kingdom, that they might conſult for the happineſs of his people, which ſeemed to be his only care. The tender with that he has ſhown is immediately ſeized on by the conſpirators, and ſerves as a pretext for them to haſten the convocation of that very aſſembly where all their horrid plots are to be conſummated. Whatever might have been the wiſdom of the *Notables*, their plans are rejected beforehand. Philip of Orleans and his political committees are likewiſe eager for the convocation of the States General. Even the tribunes of the nation will riſe in judgment againſt, and diſcuſs the rights of their Sovereign. Foremoſt among the conſpirators, Philip of Orleans is alſo foremoſt in action. For the firſt time does he pretend to be zealous in the public cauſe; and the firſt act of his zeal is to enter a proteſt againſt the diſpoſitions made by Lewis XVI. to provide for the wants of the ſtate.* In theſe intrigues againſt his Sovereign, he combined with the different magiſtrates who were then noted for their factious behavior, ſuch as DESPREMENIL, at that time infatuated with the viſions of the Martiniſts and revolutionary principles; MONSABERT and SABATIER de CABRES, the moſt ardent enemies of the Court; and FRETEAU, who, in the firſt aſſembly, was to become the worthy aſſociate of the Conſtitutionaliſt CAMUS.—Philip ſo completely miſleads this firſt Parliament of the kingdom, that they at length give the example of a lawful and formal demand for the convocation of the States General. Lewis XVI. ſeeing the general ferment, heſitates; Philip inſtigates the people; pays brigands; and mobs are aſſembled in Paris. The King at length thinks proper to grant the convocation of the States General.—That Sect which was headed by Orleans, now only wants a Miniſter who ſhall direct the convocation according to the views of their conſpiracy; and they turn their eyes on that very man who had hollowed out the abyſs, that

* See the *Sceance Royale* for the Land and Stamp-Tax.

Necker, whoſe perfidious policy had been the ruin of the national treaſury. He was the man of the ambitious courtiers, who led him toward the throne that they themſelves might be drawn nearer to it; the man ſupported by the Princes de Beauveau and de Poix, by the Mareſchal Caſtries, by the Duc D'Ayen, by Meſſrs. Beſenval and Guibert; the man of the conſpiring courtiers, ſuch as La Fayette and the Lameths; the man of the Sophiſters of Impiety, whoſe plots had been contrived in his own houſe and at the hotel D'Holbach; the man, in ſhort, whoſe buſt was to be carried in bloody and revolutionary triumph by the ſide of that of his worthy co-operator Philip of Orleans.

Lewis XVI. might have known this perfidious miniſter; the whole plan of the conſpiracy contrived by Necker and his adepts of Philoſophiſm had been laid before the King; but, alas! he could not be made to believe that ſuch wickedneſs and hypocriſy was to be found in man. The day came, however, when he ſorrowfully exclaimed, *Why did I not believe it? Eleven years ago was every thing foretold that now befalls me.* It was to Necker that he alluded; for during his firſt miniſtry, was that man and the plots contrived in his houſe, and at the hotel D'Holbach, formally denounced in a memorial preſented to Mr. de Maurepas and to Lewis XVI. But ſince that time, the Conſpirators had ſounded all their trumpets to his fame, and celebrated the ſuppoſed virtues and talents of the Geneveſe traitor. Overpowered by ſuch intrigue, the King was miſled to think that this man would prove the Saviour of the ſtate, and he entruſted him with the convocation of the States General. He was preciſely the man to throw the whole of theſe ſtates into the hands of the Conſpirators.* He knew that their hopes were in the

* I was not ſufficiently acquainted with this man's character, when I placed him on the ſame line with Turgot and Malesherbes.—Let this artful and ambitious intriguer be judged by his own words:—*A hundred thouſand crowns for you if you will make me* Controller General.—*I am rich, but cannot boaſt of birth; money then muſt ſupply the defect of anceſtry.—If one is poſſeſſed of money, it is not to be ſpared when it can ſerve one's ambition.—You talk to me of the people: they may be uſeful to me, and I will make a tool of them; they cannot hurt us, and I will play upon them.—As to religion, we muſt have one for the people; but not their Chriſtianity; we will deſtroy that.* Let Necker come to enquire on what occaſions, or to whom he

multitude, and that the distinction of, and voting by estates, would prove an obstacle to their views against the Sovereign. He farther saw, that the spirit of sedition predominated in the third estate, that they were becoming the revolutionary organs of the Conspirators; and, to ensure the majority of votes to them, he doubled the number of the deputies to be sent to the third estate. Confident in their numbers, they immediately declare themselves, though alone, to constitute the *National Assembly*. In vain did the clergy and the nobility insist on that right (of far more consequence to the state than to themselves) of deliberating separately, and thus counterpoising the deliberations that might have been too hastily entered upon or guided by passion, interest, or the factious pretensions of party men. In vain did the clergy and nobility sacrifice all exclusive privileges or pecuniary advantages in taxation which they enjoyed, in hopes of preserving their rights in deliberation; for the privilege that Necker* and the other Con-

held this monstrous language, and I will begin by naming the person who received the hundred thousand crowns for having procured him the post of *Controller General;* I will in the next place tell him, that he held such language to the Lady who had the courage to upbraid him with it to his face, and in the midst of all his glory; to her whom he reproached with shedding tears over her murdered brother, while she taxed him with his murder, because he feared her brother would betray his secret; to that person who refused to enroll herself in that cohort of flatterers that were to open the way for him, by thousands of calumnious accusations, invented by himself and by his emissaries, against persons holding stations that he coveted for himself or his adherents, and which his partizans forwarded to the unfortunate Lewis XVI; to that person thro' whose medium he wished to persuade the King that *M. de Sartine* had stolen twenty-two millions out of fifty-three entrusted to him, though the minister needed only to be informed of the plot to shew the falsity of the imputation: in fine, to that person whom he courted as necessary for his intrigues, who discovered him to be a monster, and who laid open all his plots and iniquities to M. de Maurepas and Lewis XVI. Let him learn, that if his secret crimes are to have a place in history, the proofs of all these are not yet lost.

* In order to second the views of her worthy father in this warfare on the distinction of estates, while he was intriguing at the palace, Madam de Stael was playing the same part in Paris. She had established at her house a sort of Office of Inscription. La Fayette and the Lameths would bring the traitors to her table; and the names of those dastards, who would pro-

ſpirators aimed at, was that power of counteracting all reſolutions detrimental to religion or monarchy. It was in vain that Lewis XVI. with the tenderneſs rather of a father than of a king, made thoſe ſacrifices (which of themſelves might be called a revolution, ſo much did they curtail his royal prerogative) in his Declaration of the 23d of June. But this was not the ſpecies of revolution ſought by the Conſpirators. The ſophiſters had determined, that, to make their Equality and Liberty triumph, it was neceſſary to deliberate by *perſons* and not by *eſtates*; that the Nobility and Clergy ſhould be confounded among the multitude; and that the majority, when deliberating by eſtates, ſhould prove a minority when united with the great numbers of the third eſtate. Lewis XVI. orders, that in virtue of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom, the ancient form of deliberating by eſtates ſhould be preſerved; but his orders are vain; the Conſpirators proteſt againſt them; their preſident, BAILLY, calls them to a tennis-court, and there they ſwear to impoſe a conſtitution on France congenial to their views. They immediately ſet their brigands in motion; the venerable Archbiſhop of Paris is nearly ſtoned to death; the life of the Monarch is threatened; the fatal union of the three eſtates at length takes place, which ſubjects the two firſt eſtates to the will of the multitude; for the Conſpirators were certain of the ſupport of all thoſe apoſtates and daſtards, who, by their intrigues, had been returned among the deputies of the Nobility and Clergy, becauſe Necker had doubled the number of the deputies of the third eſtate, to enſure the majority of the votes in favor of the decrees which the party were to propoſe. He had organized the States General according to the views and wiſhes of the ſophiſters; he may, it is true, whimper and weep over the diſaſters and crimes of the Revolution; but the hand of time ſhall engrave on his tomb, that *he was the grand agent of them all.*

Having no farther oppoſition to fear, and certain of paſſing whatever decrees they choſe, theſe Conſpirators proceed to declare themſelves *a National Aſſembly.* They arrogate to themſelves the right of making and of pronouncing the law. The ſecrets of the Lodges conſtitute the baſis of the Revolution under the title of *the Rights*

miſe to abandon their Order and paſs over to the Third Eſtate, were immediately inſcribed on her liſt.

of Man. The firſt article declares *man to be equal and free*; that *the principle of all ſovereignty eſſentially reſides in the people*; and that *law* is nothing more than *the expreſſion of the general will.* Such had been for nearly half a century the doctrines of Argenſon, Monteſquieu, Rouſſeau, and Voltaire. Theſe principles of pride and revolt had long ſince been the ground-work of the myſteries of every claſs of Sophiſter, Occult Maſon, or Illuminee; and now they decorate the title-page of the revolutionary code.

This equal, free, ſovereign, and legiſlative people, may will that their religion ſhould be preſerved in all its integrity; and that its monarch ſhould be entruſted with the neceſſary power to cruſh ſedition and rebellion. Veneration for the altar and affection for their prince ſtill glowed in the heart of the French. But the Conſpirators wanted an armed force, drawn from the body of that ſame people, docile, and ſubſervient to the views of the Sect, and that would oppoſe the will of the people whenever it did not coincide with theirs. This force was entirely to overpower the army of the ſovereign. Every thing had been foreſeen; for the ſophiſters had long ſince ſaid,—— "Oh that we could but once get rid of theſe foreign mi- "litary hirelings! An army of natives might be gained "to the ſide of Liberty, at leaſt a part of them; but fo- "reign troops are kept on foot for this very reaſon."*— Their army of natives is immediately formed, and it is again from the dark receſſes of Maſonry that the ſignal is

* See the letter attributed to Monteſquieu.—In Vol. II. P. 94, on the teſtimony of the Abbé Pointe, I quoted a letter attributed to Monteſquieu by an Engliſh journaliſt, but could not name the paper. It has ſince been diſcovered in the *Courier*, or *Evening Gazette*, of Auguſt 4, 1795. It is there ſaid that Monteſquieu wrote it, a few years before his death, to a preſident of one of the Parliaments of France. I could wiſh to have ſeen the perſon named to whom it was written, or in whoſe poſſeſſion it is at preſent, for it is of a complexion to change our ideas very much as to the moderation of that writer. It would immediately claſs him among the conſpiring ſophiſters; and, to paſs ſuch a ſentence on this author, the cleareſt proofs ſhould be required. But it appears, whoever was the author of that letter, that he was far advanced in the plots of the Sect, for he very accurately deſcribes the conduct of the Jacobins with reſpect to the foreign troops in the French ſervice: neither does he appear to be ignorant of the plan for ſeparating Ireland from England.

given. That ſame Savalette de Lange who preſided over the ſecret committee of the *Amis réunis*, and over the correſpondence, appeared before the Municipality of Paris, and ſpoke to the following effect: "*Gentlemen, I am a* "*Corporal.* Here are citizens to whom I have taught the "uſe of arms, that they might defend the country. I did "not create myſelf a major or a general, *we are all equal*, "I am ſimply a Corporal; but I alſo gave the example; "command that every citizen ſhould follow it.—Let the "nation take arms, and Liberty will be invincible." Savalette, in pronouncing this diſcourſe, preſented ſeven or eight brigands accoutred as ſoldiers. The ſight of theſe few men, and the repeated cries of *Let us ſave the nation!* excited enthuſiaſm:—An immenſe mob ſurrounded the Town-hall, and Savalette's motion was inſtantaneouſly decreed. The very next day the Pariſian army is ſet on foot, and millions are formed into *Native Battalions* throughout the empire.* They are the ſworn agents of the Conſpirators; and it is now time that the unfortunate Lewis XVI. ſhould feel their power. He had driven from his perſon the treacherous Necker; but the Sect ſtill wanted his ſervices, and it forces the Monarch to recal him.—The King heſitates at ſanctioning the Rights of Man, and the force of the people is immediately put in action.

In ſupport of theſe *rights* all the Conſpirators combine; and it is agreed, that immediately on his return, Necker ſhall ſtarve the people into rebellion; that the brethren

* Many authors have fallen into an error with reſpect to the firſt formation of the National Guards; and they ground their aſſertions on a reſolution of the Committee of Electors, ſent from the town-hall to all the Sections of Paris, ordering the formation of this guard, and ſigned *Fleſſelles*, Taſſin, De Leutre, Fauchet, the Marquis de la Salle; but it is a certain fact, and within the knowledge of every body, 1ſt, That this National Guard was formed only two days after the taking of the Baſtille; and 2dly, That Mr. Fleſſelles was murdered on the day of the taking of the Baſtille. But a fact little known is, that the minutes of this reſolution, as alſo the minutes of all tranſactions that took place at the town-hall during the firſt year of the revolution, were not compiled till the ſecond year, by a man of the name of *Verrier*, and by the orders of La Fayette, who, notwithſtanding many obſervations made on the ſubject, would not allow any change to be made in what had been inſerted by his orders, and would have been particularly grieved to ſee the real origin of that National Guard made public, in the command of which he ſo much gloried.

ſhall collect all the harpies of the ſuburbs to go and demand bread of Lewis XVI; that Bailly and his aſſeſſors, ſeated at the Municipality, ſhall order the *legions of natives* to follow and ſupport them; that La Fayette at the head of theſe legions ſhould march to Verſailles; that he ſhould ſurround Lewis XVI. with theſe bands under pretence of watching for his ſafety, *and then retire to ſleep*. Mirabeau, Petion, and Chapellier, Monteſquieu, and Duport, Charles Lameth, and Laclos, Sillery, and D'Aiguillon, will then inform the Aſſembly that *victims muſt be thrown to the people*,* and they avail themſelves of the darkneſs of the night to inflame the populace and excite the ſoldiery. Their hearts were already as hideous as the furies: They now aſſume their *coſtume*, to lead their harpies on to the commiſſion of crime.† D'Orleans will ply his monſters with the beverage of rage and frenzy, and will point out the Queen as the firſt victim to be immolated. Syeyes, Gregoire, and a multitude of other Conſpirators, ſtand ſpectators of the conteſt; but, ſhould the Monarch fall in the affray, they will tender the crown to Orleans, as they may be certain of parcelling out its prerogative according to their Equality and Liberty. Necker abſconds, but his *virtuous ſpouſe*, decorated with her noſegays, and accompanied by her inſeparable companion the Mareſchale de Beauveau, will appear in the galleries of Verſailles, in the midſt of the carnage, and virtuouſly exclaim, *Let the good people act, there is no danger:* and, in fact, ſhe had none to fear; ſhe had already written to her brother *Germani*, " *Patience; every thing will go* " *well; we can neither ſpeak nor write.*"‡

The night from the 5th to the 6th of October reveals the ſecrets which this worthy confidant dared to write.— Hiſtory needs not our labors to paint the horrors of that awful night; they are deſcribed in the juridical depoſitions taken by the magiſtrates of the Chatelet. Orleans loſt courage at the ſight of a few faithful Life-guards, the only adherents of the King that La Fayette had permitted to remain near his perſon; and never was a more heroic phalanx formed than by theſe brave men round their roy-

* See the Sitting of the 5th October, 1789.

† See the juridical depoſitions of witneſſes, 157, 226, 230, and 373.

‡ See her letter of the 5th October, 1789.

al master and his consort. Though their courage was appalled by the orders of their Sovereign, they were still prodigal of their own blood; they resisted a forest of pikes,* and Orleans could not consummate his premeditated crime. Day-light arrives to expose the horrors of this night; the brigands, his instruments, are seen to blush, and the National Guards at length reflect that they are Frenchmen. They emit no other wish than to see Lewis XVI. living in the midst of them at Paris in the palace of his forefathers. The unfortunate Monarch knows not what men had profited of the natural effusions of loyalty of his people to make them emit this wish. He thought that he was entrusting himself to the affections of his people, when he was only obeying the dictates of the Conspirators. He knows not that it is the last shift of the Conspirators, that the crimes of this horrid night might not be entirely fruitless. The great difficulty they had found in making the Monarch sanction the *rights of man*, made them perceive that they would frequently stand in need of the same brigands to force his acquiescence to

* The 6th of October, 1789, was the last day of the French Monarchy.—Should it ever rise again, let a monument be erected in memory of those brave Knights who would have so gloriously contributed to save it, had not their courage been chained down by the commands of their King. May their names be at least preserved by the historian! I could wish to insert the names of the sixty heroes who so well deserved the appellation of *Life-guards* on this awful occasion; but I have only been able to obtain the following:

OFFICERS.

Duke de Guiche, *Captain.*
Marquis de Savonnière, *Chef de Brigade.*
Vicomte D'Agoult.
Vicomte de Sesmaisons.
Comte de Mauleon.
Chev. Dampierre.
—— St. George.

LIFE GUARDS.

Messrs. de Berard, *two Brothers.*
Chev. de Huilliers.
Marquis de Varicourt, *killed.*
Chev. Deshutes, *killed.*
—— de Moimandre.
Baron Durepaire.
—— Demiers.
—— Moucheron.
Chev. de la Tranchade.
—— de Duret.
—— de Valory.
Comte de Mouthier.
—— Bernady.
Messrs. Horric, *three Brothers.*
Mess. Malderet, *three Brothers.*
Chev. Renaldy.
—— de Lamotte.
—— de Montaut.
—— de Puget.

thoſe future decrees which were to be grounded on them. All the decrees that were in ſucceſſion to annihilate religion and monarchy were to be enforced by an inſurrection, and the pikes and lantern-poſts were to be in perpetual requiſition, to conſtrain the votes, to intimidate the Monarch, and diſcard all reclamation. In future a captive in Paris, Lewis XVI. will be perpetually menaced by the brigands iſſuing from the ſuburbs or from the quarries, and paid by Necker or Orleans. La Fayette will proclaim, that *inſurrection is a moſt ſacred duty*, and inſurrection will become the ſtanding order of the day;—Mirabeau, Barnave, Chapellier, will point out the object and fix the hour: Orders will be ſent from their anti-chambers to the Jacobins and the ſuburbs, and daily, at the hour fixed, will the King, the Clergy, the Nobility, and all who may oppoſe the decrees in debate, find themſelves ſurrounded by a mob that will hoot or act exactly according to the inſtructions given by the conſpirators.*

Though they reaped no farther benefit from all the horrid deeds of the fifth and ſixth of October, yet the conſpirators knew but too well how to appreciate their ſucceſſes. Madame Necker writes again to her brother Germani: "We are content, every thing went on well. The ariſto-"cracy would have had the uppermoſt, and we were oblig-"ed to make uſe of the rabble."† Here terminate what may be called the preliminaries of the revolution. Necker had moulded the National Aſſembly according to the views of the Sect, and had eſtabliſhed it in the town that was judged moſt proper for enabling him to work the premeditated revolution. We next proceed to the plan traced by the Sophiſters for *cruſhing* the pretended *wretch*; and here begins the war waged againſt the God of Chriſtianity.

* Some of the brigands who were in conſtant pay for the purpoſe of theſe inſurrections were retiring home between ten and eleven at night, and I heard them take leave of each other in the following terms: "It has gone on pretty well to-day; "good bye; we ſhall expect you to-morrow.—What, to-mor-"row? at what o'clock?—at the opening of the aſſembly.—— "*Where do we go for orders?* To Mirabeau's, Chapellier's, or "Barnave's, as uſual."—I own, that till I was preſent at this diſcourſe I never could believe that thoſe legiſlators had daily interviews with theſe brigands to fix the hour and object of ſuch inſurrections.

† Letter 8th of October.

To deſtroy religious orders; to deprive the miniſters of the church of their ſubſiſtence under pretence of *the wants of the ſtate*; *ſilently to ſap the edifice*, then to employ *ſuperior force*, and at length to call in the *Herculeſes* and the *Bellerophons*: Such (it has been ſhown) were the means combined by the Sophiſters to overturn and annihilate the altars of Chriſtianity. To ſubſtitute the worſhip of the *great architect* of the univerſe to that of Chriſt; the *light* of the lodges to the doctrines of the goſpel; the god of their pretended *reaſon* to the God of revelation: Such were the moſt moderate of the myſteries of the occult Lodges of Maſonry. To invent and ſubſtitute new religions in place of Chriſtianity, and to impoſe them on the people till every religious principle could be eradicated: In the name of Equality and Liberty to render themſelves *powerful* and *formidable*; then to *tie the hands*, *ſubjugate*, and *ſmother in the germ*, every thing that could counteract the empire of impiety and atheiſm: Such were the views and plots of the *Epopt*, *Regent*, and *Magus* of Illuminiſm. This code and their oaths have been laid open to our readers; and of all theſe horrid plots what particle has the revolution left incomplete?

In the decrees againſt religion by the firſt aſſembly.

Religious vows were immediately ſuſpended and ſoon aboliſhed; the clergy were pillaged of their property, and all the poſſeſſions of the church were converted into a fund for the ſecurity of the aſſignats; the ſacred veſſels were ſtolen and prophaned; the churches were not only robbed of their gold and ſilver, but the very braſs and metal of the bells were carried away.* All this however is but a firſt eſſay of that war which the revolution is to wage againſt the Church. Still had the Church preſerved its faith, its real treaſure, pure and untarniſhed; but it is at that very treaſure that Mirabeau will aim his blows. He declared, that if the Catholic religion were not deſtroyed in France, the revolution could never be conſolidated.—Immediately after this deciſion a code is formed for the clergy, of a long ſuite of decrees, and it is ſtiled the *civil conſtitution* of the clergy. But it was merely a conſtitution of ſchiſm and apoſtacy. This was no more than the firſt religion, invented as the ſtepping-ſtone that ſhould lead the people to a nullity of all religion. Grounded on

* Decrees of October 23, November 2, December 19, 1789; and February 13, 1790.

the principles of Revolutionary Equality and Liberty, it constitutes the people sovereigns in the sanctuary, just as those same principles had constituted them sovereigns around the throne; it endows the people with rights that the gospel has reserved to the ministry; it was no more than a repetition of those errors of Camus, of the apostate of Ypres, and of the schism of Utrecht, long since anathematized. Notwithstanding the disguise it had assumed, the clergy of France soon discovered its real tendency, and at the peril of their lives they refused to take the oath of apostacy. The faithful pastors were expelled from their sees and churches, persecuted, calumniated, and reviled in the grossest manner; for the legislating committee had said to the people, *Dare every thing against the Clergy; you shall be supported.* Soon is the national worship converted into that of perjury and intrusion, for the true priests of Christ are driven from his altars; at Nismes and Avignon they are slaughtered; and the man who had sworn *to crush* Christ and his altars, who had declared his gospel to be a gospel of slaves, together with him who had begun the revolution by declaring that France must be *discatholized, (decatholisée)* are carried in triumph to one of the most magnificent temples of the Lord, now converted into a den of thieves, into the pantheon of the gods of the revolution, in short, into the burial place of a Voltaire, a Jean Jaques, Rousseau, or a Mirabeau.* Such were the labors of the first revolutionary legislators.

by the second assembly;

A new set of legislators succeed to the first, and prosecute similar plots against the priesthood. New oaths are decreed, which show in a still clearer light that apostacy is their object. The constancy of the clergy exasperates them. The apostates represent their brethren as refractory to the laws, and decrees of banishment are passed against those who would not swear to their abominations.† But these decrees are only a signal given for the brigands to execute that which these conspiring legislators dared not publicly ordain. Their municipalities had taken the precaution to stow into different churches vast numbers of these valiant confessors of their faith, these clergy who

* See the sittings of April 10, August 24, 1790; and January 4, April 4, May 30, August 27, 1791.

† Decrees November 29, 1791; and April 6, May 26, August 26, 1792.

were to be baniſhed. The brigands are then let looſe, armed with pikes and hatchets, and the *Herculeſes* and *Bellerophons* of the bloody September make their appearance; this is alſo the day on which thoſe *avengers of Abiram* came forward, thoſe men who in the occult Lodges had been taught to ſtrike the victims, to tear out the heart, and bear away in triumph the heads of thoſe proſcribed perſons ſtyled prophane. When the hiſtorian ſhall proceed to paint the horrors of thoſe bloody days, let him not forget the oaths of the *Knights Kadoſch*, and at whom they were aimed. Let him follow into the Lodges thoſe brigands that Philip of Orleans had initiated, and his aſtoniſhment will be greatly abated at the ſight of ſo many pontiffs and prieſts immolated on the ſame day, to the hatred of the adepts, and to the manes of their premier chief.*

Contrary to the expectations of the conſpirators, the people of the provinces refuſed to imitate the brigands of Paris; and thus did whole hecatombs of victims eſcape the fate to which they had been devoted. It was in vain that the municipality of Paris invited *all France* to ſeek its ſafety in the death of ſo many prieſts alledged to be refractory.† In vain did Lafitte, and the other commiſſaries

* I am ſorry to ſay it, but it is a fact that cannot be hidden: honeſt maſons will ſhudder at it, but they muſt be informed of what monſters have iſſued from their Lodges. During the whole of the riots, whether at the Town-hall or at the Carmes, the real ſigns for rallying and fraternizing with the brigands were maſonic. During the time of the butchery the murderers offered the maſonic grip to the ſtanders-by, and fraternized with or drove them off according as they anſwered or miſapprehended it. I myſelf ſaw a man of the loweſt rabble who explained to me how they had offered him their hands, and that not knowing how to anſwer the *grip* he was driven away with contempt, while others who were not ſtrangers to the ſcience were admitted in the midſt of the carnage, with a ſmile. I am even acquainted with a clergyman, who, by means of the ſigns of maſonry, eſcaped from the brigands at the Town-hall. It is true, that had he not been diſguiſed, his ſcience would have been but of little avail; for no ſooner were thoſe ſame brigands informed that he was an eccleſiaſtic, than they purſued him. Neither could the ſcience be of any ſervice to the ariſtocratic brethren; and this preclusion will ſuffice to demonſtrate to the eccleſiaſtic and ariſtocratic members, that they were but the mere dupes of the occult Lodges of the fraternity.

* The addreſs of the 2d September, 1792.

of the conſpiring legiſlators, range throughout the towns, and the country, declaring that the true ſpirit of the decrees meant the death and not the baniſhment of theſe prieſts; the people were not yet ripe for ſuch atrocities. It was executioners that were wanting to the conſpirators, and not the good will of the ſecond aſſembly; but it is alſo true, that from that inſtant they no longer had it in their power to conſummate that which the firſt aſſembly had begun. The former legiſlators had ruined and driven the clergy from the altar; the latter had made a hecatomb of them; and it was in vociferating curſes on thoſe who fled to other nations, that they beheld them baffling their rage, and ſubmitting to exile rather than deny the faith of their divine maſter.

by the third aſſembly;

Hitherto, however, different pretences had concealed the real motives of their perſecutions againſt the paſtors of the church. The Roman Catholics, indeed, could no longer exerciſe their religion in France; but the *conſtitutional intruders*, and the diſciples of Luther and Calvin, ſtill continued to pronounce the name of Chriſt in their temples. The third aſſembly now throws off the maſk. The Hierophants of Illuminiſm had declared in their myſteries, that a day would come when *reaſon would be the ſole code of man.* The adept HEBERT appears with this code, and France recogniſes no other worſhip but that of *reaſon.* It is at once the religion of the Sophiſter, whoſe *reaſon* tells him that there is a God, as well as of him whoſe *reaſon* tells him that there is no God; it is the religion of the Sophiſter adoring himſelf, his own reaſon, or his ſuppoſed wiſdom; as it is that of the vain mortal in delirium; nevertheleſs, this is the only worſhip tolerated by the Jacobin *equal* and *free.* The wanton devotees of Venus appear; one is immediately ſet up on the altar and adored as the Goddeſs of Reaſon; and the fumes of incenſe no longer riſe but in her worſhip. The inſatiable Guillotine will now devour whatever part of the clergy had hitherto eſcaped. The time is now come *for ſtifling in the germ* every thing that can recal to mind the goſpel, the God of Chriſtians, his feaſts, or thoſe of his ſaints.—They are now proſcribed, and are no longer to be ſeen on the calendars publiſhed for the people; thus aſſimilating them to thoſe that had long ſince been in uſe with the Sect. The very order of the weeks, the months, the year, is overturned. The great day of the Lord, the Sunday,

is abolished, for it recalled to the minds of the people the existence of a God and of a Creator; but least the people should still fear the power of an avenging God after death, they will read engraved on the tombs of their forefathers, and on those even into which they are to descend themselves, that *death is only an eternal sleep*; and this was one of the grand mysteries. The few priests who remained, and who still adored an avenging God and a Creator, were either to abjure the very character of the ancient priesthood, or perish, stowed up in loathsome dungeons, beneath the fatal axe of the guillotine, or immersed in the waters of the Loire, or of the ocean. Such was the reign of the conspirators Hebert and Robespierre.

The tyrants quarrel among themselves and devour each other; and even the revolution may be said to have its revolutions. Impiety, for a time, assumes a different shape, but does not relent in its persecution against the gospel and the priesthood. One might have been tempted to think that it was returning on its own footsteps, for the people would still adore a God, notwithstanding this new reign of *Reason*; and Robespierre allows them, for a time, *a supreme being*. Next comes REVEILLERE-LEPAUX with his *Theophilanthropic* worship. This was the fourth religion invented by the Sect. It is another tyrant of Israel erecting a golden calf, to hinder the people from adoring the true God. It is the *Magi* of Illuminism inventing religion after religion, and god after god, in hopes of disgusting the people with every idea of a god. They, indeed, allow this unfortunate people to pronounce his name again; but let us proceed to this *Theophilanthropic* meeting. There every person who still believes in God is treated as a man imbued with vulgar prejudices, as a fool or a madman. There they make no farther mystery of their designs, that if ever they can infuse their philosophic spirit into the people, all this new worship shall be banished as was the former.* It is always the worship of cunning and impious rage against the priesthood of the Lord. The Sect appears for a time to have cast aside the instruments of death; but it is only to condemn its victims to a more slow and cruel end. It never ceases to pro-

* This is the exact statement of an account that I received from a gentleman who procured initiation into the mysteries of the present *Theophilanthropists* of Paris.

claim its oaths of Equality and Liberty;† thoſe *two bleſſings of the revolution*, however, can only be acquired for the prieſthood by perjury and apoſtacy. But wo be to thoſe who refuſe it; in vain does the citizen offer them an aſylum in his houſe, domiciliary viſits will ſoon diſcover them. —Do they retire into the foreſts, into caverns, they are hunted down and baniſhed to the wilderneſſes of Guyana; and pilots more to be feared than the tempeſt are ſent to convey them.

Thus do all the different plots of the Sophiſters of Impiety, which had been ſo long a time contriving in darkneſs, burſt forth into broad day-light, the object of their myſteries is accompliſhed; that wiſh, that oath of *cruſhing Chriſt* and his religion, with its miniſters, is conſummated. But the reader has not forgotten, that the Sophiſters of Rebellion coaleſced with thoſe of Impiety. The adepts had alſo ſworn to cruſh the monarch and his throne; here again my reader muſt have got the ſtart of me, and will immediately ſay, "but the revolution has alſo conſummated their plots againſt the throne, as it has thoſe "againſt Chriſt and his altars."

In the decrees againſt monarchy;

Here again muſt the hiſtorian wade through ſcenes of blood and horror, and his ſight will be blaſted by the moſt atrocious crimes. If he has the ſtrength and patience he may enumerate them; but, at the ſame time, let him never loſe ſight of the Sect that has foſtered them. Let him follow its progreſs; agents may vary, conſpirators may ſucceed each other in the legiſlative hall, but they will all proceed from one common den wherein the adepts have contrived their plots. The thread of this horrid catastrophe will always be the ſame, though held in ſucceſſion by different hands. Equality and Liberty will always be the principle, and the conſequences will always ſtrike at the monarch and monarchy, as they have done againſt Chriſt and his religion. In this revolution of Equality and Liberty, crimes againſt the church, and crimes againſt the ſtate are entwined together; to-day the church, to-morrow the ſovereign, the day after proprietors are attacked, and this continues in a long concatenation which always takes its riſe, as from its centre, in the club of the Jacobins, in the reunion of every ſpecies of conſpiring adept. Their firſt conſpiring legiſlators, ſuch as Mirabeau,

† Decree January 10, 1796.

Syeyes, Barnave, Orleans, La Fayette, Lameth, Chabroud, Gregoire, Petion, Bailly, Rabaud, Chapellier, and all the deputies of the Mountain, habitually pass from the tribune of the Jacobins to that of the manege. There a first constitution was prepared, that was to overwhelm the throne as it had done the altar; that was to weaken Lewis XVI. and strip him not only of his authority, but also of the affection of his subjects; that was to take from him the command of the army, and deprive him of the support of his nobility; that was, in short, to rob him daily of some part of that authority which constitutes the monarch. Two years were spent in disseminating calumnies, in stirring up the people, or in passing decrees as derogatory to royalty as they were injurious to religion. This legislative rout had formed a code of laws against the church, that was to leave but the name of religion to the French nation; from the same clamorous multitude are issued laws against monarchy, that reduced the unfortunate Lewis XVI. to a mere cypher; a captive in his palace, surrounded by brigands, he is forced, as the clergy had been, to sanction those very decrees that despoiled him; the clergy had pleaded the duties of the priesthood in opposition to the decrees; the king sets forth the duties of the monarch; he claims, as they had done, his liberty, and for a moment thinks he has obtained it by his flight to Varennes. But the traitor* La Fayette soon dispelled the

* Left public documents should not be sufficiently explanatory of the conduct of La Fayette on this occasion, and as several persons have wished to persuade the public that he was perfectly ignorant of the intended flight of the king, I here publish a true statement of facts.—A German woman, married to a Frenchman of the name of *Rochereuil*, was employed in the queen's service under the title of *Porte chaise d'affaires*.—This woman had shown so much indignation, and had wept so bitterly on the 5th and 6th of October, that the queen, affected at seeing such proofs of attachment in this woman, entrusted her with the care of preparing her broth, and lodged her in a room on the ground-floor of her own apartment, which communicated to the apartment that had been occupied by the Duke of Villequier. In the beginning of June, the queen, who began to prepare for her intended evasion, lodged this Mrs. Rochereuil in another room. She immediately harbored suspicions of some intended plan, and watched the king and queen. The great confidence they both had in her gave her the opportunity of knowing the whole scheme of the king's flight. On

illuſion, and only permitted him to enjoy it for an inſtant, that he might drag his royal maſter back to the capital expoſed to every outrage, there to keep him a cloſer priſoner. Lewis, a priſoner, at length ſanctions this conſtitution of Equality and Liberty; he ſtill bears the title of king, when a new band of ruffians or legiſlative adepts make their appearance to form the ſecond National Aſſembly.

by the ſecond aſſembly;

The ſecond aſſembly finds Lewis a captive in his palace; and they proceed in the wicked career of their predeceſſors. Each ſitting gave birth to new decrees more and more derogatory to the authority of the monarch; daily were the people ſtirred up to inſurrection againſt the altar and the throne. At length the day drew near when both were to fall beneath their blows. The long liſt of clergy that were to be immolated had been already formed by the Jacobin municipality, and the Jacobin legiſlators ſurround the palace of Lewis with legions of brigands. He is reduced to ſeek an aſylum in the midſt of that very aſſembly that had ſent this mob of miſcreants a-

the 10th of June ſhe informed Meſſrs. La Fayette and Gouvion of what ſhe had obſerved, and lodged an information at the *Comité des Recherches* of the National Aſſembly. She had eleven conferences with them in the ſpace of nine days. In conſequence of theſe denunciations, M. de la Fayette charged thirteen officers on whom he could depend, to patrole every night within the interior of the Thuilleries, but with ſecret orders to favor the evaſion. His orders had been given in a ſimilar manner along the road. Drouet had been inſtructed in the part he was to act. The remaining part of that fatal journey to Varennes, and the arreſtation of the king, may be all eaſily conceived, excepting that exceſs of inſolence with which La Fayette uſed his victory, and the outrages he heaped on the unfortunate Lewis, when dragging him back to his priſon of the Thuilleries.

"Another anecdote that may ſurprize the reader is, that when the queen had been informed of the treacherous behavior of this woman, Rocherenil, and had diſmiſſed the traitor from her ſervice, this wretch had the inſolence to preſent a memorial, that a deputy had penned for her, to the queen, requeſting that ſhe might be admitted again into her ſervice, and ſtating that in her opinion ſhe could not have given her majeſty a greater proof of her gratitude and fidelity than by depriving her of the poſſibility of hearkening to the evil councils of the royaliſts.—The queen gave the memorial to *Mr. Prieur*, the hiſtoriographer of France for the foreign department. The denunciation of this woman is carefully preſerved in what are ſtyled the National Archives.

gainſt him; they pronounce his ſuſpenſion, as according to the new forms they would have encroached on the ſovereignty of the people in pronouncing the abolition of royalty; but leſt he ſhould miſtake the nature of his crime, they proclaim the new æra and the new oath of *Equality* and *Liberty*, both of which are to date from this day.—They then decree the convocation of a new aſſembly which is to pronounce definitively on the fate of the monarch. All theſe decrees are paſſed in his preſence; for they had barbarouſly ſhut up him and his family in a tribune appropriated to the writers of a Newſpaper, leſt he ſhould loſe a ſingle word of the outrages and calumnies vented againſt his perſon, or of the laws pronounced for the annihilation of the throne. But his death had been already reſolved; meanwhile he is ſent to the towers of the Temple to await his cruel deſtiny.*

Conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt.

I ſhould be little inclined to inſiſt on the atrocious feats that ſignalized theſe horrid triumphs of the ſecond aſſembly, or on the arts employed to prepare them, were it not that the true thread of ſuch a multitude of crimes has not been properly diſcovered. The whole was contrived by Briſſot. The Sect, it is true, furniſhed him with agents, but he was conſtantly the chief of the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt. During a whole year he was employed in preparing it; he had conceived it even before he was named a legiſlator. Initiated in all the myſteries of Holbach's club, and even contending with Condorcet for the precedency among the Voltairian Sophiſters, no ſooner was he deputed to the grand aſſembly, than he thought himſelf called to fulfil the decree which he had long ſince pronounced, *That the ſceptre of the Bourbons ſhould be ſhivered, and France be transformed into a republic.*†—

* Sittings of Auguſt 10, 11, and 12, 1792.

† Lewis XVI. was but a child when Sir Horace Walpole, (ſince Lord Orford,) after a ſhort ſtay at Paris, wrote the following letter to Mareſchal Conway on the views and plans of the Sophiſters. It is dated October 28, 1765.

"The Dauphin (father to Lewis XVI.) will probably hold "out very few days. His death, that is, the near proſpect of "it, fills *the Philoſophers* with the greateſt joy, as it was fear"ed he would endeavor the reſtoration of the Jeſuits. You "will think the ſentiments of *the Philoſophers* very odd *ſtate*"news.—But do you know what *the Philoſophers* are, or what "the term means here? In the firſt place, it comprehends al"moſt every body; and in the next means men, who, avowing

Scarcely was he ſeated among theſe new legiſlators when he caſt his eyes around him in queſt of adepts who might co-operate in hurling from his throne that unfortunate monarch, whoſe power the preceding aſſembly had reduced to a mere phantom. He ſoon perceived that ſame hatred to royalty raging in the breaſts of a Petion, a Buzot, a Vergniaux, a Gaudet, a Genſonné, or a Louvet, and to them he opened his plans.

According to the plan contrived by the conſpirators, we ſhall ſee that France was in the firſt place to be inundated with journals, all ſtimulating the people to complete the grand work of their liberty. By dint of libels and moſt odious calumnies againſt Lewis XVI. and his queen; they were to eradicate every ſentiment of affection from the heart of the ſubject. They next bethought themſelves of ſtirring up the foreign powers, that Lewis XVI. being engaged in war without, might fall an eaſier prey to intrigue within. We next hear the club reſounding with that very ſentence which Briſſot afterwards writes to the generals of *his* revolution: *Europe muſt be ſet on fire at the four corners; in that our ſafety lies.** By means of their adepts and clubs they were perpetually exciting the people to inſurrection, in order to caſt the odium on the king and queen. Under pretence of taking meaſures againſt theſe frequent inſurrections, and to ward off the danger to which they expoſed France, they formed in the National Aſſembly a ſecret committee under the title of *extraordinary commiſſion*, and which was the head of the faction ſince called the *Girondins*, from the department

" war againſt poperv, aim, many of them, *at a ſubverſion of* " *all religion, and ſtill many more at the deſtruction of regal* " *power* —How do you know this? you will ſay: you, who " have been but ſix weeks in France, three of which you have " been confined in your chamber.—True; but in the firſt pe- " riod I went every where, and heard nothing elſe; in the lat- " ter I have been extremely viſited, and have had long and ex- " plicit converſations with many who think as I tell you, and " with a few of the other ſide, who are no leſs perſuaded that " there are ſuch intentions. In particular, I had two officers " here the other night, neither of them young, whom I had " difficulty to keep from a ſerious quarrel, and who, in the heat " of the diſpute, informed me of much more than I could have " learned with great pains." *(Vol. V.)*

* See Mallet Du Pan's Conſiderations on the Nature of the Revolution, P. 37.

of the Gironde, in Gascony. It was there that Brissot, at the head of the Elect, and presiding in the *commission*, prepared, in silence, those decrees that were to consummate the plots against monarchy. He wished to give this revolution an appearance of philosophy, solicited by an enlightened people tired of its kings, and willing to recognize no other sovereign than itself. He sent his emissaries into the provinces; but they all returned, declaring that the French nation was unwilling to sacrifice its king.—He then founded the legislative assembly, and the opinions of the majority also coincided with the wishes of the people.—What he could not accomplish by his sophistry, he now determined to effectuate by means of pikes and his blood-thirsty legions of brigands.—He calls those legions from the South known by the name of *Marseillois*; from the West the Jacobins send up the brigands of Brest; *Barbaroux* and *Panis*, *Carra* and *Beaujois* the intruded vicar of Blois, *Bessé* from the Drome, *Gallissot* from Langres, *Fournier* the West-Indian, General *Westermann*, *Kieulin* from Strasbourg, *Santerre* the brewer, *Antoine* from Metz, and *Gorsas* the journalist, combined with the *Girondins*. They hold their councils sometimes at Robespierre's, at others at the *Soleil d'Or*, (the golden Sun,) a tavern near the Bastille. *Syeyes* and his club of *twenty-two*, or the occult Lodge of the Jacobins, second them with all their might.—*Marat*, *Prudhomme*, and *Millin*, with all the Journalists of the Party, daily invent new calumnies against Lewis and his royal Consort. *Alexandre* and the renegado *Chabot* stir up the suburbs of *St. Antoine* and *St. Marceau*. Philip of Orleans contributes his money and his party, because he is in hopes of being himself exalted to the throne, as soon as Lewis XVI. shall be driven from it; and even though he were not to succeed in obtaining the throne, he will at least have gratified his vengeance.

Every thing is agreed on; the Legions are arrived; at ten minutes before one in the morning the alarm bells ring the prelude to the terrible 10th of August. The second Assembly has now fulfilled its task; Lewis XVI. is declared to be deprived of all right to the crown. He is torn from the palace of his forefathers, and immured within the towers of the Temple. It is there that the third Assembly of Legislators is to find him, and are to lead him from thence to the scaffold to fulfil the oaths of the Occult Lodges.

Should the hiſtorian heſitate at recognizing this progreſſion of the Sect, to conduct us to the terrible catastrophe of the 10th of Auguſt, let him turn to the avowals of the adepts themſelves.—The day is come when they envy each other the commiſſion of ſuch crimes; they had inſtalled Briſſot the leader of the Jacobins; but Robeſpierre, Marat, and Danton ſnatch the ſceptre from him; he wiſhes to wreſt it from them again; and he publiſhes an addreſs to all the Jacobins of France to ſubſtantiate his rights. His apology, as well as that of his co-adept Louvet are in ſubſtance no more than the hiſtory of the very conſpiracy I have juſt been deſcribing. Should it be neceſſary, for the conviction of the reader, to turn to any part of it, let him hearken to Briſſot, when ſaying, the Triumvirs Robeſpierre, Marat, and Danton, have accuſed me "of being the author of the war, and had it not been "for the war, Royalty would have ſtill ſubſiſted! Had it "not been for the war, thouſands of talents, thouſands of "virtues would never have burſt forth from obſcurity! "—And had it not been for the war, Savoy and ſo many "other ſtates whoſe fetters are about to fall, would ne"ver have acquired their Liberty.—They were fearful "of a war conducted by a King—Oh! ſhallow politi"cians! It was preciſely becauſe this perjured King "was to conduct the war, becauſe he could only con"duct it as a traitor, becauſe this treaſon alone would in"fallibly lead him to his ruin; it was for ſuch reaſons, "that it was neceſſary to have a war conducted by the "King.—*It was the abolition of Royalty that I had in "view when I cauſed war to be declared*—Men who "were enlightened underſtood me, when on the 30th of "December 1791, they heard me anſwer Robeſpierre, "who was always talking to me of treaſons to be feared, "*I have but one fear, which is, that we ſhall not be be"trayed; we ſtand in need of treachery, for our whole "ſafety depends on our being betrayed*—For treaſons "would ſoon make that which thwarts the greatneſs of "the French nation diſappear, I mean Royalty."

But while this Sophiſter is declaiming ſo much on *treaſons*, and glorying in that which he had for ſo long a time premeditated againſt this unfortunate Sovereign, which he makes his title of pre-eminence in the eyes of the Jacobins, he takes care not to mention that he would have betrayed the traitors themſelves, had Lewis XVI.

had money sufficient to supply his extravagant demands. On the 9th of August, the eve of the day when all the Conspirators were to be put in action, he sent to ask the King for *twelve millions* (500,000l.) as a price for withdrawing from the Conspiracy *and for rendering it abortive.**—What extraordinary men are these Sophisters, and what ideas do they form of their own virtues! But truth imposes on us the disgusting task of hearkening to this man, while narrating his own crimes. He will boast of the time that he employed in meditating and preparing them, and will represent the callous indifference with which he viewed the canibal scenes of that bloody day as greatness of soul. "They accuse me (he continues) of "having presided over the *extraordinary commission*; *and* "*if the able heads of that commission had not prepared*, "and that a long while previous to the 10th of August, "those decrees that saved France, such as the *suspension* "*of the King, the convocation of the Convention, the or-*"*ganization of a Republican Ministry*; if these decrees "had not been wisely combined, so as to banish every "idea of force or terror; had they not borne the stamp of "grandeur and of cool deliberation, the Revolution of "the 10th of August would have appeared to the eyes of "all Europe to have been a *Revolution of canibals.*— "But at the sight of wisdom presiding in the midst of "these storms, and staying even the arm of carnage, Eu-"rope then believed that France was saved. Let who "will calumniate the 10th of August, the valor of the "federated bands and the deliberate decrees of the Na-"tional Assemby, which *had been prepared by the Com-*"*mission*, will forever immortalize that day."†

Let us follow this strange Sophister; for, after showing how he betrayed Lewis XVI. he will now explain the manner in which he betrayed both the Nation and the Assembly; how he and his adherents gradually led the people, and the majority of the Assembly to the commission of crimes, of which neither approved. "My opi-"nion (of the 9th of July) on the deposition of the King "has been much cavilled at. The same has happened to "Vergniaux—I here call to witness my Colleagues, all "those who were acquainted with *the state of our Assem-*

* See the Memoirs of Mr. Bertrand, Vol. III. Chap. XXII.

† Brissot's Letter to the Jacobins, October 24, 1792.

" *bly, with the weakneſs and minority of the patriots*, the " corruption of terror, the averſion in which the enthuſi- " aſts held the court party. Doubtleſs, it needed no ſmall " ſhare of courage to riſk that eloquent hypotheſis on the " crimes of the King in the midſt of ſuch an aſſembly as " Vergniaux did. And the day after that coalition, which " ſo much weakened the party of the Patriots, was it not " a taſk that required courage which I undertook, to give " a lively deſcription of the crimes of the King, and to " propoſe his being brought to trial. *This was blaſphe-* " *my in the eyes of the majority, nevertheleſs I dared to* " *ſpeak it.*"

When deſcribing the *Girondins*, his chief ſupport, he ſays, " perpetually occupied in repairing their faults, in " union with other enlightened patriots, they *were prepa-* " *ring the minds to pronounce the ſuſpenſion of the King.* " —*They were far from conceiving ſuch a ſtep; and this* " *was my reaſon for riſking that famous diſcourſe of the* " *26th July on the depoſition*, a diſcourſe that in the con- " ception of ordinary minds was a dereliction of princi- " ple, but in the eyes of the enlightened, *was only a pru-* " *dent and neceſſary manœuvre.* I well knew that the " Ariſtocratical party wiſhed nothing ſo much as to meet " the queſtion on the depoſition, becauſe they tho't them- " ſelves certain of ſucceſs, and becauſe *the minds were not* " *yet ripe in the Departments—the defeat of the Patri-* " *ots was therefore inevitable. It was neceſſary then to* " *tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opi-* " *nion, or to ripen it for inſurrection*; for the depoſition " of the King could be effected but by one of theſe two " means.—Such were my motives for pronouncing my " diſcourſe on the 26th of July, which expoſed me to ſo " much reproach, and even ranked me among the ſecret " Royaliſts, while the *Patriote François* (the newſpaper " that he publiſhed) *never ceaſed to prepare the minds in* " *the Departments for theſe extraordinary meaſures.*"

Amidſt the multitude of reflections that muſt naturally ariſe on the peruſal of theſe avowals, the words *it was therefore neceſſary to tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opinion, or to ripen it for inſurrection*, preſent us with a great axiom in the theory of Revolutions. They ſhow us, that thoſe inſurrections repreſented as the grand movements of a people, as the act of the majority of a nation, are merely the efforts of an united

faction againſt the majority of a nation; that had the opinions of the majority of the nation coincided with the views of the Conſpirators, they would not have been obliged to ſeek the aid of brigands, in order to triumph by arms and terror over an unarmed and unſuſpecting people. It may be objected, that France had its National Guards; moſt certainly it had; but Briſſot carefully avoided calling on them for ſuccor. He had ſeen them flocking from all parts of France to the federation on the 14th of July; but theſe truly *federated bands* had ſhown the greateſt marks of attachment to Lewis and his Royal Conſort; and it was not to ſuch men that the Conſpirators dared propoſe the depoſition of the King. What plan do the Conſpirators adopt? They aſſemble all thoſe brigands called *Marſeillois*, (not becauſe they were inhabitants of Marſeilles or Provence, but becauſe the greater part of them had been condemned to the gallies at Marſeilles), and ſurname theſe brigands of all countries *The Federated Bands*. They oblige the inhabitants of the ſuburbs to fall into the ranks with them; they cauſe the commander of the National Guard to be murdered, that, being without a chief, it might have no unity of action, and that thoſe who had been ſeduced might join the brigands. They then repreſent as a general inſurrection of the people, as the will of the nation, that which they have themſelves demonſtrated to have been no other than an inſurrection of their own cut-throat bands againſt their King and the nation at large. Such has been the whole progreſs of the Revolution; all has been done by mobs and inſurrections, or, as the chiefs ſtyle it, by *means of force and terror*, which have enſlaved a nation that had reſiſted every means of ſeduction.

Similar proofs relating to that atrocious Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt are to be found in Louvet's diſcourſe; he alſo boaſts of his cunning in preparing the plots. "*We Jacobins wiſhed for war*, (he ſays) becauſe "peace muſt have undoubtedly killed the Republic—be- "cauſe, undertaken in time, the misfortunes inevitable "at the firſt outſet could be repaired, and would at once "*purify the Senate, the Armies and the Throne*—Every "man *worthy of being a Republican* loudly called for "war. *They dared aſpire to ſtrike a mortal blow at Roy-* "*alty itſelf; to exterminate it for ever, in France firſt,* "AND THEN THROUGHOUT THE UNIVERSE." He

then alludes to the parts acted by his accomplices.—"Thoſe whom you call my friends (he ſays to Robespierre) were *Roland*, who had denounced Lewis XVI. "to all France—*Servan*, who was involved in the honorable retreat of the Miniſter of the Interior, and only returned into office with him, and that to ſave France "—*Petion*, whoſe conduct at once vigorous and wiſe, was "*wearing out Royalty—Briſſot*, he was writing againſt "Monarchy," (Condorcet was alſo writing in the ſame cauſe)—"*Vergniaux*, *Genſonné*, and many others, *were* "*preparing before hand the plan for the ſuſpenſion—Gaudet* was ſeated in the chair when the cannon began to "roar.—*Barbaroux was advancing at the head of the* "*Marſeillois for the 10th of Auguſt*; and lucky it is for "you that he headed them—*I* (Louvet) was writing the "*Sentinelle*; and your eternal vaporings oblige me to ſay, "that my journal contributed much more to the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, than your *Defenſeur de la* "*Conſtitution* (written by Robeſpierre)."*

By the third aſſembly.

Thus have theſe ſanguinary Legiſlators furniſhed the Hiſtorian with the proofs of their own guilt, and of their crimes againſt their Sovereign. Let this Republic then appear, this Republic of Equality and Liberty, ſo long cheriſhed by the Sophiſters, and nurtured by the adepts in their Occult Lodges! Lewis is no longer ſeated on the throne! Let not Lewis, nor any Bourbon, nor any living creature aſpire to it in future. *Royalty is aboliſhed*, and France is proclaimed *a Republic*. This is the firſt decrée of thoſe Conſpirators ſtyling themſelves *a Convention*, and ſucceeding to thoſe who had called themſelves the ſecond National Aſſembly (*September* 21, 1792). The better to eſtabliſh Equality, every mark of rank, even the common marks of civility as well as the title of *King* are proſcribed; and *Citizen* is in future the ſole appellation allowed (*October* 29). Leſt the very ſight of a faithful ſubject ſhould recal the idea of a King, death is pro-

France declared a Republic.

* See *Louvet's Addreſs to Robeſpierre*. Should the reader wiſh for any more of theſe avowals and vapourings of a multitude of adepts on the art with which they prepared the ſanguinary ſcenes of that day, let them read *Robeſpierre's Letter to his Conſtituents; Petion's Obſervations on that Letter;* the *Annales Patriotiques*, by Carra and Mercier, 30th Nov. 1792; the *Chronique de Paris*, by Millin, and his threats on the 5th of Auguſt, 1792, &c. &c.

nounced againſt every Emigrant who ſhall dare to ſet foot on the territories of the Republic (*November* 10). The ſame puniſhment is pronounced againſt any man who ſhould *dare propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Royalty in France* (*December* 4).

The Sect now proceeds towards the completion of its myſteries. Lewis, who had been ſeated on the throne, ſtill exiſts; and it was not in vain that the adepts had been taught in the caverns of the *Knights Kadoſch* to trample on crowns and ſtab Kings. To the atrocious games reality muſt ſucceed; *Robeſpierre* advances; but let him and his hangman range for a time on the field; he is no more than a wild beaſt that the Sect have let looſe. He is not the wretch that devours the captive Monarch; it is the Sect. Even in Lewis are two diſtinct perſons in the eyes of the Jacobins. They would perhaps have loved and revered him in private life; but he was King, and they foam with rage at the very idea; his head falls on the ſcaffold; their relentleſs vengeance even ſtrikes the ſtatue of the beloved and great Henry IV.; every monument that can recal the idea of a King falls beneath their blows. It was not at Lewis, it was at Royalty, that theſe modern Vandals aimed. They declared Lewis XVI. to be a tyrant; they continue to proclaim it; but they have their own interpretation; they ſtyle him ſo, juſt as the Sophiſters ſtyled *every King a Tyrant*.—They knew well, that Lewis XVI. had during a reign of nineteen years ſigned many a pardon, but had never ſigned a ſingle death-warrant; and that certainly is not the character of a tyrant. They knew well, that the firſt act of Lewis on his coming to the throne was to releaſe his ſubjects from the tax cuſtomary on ſuch an occaſion; he aboliſhed the cuſtom of the *Corvées* (or bind days); neither the accuſed nor even the guilty, could be put to the torture during his reign; and do ſuch edicts beſpeak the tyrant? They alſo ſaw him relinquiſh in favor of his ſubjects all the feudal rights in his own domains, that he might obtain by example that alleviation for his people, which he could not eſtabliſh by authority without making an attack upon private property. They knew well that Lewis XVI. was entirely free from thoſe vices which are either odious or burdenſome to nations; he was religious, an enemy to oſtentation, compaſſionate and generous to the poor; they had ſeen him laviſhing his privy purſe to

Lewis XVI. is condemned to death.

warm, to cloath, to feed the indigent; ſeen him even carry in perſon ſuccor to the friendleſs cottager; they had ſeen the poor raiſing the ſnow into a pyramid, and ſhaping it out into a monument of gratitude to Lewis XVI. mitigating the rigors of the winter. They knew well, that the gratitude of the poor is not ſo induſtrious to ſhew attachment to a tyrant. In vain they will upbraid him as a deſpot or a tyrant; for they cannot deny, that never a Prince was ſeated on a throne more zealous in his application to his duty, or leſs jealous of his rights than Lewis XVI.; confidence and love ſeem to be his leading features; and if ever he ſpoke in that peremptory way which denotes the determination of being obeyed, it was, when ſurrounded by aſſaſſins, he ſo often repeated to his guards, *If it be neceſſary to ſhed but one ſingle drop of blood for my ſafety, I forbid it to be ſhed*; and ſuch are the orders of a tyrant!!! Should calumny obſtinately perſiſt, let it read theſe laſt ſentiments of Lewis: "I pray all "thoſe whom I may have offended through inadvertency "(for I do not remember to have offended any perſon "knowingly), or thoſe to whom I may have given bad "example, or ſcandal, to pardon whatever injury they "may think I can have done them." Let the regicide judges read (for it is to them he ſpeaks and ſays) "I "pardon with all my heart thoſe who have conſtituted "themſelves my enemies without my giving them cauſe, "and I pray God that he will pardon them." Let them follow him to the ſcaffold, and there contemplate if they dare, that ſerenity of his countenance, in the midſt of his executioners, which ſo well denotes the tranquillity of his ſoul: and they dare not hear his laſt words: Drums are beaten and trumpets ſounded to drown his voice; for they are conſcious that he has neither lived nor is about to die the death of a tyrant.

Real motives of his condemnation.

Theſe conſpiring legiſlators, however, knew it long before they ſat in judgment on their King; for if you aſk them, when in the very act of regicide, of what crime Lewis XVI. has been guilty? They will anſwer, Lewis was a King, and our wiſh is the death of every King.—Hearken to the Jacobin *Robert:* when he comes to vote he ſays, "I condemn the tyrant to death; and in pronouncing this ſentence, *I have but one regret*, which is, that "my power *does not extend over all the tyrants, to condemn them all to the ſame fate:*" Hear, again, the Jaco-

bin *Carra*; " *For the inſtruction of nations, in all times,* " *and in all places*, and for the conſternation of tyrants, I " vote for death:"—Or the Jacobin *Boileau*; " *Nations* " *accuſtomed to conſider their Kings as ſacred objects* will " neceſſarily ſay, ' the heads of Kings, however, cannot " be ſo ſacred, ſince the axe can ſtrike them, and that they " fall beneath the avenging arm of juſtice.' *It is thus* " *you are launching nations into the career of Liberty*; I " vote for death."*

Should the real cauſe of the death of Lewis XVI. not ſufficiently appear in ſuch language, let the reader revert to that club of the Sophiſters where Condorcet was learning that a day would come *when the Sun would ſhine on none but free men, and when Kings and Prieſts ſhould have no exiſtence but in hiſtory or on the ſtage.* Turn back to thoſe conſpiring dens haunted by the Occult Maſons, and doubt for a moment, if you can, of this hiſtorical truth, that Lewis periſhed upon the ſcaffold *becauſe he was King*; that the daughter of the Cezars periſhed *becauſe ſhe was Queen*; and never was ſhe more deſerving of that exalted ſtation, than when ſhe ſhowed ſuch undaunted courage and greatneſs of ſoul in the midſt of her murderers. Madame Elizabeth periſhed, becauſe neither virtue, innocence, nor magnanimity, could efface the ſtain, indelible in the eyes of the Jacobins, of being the daughter and ſiſter of a King. Philip of Orleans crouched into wickedneſs and infamy, and ſacrificed his immenſe fortune to the Sect; he cowardly and baſely votes for the death of his royal relation to pleaſe the Sect; he takes the name of *Equality*, abandoning rank and birth, and even denies his father to court the Sect; but no ſooner are his crimes unneceſſary for the progreſs of that Sect, than he is dragged away to the ſcaffold becauſe he is of royal deſcent. But the conſpirators are fearful, that if they ſtruck at that model of virtue and goodneſs the Dutcheſs of Orleans, the axe would fall from the hands of the executioners. The numerous ſacrifices made by the Dutcheſs of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti proved to the conſpirators that theſe remnants of blood-royal were little to be feared; nevertheleſs they are obliged, with every perſon of royal extraction, to fly the territories of the new Republic. To cement this hatred for Kings, the day on

* See the Moniteur, Sittings of Jan. 2, and following, 1793.

which Lewis XVI. was murdered on the ſcaffold is declared a perpetual feſtival for *this people equal and free*; on this day the *oath of hatred to Royalty* is to be ſolemnly ſworn by all the Magiſtrates; and this oath is to be in future a neceſſary qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of Citizen in this new Republic; ſuch are the regulations decreed; and death is pronounced, as we have already ſeen, againſt whoever dares propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy.

The atrocities of the Revolution derived from the Sect.

Notwithſtanding the rivers of blood that flowed in France, to conſummate theſe plots againſt Royalty, the Sect and its agents behold theſe horrid ſcenes with all the brutal exultation of cannibals. The guillotine is declared permanent in Paris, and ambulant in the Provinces in queſt of Royaliſts and Prieſts. New words are even invented to denote the butcheries that now take place, for our forefathers had not even formed an idea of cruelties to ſuch an extent. Whole hecatombs of victims are ſhot *in maſs*, and this was ſtyled *Fuſillades*; hecatombs alſo were drowned, and that ſpecies of murder they called *Noyades*.* Is it the Sect then that thus hardens and brutalizes the hearts of the Jacobins? Are we to turn back to their leſſons to explain both the number and the choice

* Another ſpecies of cruelty not mentioned, is that which the cannibals of Nantes called *Des Marriages Patriotiques*.—The reader will ſcarcely believe me when I tell him, that women were comprehended in theſe abominable butcheries. Nevertheleſs, as a refinement of cruelty, when any young royaliſt was ſuppoſed to have an attachment for any young woman, they were tied together, hand and foot, previous to their being thrown into the Loire, that they might paſs in *Charon's Bark together*; or they would tie ſome venerable old clergyman to a young woman, that he might be provided with a young wife in the next world. Such were their *Patriotic Marriages*; ſuch the cruelties that muſt ſurpriſe the reader, were he not acquainted with the ſchool whence they proceed. At Arras *Le Bon* would guillotine *by ſtreets*; and one night returning home, a little drunk, he thought an execution by torch-light would have *a Patriotic effect*. The Count de Bethune, who had been brought to trial in the morning and *acquitted*, was immediately named as the victim; but Le Bon was informed that he had been tried and acquitted; no matter, we will try him again, (ſays the Commiſſary); and the poor Count was condemned and executed becauſe he was *ſoupçonné d'etre ſuſpect*. This, perhaps, is the moſt extraordinary crime on record, *ſuſpected of being a ſuſpicious character* for Ariſtocracy; nevertheleſs, many hundreds periſhed on the ſcaffold for this crime. *Tranſ.*

of victims, the cool wickedneſs of the adepts, the atrocious joy of the executioners? Yes, all you who ſeek the cauſe elſewhere, forget the myſteries; I am obliged to call you back to the true parent of this ſanguinary tribe; yes, it was the principles of the Sect that made *Barnave* at the ſight of heads carried on pikes, ferociouſly ſmile and exclaim, *Was that blood then ſo pure that one might not even ſpill one drop of it?* Yes, it was thoſe principles that made *Chapellier*, *Mirabeau*, and *Gregoire*, when they beheld the brigands ſurrounding the palace of Verſailles in ſanguinary rage, thirſting after murder, and particularly after the blood of the Queen, exclaim, *The People muſt have victims.* It was thoſe principles that even ſmothered the affection of Brother for Brother, when the adept *Chenier*, ſeeing his own Brother delivered over to the hands of the public executioner, coolly ſaid, *If my Brother be not in the true ſenſe of the Revolution, let him be ſacrificed*; that eradicated the feeling of the child for his parents, when the adept *Philip* brought in triumph to the club of the Jacobins *the heads of his father and mother!!* This inſatiable Sect calls out by the mouth of the bloody *Marat*, for *two hundred and ſeventy thouſand heads*, declaring that before long it will count only by millions. They know well, that their ſyſtems and laſt myſteries of Equality can only be accompliſhed in its full extent by depopulating the world; and, by the mouth of *Le Bo*, it anſwers the inhabitants of Montauban, terrified with the want of proviſions, "*Fear not*; *France has a* "*ſufficiency for twelve millions of inhabitants: All the* "*reſt* (that is the other twelve millions) *muſt be put to* "*death, and then there will be no ſcarcity of bread.*"*

We wiſh to caſt the odium of ſuch horrors on a *Marat*, a *Robeſpierre*, or ſome ſuch wretches; but *Barnave* preceded Robeſpierre; and the oath of the Sect to denounce *father*, *mother*, *friends*, *brothers*, and *ſiſters*, and to look upon every perſon as proſcribed who ſhould not adopt the revolutionary principles, did not originate with them. Such was the oath of the Lodges long before the exiſtence of the Jacobins. It was not from Robeſpierre, but in Holbach's club, that Condorcet learned to exclaim as he did in the legiſlative aſſembly, *Let the world periſh, rather than ſacrifice our principles of Equality!*

* Report of the *Comité du Salut Publique*, Auguſt 8, 1795.

It would not be the brigands alone, but Syeyes, Garat, the elect of the Sophisters, and the club of the *twenty-two*, that would smile at the horror we had conceived at such deeds. Thus did Syeyes answer Mallet du Pan, when he expressed his detestation of the means employed in the revolution; *You are always talking to us of the means employed; but, Sir, it is the End, it is the Object, the Ultimate View, that you must learn to consider:* And this very principle, that consoles such men as Syeyes for such a multitude of atrocities, is to be discovered in the Code of the Illuminized Lodges, whence it found its way into the Jacobin club.*

A day may come when history will be more accurately informed *how* and *in what haunts* this blood-thirsty Sect pointed out its victims, and taught its adepts not to be startled at the number of them. Meantime I have promised to lead my reader back to that which held its sittings in the *Rue Sourdiere*, where *Savalette de Lange* presided; where the Illuminees were received; and where *Dietrich*, who was one of the first that brought the mysteries into France, was seated. The following anecdote may guide the historian in his researches on that subject.

At the time when the brigands were put into requisition, when the castles of the Nobility were being consumed by fire in the provinces, when the heads of the Nobility were being carried in triumph on pikes, the *Abbé Royou*, well known for his zeal against the Sophisters, was obliged to fly from Paris to escape the fury of the *Palais Royal* mob. He had wandered for some time from village to village, when he privately returned to Paris, and called upon me about four o'clock in the morning. On my questioning him how he had passed his time during his flight, "I lived, (said he) chiefly with the curates, and was very well received by them, but could not make any long stay with them, lest I should expose them to similar danger with myself. I soon began to suspect the last curate with whom I took refuge when

* I leave to Mr. Mallet du Pan himself, the task of revealing what he heard in that club, and the horror he conceived on the occasion. He may also inform the reader with what indignation he received the invitation of the *twenty-two* to become a member of their club. But it was from the mouth of that justly celebrated author that I learned the answer which Syeyes made to his reproaches.

" I saw him receive a letter from Paris. He opened and " read it with such an air, that my suspicions were great- " ly increased. Strongly suspecting that I was the object " of this letter, I watched the opportunity when he was " gone to the church, to enter his room, where I found " the epistle couched in the following terms: *Your letter,* " *my dear friend, was read in presence of the whole club.* " *They were surprized to find so much philosophy in a vil-* " *lage curate. Be tranquil, my dear curate; we are* " *three hundred; we mark the heads and the fall; only* " *keep your people ready; dispose your parishioners to ex-* " *ecute the orders, and they shall be given to you in time.*

(Signed) " DIETRICH, *Secretary.*"

To the many reflections that must naturally arise on the reading of such a letter, I shall only add, that the club to which these three hundred belonged had transferred the place of its sittings to the suburbs of St. Honoré, and that it assembled there for a long time without being observed by the court; when a scene of drunkenness apprised the king of the fate that awaited him. At the conclusion of one of those banquets *sacred to fraternity*, all the brethren made a puncture in their arm and received their blood in their glasses; they then drank the toast *Death to kings*, and thus concluded the fraternal repast. This anecdote will easily suggest of what species of men the *legion of twelve hundred*, proposed by *Jean de Brie* to the Convention, was to be composed, who were to be dispersed over the whole globe to murder all the kings of the earth.

Thus did the Sect, under the name of *Fraternity*, by the frenzy of its Equality, by the very nature of its principles, and by the horrid rites of its Lodges, so degenerate the hearts of its adepts, as to form (like the old man of the mountain) clubs of three hundred assassins at a time. Thus do the mysteries explain the ferocious joy of a Marat, of a St. Just, of a Le Bon, of a Carrier, of a Collot D'Herbois, and the still more ferocious serenity of the Sophisters of the revolution in the midst of massacres and rivers of blood.

But the vengeance of that God who has permitted so heavy a scourge to befall France, now appears to have taken another turn. In that country the altar of Christ is overturned, and the throne of its kings annihilated.—

Thoſe who had conſpired againſt the altar and the throne now conſpire againſt each other. The intruded clergy, the Deiſts, and the Atheiſts, butchered the Catholics.—The Intruders, the Deiſts, and the Atheiſts now begin to cut each other's throats. The Conſtitutionaliſts drove out the Royaliſts, and are in their turn put to flight by the Republicans. The Democrats of the Republic *one and indiviſible*, murder the Democrats of the *federative* Republic; the faction of the *mountain*, guillotines the *Girondin* faction, and then ſplit into the faction of Hebert and Marat, of Danton and Chabot, of Cloots and Chaumette, and in fine into the faction of Robeſpierre, who devours them all, and is in his turn devoured by the faction of Tallien and Freron. Briſſot and Genſonné, Gaudet and Fauchet, Rabaud and Barbaroux, with thirty more, are condemned to death by Fouquier Tinville, juſt as they had condemned their King; Fouquier is himſelf ſent to the ſcaffold, juſt as he had ſent Briſſot and Co. Petion and Buzot periſh with hunger in the foreſts, and are devoured by the wild beaſts; Perrin dies in priſon; Valazé and Labat ſtab themſelves; Marat falls beneath the arm of Charlotte Corday; Robeſpierre dies on the ſcaffold, and Syeyes alone ſurvives, becauſe the cup of vengeance is not yet exhauſted on miſerable France.—*Pentarques* (or the government of five), with a two-fold ſenate, are now become a new curſe on this unhappy country. A Rewbel, Carnot, Barras, Le Tourneur, and a Reveillière Lepaux, aſſume the command of its armies, drive away its deputies equal and free, fulminate its Sections, and rule it with a rod of iron. Every thing trembles before them: when they grow jealous of each other, they plot deſtruction and drive each other into baniſhment; but new tyrants ſucceed and unite together; and at this preſent time the ruling Deities in France are baniſhment, ſtupor, fear, and the Pentarques. Terror has impoſed ſilence throughout the Empire, and this vaſt priſon contains twenty millions of ſlaves, all ſkulking into obſcurity at the very name of a Merlin or a Rewbel, or at the threat of a journey to Cayenne; ſuch is the *Majeſty* of that people ſo frequently declared *Equal*, *Free*, and *Sovereign*.

The Sect purſues its plots againſt Pro-

The reader, perhaps, may think that in the midſt of ſuch maſſacres, factions, tyrants, and terror, the Sect muſt have loſt the thread of all its plots; but it has never loſt ſight

of them for a moment. The Pentarques are more than ever ſtimulated by it againſt the Clergy and the Nobility; while the ultimate myſteries threaten the Pentarques themſelves. In vain ſhall they attempt to preſerve a ſufficiency of the Social Order to keep them in poſſeſſion of that authority which they have erected on the ruins of the throne. The Sect has thus far proceeded ſucceſsfully toward the accompliſhment of its myſteries; but it will not ſtop here; has it not ſworn to annihilate *Property* as well as the throne? During the firſt aſſembly, did not thoſe conſpirators, now *calling themſelves Conſtitutionaliſts*, annihilate the property of the clergy; and the next aſſembly that of the nobility, under the pretence of emigration, while thoſe who remained in France were pillaged under pretence of confiſcation? Then come the adepts *Bruiſſart*, *Robeſpierre*, and the two *Juliens*; and they write that the favorable moment is now come *to extirpate the* MERCANTILE ARISTOCRACY, *as well as that of the Nobles*. In their ſecret correſpondence, juſt as Weiſhaupt does in his myſteries, they declare that *merchantiſm* (negotiantiſm) *muſt be cruſhed. That wherever a large number of rich merchants were to be found, there were ſure to be found as many cheats, and Liberty could not eſtabliſh its empire there.** Accordingly, ſpoliations and requiſitions have robbed the merchants and citizens of their property, juſt as the Clergy and Nobility had been robbed before them. But even this is not the accompliſhment of the *grand end*, of the ultimate views of the Sect, againſt all property, againſt all ſociety whatever. Even under the iron reign of the Pentarques, let us attend to the addreſſes publiſhed by the adepts *Drouet*, *Babœuf*, and *Langelot*:

perty and Society;

Extract from the Addreſs to the French People, found in Babœuf's papers.

"People of France,—During fifteen centuries you "lived in ſlavery, therefore unhappy. It is ſcarcely ſix "years ſince you began to breathe *in expectation of in-* "*dependence, of happineſs, and of Equality*. At all times "and in all places men have been lulled with fine words; "never, and in no place, did they obtain the thing with "the word. From time immemorial has it been hypo-

* See Papers found at Robeſpierre's, and printed by order of the Convention, Nos. 43, 75, 89, 107, &c.

" critically repeated, that *men are equal*; and from time " immemorial the moſt monſtrous inequality has inſo- " lently preſſed on mankind. *Ever ſince the exiſtence of* " *Civil Societies*, the fineſt appendage of man has undoubt- " edly been recognized, but has never been once reali- " zed. *Equality has never been any thing but a noble* " *and ſterile fiction of the law.* Now that it is called for " with a louder voice, they anſwer us, Wretches hold " your peace! Equality *in deed* is a mere chimera; be " contented with a conditional equality. You are all equal " before the law, ye raſcals! What more do you want? " —What more do we want!——*Ye Legiſlators, ye Go-* " *vernors, ye Rich, ye Proprietors, now hearken in your* " *turn:*

" *We are all equal.*—That principle is inconteſtable. " - - - *Very well! We mean in future to live and die as* " *we are born. We will have real Equality, or death.*— " That is what we want, and we will have that real equa- " lity, coſt what it will. *Wo be to thoſe whom we ſhall* " *meet between it and us!* Wo to the man who ſhall " dare oppoſe ſo poſitive a determination! *The French* " *revolution is but the forerunner of a revolution greater* " *by far and much more ſolemn; and which will be the* " *laſt.* - -

" What do we aſk more than the Equality of rights? " Why, we will not only have that Equality tranſcribed " in the declaration of the rights of man and of the citi- " zen; we will have it in the midſt of us, under the roofs " of our houſes. We conſent to every thing for the ac- " quiſition of it, even *to clear decks*, that we may poſſeſs " it alone; *Periſh the arts, if requiſite*, provided we do " but preſerve real Equality!

" Legiſlators and Governors, *Proprietors*, *rich* and " *bowel-leſs*, in vain do you attempt to paralize our ſacred " enterprize, by ſaying, *we are only re-producing the A-* " *grarian law* that has been ſo often aſked for before.

" Calumniators! hold your peace in your turn, and in " the ſilence of confuſion hearken to our pretenſions, dic- " tated by nature, and grounded on juſtice.

" *The Agrarian law, or the equal partition of lands,* " *was the momentary wiſh* of a few ſoldiers without prin- " ciples, of a few clans actuated rather by inſtinct than by " reaſon. *We aim at ſomething far more ſublime, far* " *more equitable*; GOODS IN COMMON, *or* THE COM-

" MUNITY OF ESTATES! *No more individual proper-*
" *ties in land, for the earth belongs to nobody. We demand*
" *and will enjoy the goods of the earth in common. The*
" *fruits belong to all.*

" *Diſappear now, ye diſguſting diſtinctions of rich and*
" *poor, of higher and lower, of maſter and ſervant, of*
" GOVERNING *and* GOVERNED! *for no other diſtinction*
" *ſhall exiſt among mankind, than thoſe of* AGE *and* SEX."*

The authors of this addreſs were certainly too haſty in their publication; but every reader will ſee that their language perfectly coincides with the *Man-king* of Illuminiſm. France, it is true, was not yet ſufficiently prepared for this laſt plot; but it is neceſſary ſometimes to detach certain adepts to ſound the way, tho' afterwards the Sect ſhould find it neceſſary to diſavow and ſacrifice its offſpring. Though Babœuf may have been ſacrificed to the myſteries, his accomplices ſtill live; their legions impoſed upon the judges and on the Pentarques themſelves, and they dared not condemn *Drouet*. Is it to be ſuppoſed, that after completely pillaging the Clergy and the Nobility, after ſucceſsfully deſpoiling many merchants, tradesmen, and citizens, in the ſame manner as the Sect had pillaged the two firſt Orders of the State, a ſingle defeat ſhould ſuffice to check its views? or can we ſay, that it will not one day proclaim that *Equality in deed* which which ſhall baniſh from the earth all thoſe *diſtinctions of rich and poor, of higher and lower, of maſter and ſervant*, and ultimately *of* GOVERNING *and* GOVERNED?

Some perſons may flatter themſelves that our ſciences may protract the day of barbariſm, when men are to roam in clans without laws or magiſtrates; but have we not ſeen in the myſteries, that our ſciences, in the eyes of the Sect, are no other than the prime cauſe of our misfortunes, of the alledged ſlavery of ſociety?† And if facts did not ſpeak clearly enough, if the monuments of art falling beneath the blows of the Jacobins did not ſufficiently denote the veneration it bears to the productions of genius; if any apparent reſpect ſhould ſtill be ſhown to the fathers of letters, let not the reader conceive that the adepts have really bluſhed at the ſight of theſe modern vandals: Fire and ſword have only haſtened that progreſs

againſt Arts and Sciences.

* See the Papers ſeized at Babœuf's.

† See the Degree of Regent.

which they so much extol; it was not Babœuf alone that would exclaim, *Perish the arts, if requisite, provided we do but preserve real Equality!* The Jacobin Philosophist, if sincere, will have no difficulty in saying what the legislators have so often proclaimed from the tribune, "What need have we of all your colleges, academies, and libraries? Needs there so much study and so many books for learning the *only true* science? *Let the nations know the rights of man, and they will know enough.*"*

I know that a museum and a national institute are held out as objects of magnificence, in which the revolution would appear to infuse new vigor into the arts and sciences; but let the sage in the midst of this vast museum reflect for a moment. Thunderstruck at this immense assemblage of theft, pillage, and robbery erected into trophies, will he not exclaim, Do these men then barefacedly scoff at every idea of property who thus display the fruits of their rapine and extortion? After having pillaged and destroyed every thing within their own country, they set off to despoil the neighboring States tranquilly reposing on the banks of the Scheldt, the Meuse, or the Tiber.—They divide the gold they have stolen among themselves, and they exalt to public view what they have robbed for the State. Within this temple of the arts, therefore, the idea of property is as much blasted as within the Occult Lodges of those adepts who had sworn to annihilate the social compact.

And what is this national Lyceum, where we find the Geometrician *La Place*, the Astronomer *La Lande*, the Poetaster *Chenier*, the Commentator of the Zodiac *Dupuis*, the Historian of the mountains *La Metherie*, all consecrating their studies and their science to prove that God does not exist? Behold the Sect smiling at their labors; for it is aware, that Atheism will soon annihilate arts and sciences, as well as property and society. Little does it concern itself whether the greater part of the literati stop

* I do not exactly remember the particular names of the Deputies who would hold forth such language at the tribune; I can affirm, however, that the sophisticated Legislator *Rabaud de St. Etienne* frequently held such language in company, which has more than once given rise to a good deal of debate. Once, in particular, he and *Mr. Desilet*, a man of letters, almost quarrelled on the subject; and that was quite at the beginning of the Revolution.

ſhort in the career of the myſteries; for they are forwarding the views of the Sect without knowing it, even where they have made their ſtand. Its degrees are progreſſive, and it well knows that the ſophiſticated and atheiſtical Jacobin will beget the diſorganizing Jacobin. In the Lyceum, or adhering to Babœuf and Drouet, it beholds its offspring laborious Atheiſts profeſſing its principles, and, in ſhort, true Jacobins; and though this *name* ſhould for a time be rejected with contempt, it will not forget that the principles, and *not the name*, conſtitutes the diſciple. Some are diſguſted with the firſt conſequences flowing from theſe principles, and they ſtop; while others complacently proceed to the laſt. The Sect will therefore fix the former in its firſt degrees; the latter are initiated in its ultimate myſteries; and whether its agents are literati or brutes, it is of no conſequence to the Sect. In the French revolution it has always had the art to diſtribute the different parts as it does its degrees, and to vary them without ever loſing ſight of its ultimate object.

In its attack upon God, we have ſeen its intruded Clergy, its Deiſts, and its Atheiſts. The firſt overturned the altars of the Catholic religion; the ſecond, of the Lutheran and Calviniſt church, and of every religion adoring Chriſt; and the third blaſphemouſly proclaimed the non-exiſtence of a God. Progreſſion obſervable in the plots, and parts acted in the revolution.

In the attack on monarchy the Sect has had ſucceſſively its *Neckeriſts*, its *Fayetiſts*, its *Conſtitutionaliſts*, its *Girondins*, its *Conventioniſts*. Herein it is that the reader may obſerve the Sect varying and gradually diſtributing its parts to wind up the horrid ſcene to the bloody cataſtrophe. Here we ſee thoſe different actors faithfully fulfilling the parts that had been diſtributed to them.—Syeyes pronounces that the tyrant ſhall die: this tyrant is Lewis XVI. Necker ſeizes on him and, delivers him over to the legiſlative conſpirators of the third order; La Fayette and Bailly, with the Conſtituent Aſſembly, leave him but the ſhadow of a ſceptre and his royal robes rent aſunder. They then deliver him up, after having taught the people to drag him ignominiouſly from Verſailles to the Town-hall of Paris, from Varennes to the Thuilleries. The unfortunate monarch is now ſurrounded by banditti armed with pikes. *Briſſot* and his *Girondins* proceed in that career begun by *Necker* and *La Fayette*, and find that with a mere breath the throne can be overturned;

Lewis is then dragged from the Thuilleries to the Towers of the Temple. Robeſpierre, Petion, and Marat, are the next that ſeize on his royal perſon; and from the Temple they hurry him to the ſcaffold. In this long concatenation of ſeditions, rebellions, and treaſons, to the very conſummation of the regicide, I ſee various actors; but the guilt of all and each is equal. They are all agents in the conſpiracy of Equality and Liberty; all proceed from the ſame tenebrous receſſes; all are Jacobins.

In the conſpiracy againſt property and all ſociety the ſame gradation and principles are to be obſerved; and with a ſimilar conſtancy does the Sect tend toward the grand *ultimatum*. The irreligious Sophiſters of every claſs deſpoil the Clergy; the Sophiſters commoners plunder the Nobility; next comes the ſophiſticated banditti, who lay violent hands on the riches of the merchant or the wealth of the commoner. Meanwhile the conquering Sophiſters diſplay the ſpoils of foreign nations; and the atheiſtical Sophiſters at length break the laſt tie of ſociety. The former had only admitted one part of the myſteries; the latter are willing to conſummate them all. They will that property ſhall not exiſt, either in the church, the nobility, the commoner, or in any mortal whatever. In virtue of their Equality, the earth is to be the property of none, the produce the property of all. In virtue of their Liberty, Condorcet refuſes to obey a God, Briſſot to recognize a king, and Babœuf to ſubmit to a republic, to magiſtrates, or to any *governing* power. And whence do all theſe men come? All proceed from the Jacobin club; they are the offspring of Holbach's club, of the Maſonic Lodges, and of the Illuminizing Myſteries. Their natural parents are Voltaire, Jean Jaques Rouſſeau, the Knights *Kadoſch*, and the Bavarian *Spartacus*.

Thus do we trace the diſciples of the Sect perpetually aiming at the accompliſhment of its myſteries; whether in their crimes and ſucceſs againſt their God or againſt their king, whether in their eſſays againſt republics or the laſt veſtiges of ſociety; every ſtep in the French revolution demonſtrates the activity of its adepts, brigands of every degree, purſuing its ultimate views. Indeed it has not yet accompliſhed all its deſigns; and may God grant that they may be foiled in the attempt! But let the mind of man calculate, if it be able, the crimes committed by the

Sect, and the disasters that have already befallen France; and when it shall have succeeded in this calculation, will it dare venture to explore those entailed on futurity? Let the father of every family contemplate, and inscribe on the threshold of his house, that threat of the adepts contained in the following sentence: *The French Revolution is but the forerunner of a Revolution greater by far, and much more solemn.*

That nations may be awakened to their danger, let us show them that they are all without exception, menaced with similar misfortunes to those that have befallen France. Such is their fate decreed by the Sect in its Mysteries; for their views are not confined to any particular people, but aim at all nations whatever. To facts therefore, I will once more appeal; and my reader shall see how perfectly they coincide with the Code of the Sect on the extent and universality of its conspiracies.

CHAP. XIII.

Univerſality of the Succeſs of the Sect explained by the Univerſality of its Plots.

Succeſs of the Jacobins;

OF all the phœnomena of the French Revolution, perhaps, the moſt aſtoniſhing, and, unfortunately, the moſt inconteſtable, is, the rapidity of thoſe conqueſts that have already revolutionized a conſiderable part of Europe, and menace the remainder of the univerſe. Nothing can be more ſurprizing than to ſee the facility with which Jacobiniſm has erected its ſtandards, or planted the tree of Equality and diſorganizing Liberty in Savoy, Belgium, Holland, on the Banks of the Rhine, in Switzerland, on the other ſide of the Alps, in Piedmont, in the Milanois, and even at Rome. When I come to explain theſe phœnomena, I ſhall not allow myſelf to be carried away by ſyſtem or by prejudice. I will confeſs, that genius, bravery and talents, have frequently wreſted the palm of victory. I candidly confeſs, that many of their triumphs are due to men who by their courage and talents were entitled to ſerve a better cauſe. I will not diſpute their glory with them; let them entwine their laurels with the red cap; let their glory mingle with remorſe at the ſight of thoſe vile Jacobins, and tyrannic Pentarques, in whoſe defence they have rivalled their anceſtors, who ſhone in the days of Henry IV. or Lewis XIV.—

its ſingularity;

Nevertheleſs, in the career of their conqueſts many points, and a large ſhare of their ſucceſſes, are to be attributed to other cauſes than to their valor. We have ſeen chiefs deſtitute of experience or merit baffling the wiſdom and talents of heroes conſummate in the military art. We have ſeen the Carmagnole Bands, ſoldiers of a day, make their triumphant entry into whole provinces, while all the diſcipline of the combined legions of Auſtria, Hungary, and Pruſſia, could not impede their progreſs. The military ſcience acquired by thoſe veteran bands in camps and under the tuition of the greateſt captains, appears to have been uſeleſs. In ſpite of the arts of a Cohorn or a Vauban, citadels have fallen at the ſight of the new conquer-

ers; and if a battle is fought, one only victory, or even a defeat, will acquire whole provinces to their new dominion, that would have coſt long and painful compaigns to a Marlborough or a Turenne. Another prodigy preſſes on our notice. Theſe Jacobin conquerors are received like brethren by the vanquiſhed nations, and their legions are ſwoln in the very places where thoſe of any other power would dwindle into nothing. They impoſe the harſheſt of yokes on their new ſubjects, are guilty of every ſpecies of extortion, devaſtation, and ſacrilege, overturning all laws human and divine, yet are nevertheleſs received with as loud acclamations by the multitude, as if it was their Saviour that approached. Theſe certainly are phenomena that the hiſtorian would in vain attempt to illuſtrate were he only acquainted with the viſible armies of the Sect. To unfold theſe myſteries, let us boldly declare it; the Sect and its plots, its legions of ſecret emiſſaries, have every where preceded the armies and their thunderbolts of war. It had infeſted ſtates with its principles long before it ſent either its *Pichegru's* or *Buonaparte's* to attack them. Its means once prepared, traitors were to be found in the fortreſſes to open the gates; they were to be found in the armies, and in the councils of Princes, to render the plans of attack or defence abortive. Its ſubterraneous Clubs, Lodges, Correſponding Societies, Journals, and Propagandiſts, had already diſpoſed the populace and prepared the way. The day will come when nations ſhall have written the hiſtory of this age. Does it not already appear, that each of them will have to dedicate many pages of that hiſtory to unfold the treaſons of which it has fallen a victim, to enumerate the traitors that it has been obliged to puniſh, or to deſcribe the means employed to avert the threatening ſtorm. In order to point out the main-ſpring of all theſe machinations, I ſhall turn back to theſe days when the French Revolution was firſt riſing into exiſtence.

its general cauſe.

The adepts of revolutionary Equality and Liberty had buried themſelves in the Lodges of Maſonry. At the commencement of the Revolution a manifeſto is iſſued to *all the Maſonic Lodges*, and to all the *Directories* (who are to make the proper uſe of it among *all the brethren of Europe*), by the central Lodge of France, the *Grand Orient* of Paris, the ſecond Areopage of Illuminiſm. By this manifeſto, and in virtue of fraternity, "all the Lodges

Manifeſto of the *Grand Orient* of Paris;

" are ſummoned *to confederate together*; to unite their " efforts to maintain the revolution; to gain over to it, in " all parts, friends, partizans, and protectors; to propa- " gate the flame, to vivify the ſpirit, *to excite zeal and* " *ardor for it, in every ſtate, and by every means in their* " *power.*" This is an indiſputable fact; it was ſent even into England, where the Lodges were leaſt diſpoſed to ſecond it. It was diſperſed throughout the Lodges in Germany, and Joſeph II. got poſſeſſion of one ſigned *Philip of Orleans.**

its effect, and union of the Jacobin Writers.

Never did any government publiſh an edict ſo efficacious. Immediately all the adepts in their public prints begin to cry up the revolution and its principles. In Holland *Paulus* publiſhes his Treatiſe on Equality; *Paine*, in England, his *Rights of Man*; *Campe*, in Germany, his French Citizen; and *Philo*-Knigge even outdoes himſelf in his *Profeſſion of Political Faith.*† In Italy *Gorani* appears; in ſhort, every nation has its apoſtle of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People. Theſe incendiary productions, with thouſands of others, are diſtributed among the people, and are even thrown by ſtealth into the cottages. Theſe were but the general means of the Sect. Men who deſpiſe the powers of opinion, or of public error, may ſmile at ſuch revolutionary means; but great conſpirators knew too well how to appreciate them. The title of *French Citizen* now becomes their ſole title of Nobility, and *Campe*, *Paine*, and *Cramer*, with many others who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their incendiary writings, are thus rewarded for their villany. Obſcure writers, but fanatic Illuminees, are called from the bottom of Germany, ſuch as *Nimis*, *Dorſch*, *Blau*, to compile in Paris periodical papers, that are to ſpread the revolutionary enthuſiaſm beyond the Rhine. They are ſurrounded by a *Leuchſenring*, a *Rebbmann*, a *Hoffman*, with many other adepts, who flocked to contrive the treaſons that were to extend their conqueſts in thoſe

* See Hoffman's Avis Important, Vol. I. Sect. XIX.

† This work alone might ſuffice to prove, that if *Philo*-Knigge did really abandon the Order of the Illuminees, he continued at leaſt to propagate their principles. Should the reader wiſh for a more ſtriking proof, he will find it in the hiſtorical Eulogium upon him, written by the Jacobin *George Frederic Rebbmann*, who alſo wrote the Eulogy of Robeſpierre. *(See his Schildvachte, Vol. I. Art.* KNIGGE, *and* FRANCE, *page* 89.*)*

countries where the other adepts were preparing the opinions. So well did they know the importance of being masters of the public opinion, that to conquer it by means of their Propagandists, Journalists, and other writers, they spent no less than *thirty millions of Livres* during the first year of their incursions and during 1797; they lavished *twenty-one millions* for the same purpose.*

Plots that prepare the success of their arms in Germany.

Let us then follow the army, and combine its marches with the progress of the Sect and the motions of its apostles. Let us follow them into Germany, into Belgium, Holland, Spain, in short, wherever its arms have triumphed; and we shall then see whether the revolution does not owe the progress of its arms as much to the occult adepts, as to the courage of its victorious bands.

Of all the French Generals no one, perhaps, was more inflated with his successes than Custine; and certainly he had little reason to expect them, as he was destitute of those talents and that intrepidity which denotes the great General. Nevertheless, Europe with astonishment beheld him in one campaign making himself master of Worms, Spire, and even Mayence. But when Europe shall know how these conquests were prepared, its astonishment will subside, and its indignation will arise against the treacherous offspring of *Spartacus*-Weishaupt.

Condorcet, Bonneville, and Fauchet, had marked out each department of correspondence for their propagandists. Strasbourg was the center, or directory for the union and communication between the German and French adepts. The Chiefs of Illuminized Lodges, STAMM and *Hyerophiles*-HERMANN; who, together with the Illuminee DIETRICH, has justly obtained the surname of the *Guillotiner* of Alsace, had distinguished themselves in that province and at Strasbourg. Beyond the French frontiers the corresponding adepts for Worms and Spire are the Calvinist minister ENDEMAN, the Syndic *Belisarius*-PETERSON, the Canon *Cyril (of Alexandria)* SCHWEICKARD, *Zeno (of Tharses)* KÖBLER, *Lucius Apuleius*-JANSON, *Virgilius*-HULLEN, the Canon

* With respect to the 30,000,000 see Dumourier's Memoirs, and for the 21,000,000, that are included in the accounts of this year, the use to which they were put, was betrayed by one of those deputies whom the Pentarques wished to banish to Cayenne.

WINCKLEMANN, and particularly the professor BÖHMER at Worms. These adepts are in close connection with the club at Mayence, headed by a man on whom the defence of the town was chiefly to depend, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers EICKENMAYER, together with METTERNICH, BENZEL, KOLBORN, VEDEKIND BLAU, HAUSER, FORSTER, HAUPT, and NIMIS. It is with regret that I fully the page of history with such names; but proofs are necessary, and perhaps no one more apposite can be adduced, than to show that the very names of the vilest traitors are known.*

Long before this had all these adepts been occupied with the plan of delivering up the left bank of the Rhine and the fortress of Mayence to the jacobins; they had been disposing the minds of the inhabitants of the towns and country towards the revolution by the encomiums which they were continually pronouncing on it. No sooner does Custine take the field, than his Aid-de-Camp, since become his historian, describes him as placing all the confidence in *Stamm*, the famous adept of Strasbourg. Soon after a deputation of the principal Illuminees *invite Custine to advance into the country*, and assure him that by so doing *he will meet the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants*. They added, that *should he be uneasy as to the means of surmounting certain apparent difficulties, they could assure him, that they and their friends had power enough to engage to remove them all; that they were the organs of a numerous society entirely devoted to him, and actuated by the greatest zeal for his success.*† At the head of this deputation is the adept *Böhmer*; and, together with *Stamm*, he is entrusted with the whole confidence of the General. These adepts, in conjunction with the subordinate deputies, now take the whole direction of the jacobin army; they lead it into Worms, and propose next to carry it against Mayence. Custine is in a tremor at the idea of such an enterprize; the adepts insist, and he at length resolves to let his army proceed against this bulwark of the empire. But at the very sight of its ramparts his fears seize him again; the brethren sooth him, and dictate the summons that he is to send General *Gimnich*. The answer he receives makes him prepare for his retreat even

* See Hoffman Avis Important, Sect. XV.
† Custine's Memoirs, Vol. I. Page 46, 47.

before he had thought of an attack, when, lo! during the night a letter from the brethren in Mayence to the adept *Böhmer* transforms his fears into hopes of fucceſs. This letter ſtated, that the *friend* who enjoyed all the confidence of the commander *was determined to employ all his influence to perſuade him of the impoſſibility of defending the place*; that the brethren had ſo *worked upon the inhabitants*, that it would only need to add *a few more threats* in the next ſummons that was made. Faithful to his inſtructions, Cuſtine aſſumes the tone of a conqueror, who has prepared a general aſſault, and is on the eve of delivering Mayence over to pillage and all the fury of the ſoldiery in caſe of reſiſtance. The illuminized *friend*, or the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers *Eickenmayer*, who enjoyed the whole confidence of the Commander, and the Baron *Stein*, the Pruſſian Envoy, join in their efforts to prove to the Council of War that it was impoſſible to defend the place (and this againſt an enemy who had not the means to attack it, and who was actually determined to take to flight ſhould he meet with reſiſtance). The other brethren ſpread the alarm among the inhabitants. The brave AUDUJAR and his eleven hundred Auſtrians are indignant, but in vain; the capitulation is ſigned, and Cuſtine, with an army of 18,000 men, deſtitute of heavy artillery, trembling leſt he ſhould not be able to make his retreat with ſufficient ſpeed ſhould he but meet with reſiſtance, obtains poſſeſſion, within the ſpace of three days, and without firing a ſhot, of thoſe very ramparts that had ſtruck him with ſo much terror. In ſuch a manner are towns taken in which the Sect predominates.*

Let the hiſtorian follow Cuſtine and his ſucceſſors to Frankfort, and he will find in the neighborhood of that town a principality of *Iſenbourg*; he will there learn how the Sect can protect its adepts. Every part around this ſmall principality had been ravaged; but this little town was the ſeat of the Council for the Illuminees, where *Pitſch* preſided. It was from this place that all the neceſſary inſtructions were ſent for the jacobin army, which in return reyered the ſanctuary of Iſenbourg, and even the lure of pillage could not attract the ſoldiery. But

* Ibid. Vol. I. Page 92, and Deſodoard's Hiſtory of the French Revolution, Vol. I. Book II. No. 24.

when *Pitſch* and his council diſappear, the charm ceaſes, and the fertile plains of Iſenbourg are ravaged.*

Conſpiracy for the Cis Rhenane Republic.

The armies are overthrown and driven from Mayence; but the union of the brotherhood does not ſuffer, and the Sect prepares new means of ſucceſs for the revolutionary army. Some of theſe conſpiring adepts diſappear for a time, and then return to Mayence, while others are received in Paris, there, in conjunction with the Pentarques, to deviſe new means for retaking that town, which now appears to bid defiance to all the Cuſtines of the revolution; and ſoon after Europe, with aſtoniſhment, learns that Mayence with the whole left bank of the Rhine is once more ſubjected to the revolutionary power. At firſt it is the Cis-Rhenane Republic, then it becomes the ſimple department of the Pariſian Republic. But the adepts are to be recompenſed for having effected by their black arts of Illuminiſm, that which the Pentarques muſt have deſpaired of, notwithſtanding the bravery of their troops. The profeſſor *Metternich* had been employed as Directorial Commiſſary at Fribourg. *Hoffman* is now inſtalled Receiver General on the Rhine, with a ſalary of fifty thouſand livres. *Rebbmann*, the panegyriſt of Robeſpierre, is created head of the Cis-Rhenane judicature. We next find acting in concert with the above-mentioned, the Privy Counſellor to the Elector of Cologn *Kempis*, and his co-illuminees the Profeſſor *Gerhard*; the Advocate *Watterſal*, and the Artiſt *Conrad*; and that my reader may know by what men revolutions may be brought about, I will name the taylor *Brizen*, the cobler *Theiſſen*, the grocer *Flügel*, the hair-dreſſer *Broches*, and the alehouſe-keeper *Rhodius*.†

Conſpiracy in Belgium.

Other plots of the Sect will bring us back to Germany again; but in the mean time Dumourier triumphs over the ſtationary hero of Verdun, and flies to take poſſeſſion of Belgium. Let eternal darkneſs hover round the machinations that gave this General more time to collect his ſcattered troops than was ſufficient for a victorious army to proceed to Paris, and deliver the unfortunate Lewis. Let no reader pretend to aſſociate the reigning Duke of Brunſwick with the brotherhood of the mo-

* Appendix to the Ultimate Fate of Maſonry, Page 17, and Memoirs.

† Memoirs on Mayence.

dern *Spartacus*. I have positive proof that he detests them; I also know, that Frederic William III. has given various proofs, notwithstanding he may have been played upon by another species of Illuminees, that he hated and abhorred the disorganizing jacobins. But his councils are under the direction of other councils. *Bischofswerder* was at Berlin; *Lucheſini* held correſpondences; the adepts are in the *Dicaſteres* (the Offices.)—Their influence is moſt formidable, and the Sect has already declared, that it will be *far ſtronger when once in poſſeſſion of the Offices and Councils under the Prince, than if they had initiated the Prince himſelf.* The day may come that will explain the enigma of this famous retreat made at the time when all Europe was at the height of expectation, and daily awaited the laſt accounts of its triumphs; meanwhile I ſhall proceed to unfold myſteries that, hitherto unknown, have led us to view Dumourier as conquering Belgium in the fields of Jemappe. Here at leaſt the laurels are to be divided, for the conſpiring Sect has borne a larger ſhare in this conqueſt than his armies; and it was in London, rather than at Jemappe, that the Auſtrian Netherlands were conquered.

The Sect had its Lodges in Brabant, and *Vandernoot* had brought over his party to them. He knew that the brethren ſought to repreſent the French revolution in ſuch colors as to make the people eager in its cauſe; he was alſo acquainted with thoſe Lodges that had addreſſed the National Aſſembly, humbly petitioning for their revolutionary Equality and Liberty. *Vandernoot* was then in London, under the name of *Gobelſcroix*. An emiſſary from the Pariſian club, he was proſecuting his plots, together with *Chauvelin*, *Perigord D'Autun*, *Noel*, *Bomet*, and eight other adepts, ſent to ſpread the revolutionary principles in England. *Vandernoot* entruſted himſelf to perſons with whoſe principles he was not ſufficiently acquainted; but they knew him well; he betrayed his ſecret, and thus the whole myſtery is come to light. During the diſputes, and even warfare, carried on between the Belgians and Joſeph II. the greater part of them certainly had not the moſt diſtant idea of ſubjecting their country to the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins; but the Sect had its partizans, and theſe adepts left no means untried to perſuade the people that the ſole reſource

for recovering their liberty was to unite with the French. "I was well acquainted with these plans (said Vandernoot to his confidant); no sooner were we informed of "what had passed between the Duke of Brunswick and "Dumourier, than we immediately wrote *to Paris and* "*to the army*. The messenger brought us back the plan "of the campaign, and a copy of the manifesto that Du- "mourier was to publish on his entry into the Low "Countries. I saw that the plan had been exactly copi- "ed from that followed by Custine in his extortions in "Germany. I foresaw that such a plan would appal all "the efforts of our people, and would only serve to league "the inhabitants against the French, whereas if they "would but follow my ideas, derived from the know- "ledge I had of that people, and of their dispositions, I "would answer for their seconding the French invasion, "and that it would infallibly turn out successful. At the "request of Chauvelin and Noel, I drew up the plan to "be followed, and wrote the manifesto that was to be "published, framing it according to the local knowledge "and experience I had acquired; and the whole was im- "mediately sent off to Paris. They were both adopted "on the spot. Dumourier did not change a syllable of "the manifesto that I had written in *Portman Square*. "The people, gained over by our agents, and by this "manifesto, threw themselves into our arms, and Flanders "was taken."

No reader can expect that I should name the persons to whom Vandernoot had thus opened his plans; of this much, however, I can assure the public, that the whole was laid before the ministry, who for a time suffered Noel, Vandernoot, and their accomplices to remain in London, but keeping a close watch over them until they were sent elsewhere to conspire and prosecute their vile machinations, against nations that they dared not meet in the open field.

In Holland. Next to the conquest of Belgium came that of Holland; and with equal astonishment has Europe seen the formidable bulwarks of that republic falling at the approach of the Jacobin armies. Here again we must resort for the cause to the dark recesses of the Sect. The apostles of Illuminism had been laboring in Holland ever since the year 1781.* The immense sums of money

* Original Writings, and Philo's Report.

drawn from thoſe countries were not the only ſucceſſes of the Sect. The Stadtholder had already learned, to his coſt, how much they could envenom faction and ſedition; the French revolution then came to raiſe their expectations and ſtimulate their labors. The Low Countries had for a ſecond time received their Jacobin conquerors. The Engliſh army fell back to the frontiers of its ancient ally to vindicate its liberties from the attempts of the enemy. Its efforts, however, are uſeleſs, for Holland no longer wills the liberty of the true patriot, it wills that of the Jacobin. Its wiſhes ſhall ſoon be complied with; the brethren of Paris ſhall dictate the law in Amſterdam, and ſhall ſeize on its riches; the commerce of Holland ſhall be annihilated; its colonies wreſted from it; and ſoon ſhall it rank among the powers of Europe, only as the firſt ſlave of the Gallic Pentarques. No matter. Let Pichegru approach, for he is the object of their wiſhes; and the defenders of their true liberty may ſeek their ſafety in retreat; for the countries they wiſh to defend are replete with plots againſt them and conſpiracies in favor of the revolution. In Amſterdam alone the Sect has no leſs than forty clubs, and each club has the direction of two hundred revolutioniſts. The elect of theſe clubs form two committees, the central and the correſponding committees; and this latter holds correſpondence with brethren both within and without the territories of the republic. Theſe are ſubject to a ſupreme council, the true Areopagites, whoſe reſolves are tranſmitted to the diſperſed brethren. Perſons who watched over the public welfare have acted the parts of aſſociates in hopes of diving into the myſteries; but the ſcrutators at Amſterdam were as crafty as thoſe of Munich, and theſe adepts could never penetrate beyond the firſt myſteries, while other clubs were compoſed of men well known by the Sect to be the firmeſt advocates for Jacobin Equality and Liberty.

Deputies from *Leyden* are delegated to the central committee; and the brotherhood at Leyden had made a greater progreſs in proportion, both in numbers and ſedition, than it had at Amſterdam. The adepts of *Utrecht* were ſtill more ardent revolutioniſts than either. The vigilance of government, and the neighborhood of the armies, had put them to flight; the chiefs, however, aſſembled together in country-houſes, and their deliberations were tranſmitted to the Areopage at Amſterdam.—

Rotterdam appeared to be neuter; but it held a neutrality that only waited the propitious moment for declaring in favor of Jacobinism. The minister and adept *Mareux* had made the conquest of three fourths of the inhabitants of *Naarden*. The commissary *Aiglam* would have been restless had he known of a single inhabitant of *Haarlem* that was not devoted to the adepts of Amsterdam.*

The better to conduct the proceedings of the faction, the French convention had sent a secret agent of the name of *Malabar* to reside at Amsterdam; he had two acolytes, called *l'Archêveque* and *Aiglam*. At once enjoying the confidence of Pichegru (then advancing with his victorious army) and of the rebels in the interior, Malabar never apppeared but at the meetings of the Areopagites, where he dictated the resolves. *L'Archêveque* and *Fresine* were employed in carrying on the correspondence with Pichegru. In Amsterdam and Haarlem, *Aiglam* was inspector-general of the subterraneous arsenals whither the brethren were to flock for arms on the signal given. —Should they stand in need of the protection of the magistracy, the adept *Dedelle* was burgo-master. If funds were wanting, the counting-houses of *Texier*, *Couderé*, and *Rottereau*, are open to them, besides the treasures of the Jew *Sportas*, a most vehement revolutionist. Among the clubists the adepts *Gulcher* and *Lapeau* distinguish themselves, as do *Latour* and *Perisse* among their armourers. Next in quest of enthusiasts who shall declaim to the populace, we meet the adepts *Termache*, *Lekain*, *Müllner*, *Schneider*, and many others. On their general roll-call they count 40,000 men ready to march out to meet the advancing Jacobins, or to charge in the rear the armies of the allies, and those legions that might still remain faithful to their duty. Nothing now was wanting but a general capable of directing their march; and *Eustace* was sent from Paris.—On a sudden the vigilance of the English minister and of the Duke of York seemed to have counteracted this conspiracy, that had been so well concerted; and the government was informed of the whole plot. *Malabar*, the hero of the mysteries, *La Tour*, *Fresine*, and about thirty more conspirators, were arrested; even *Eustace* was among the prisoners, and all true citi-

* Extract of a Secret Memorial, written a few months before the invasion of Holland.

zens thought themſelves delivered from the Jacobin ſcourge. Proclamations were iſſued, forbidding any meetings of clubs under any pretext whatever; but, in defiance of the magiſtrates, the clubiſts publiſh a counter-proclamation, inviting the brethren to take arms and rather to die than abandon their clubs. In vain does the Engliſh general demand that theſe perſons ſhould be delivered up to him, that he might ſecure their perſons; the Sect even ſucceeded in getting the American miniſter to reclaim Euſtace, under pretence that he was a ſubject of the United States. The others are brought to trial, and are condemned to be exiled into thoſe very towns by which the Jacobin army was to enter the republic, and Willemſtadt, Breda, Berzenopzoom, Nimeguen, Gorcum, Utrecht, and Amſterdam, fall, juſt as Mayence had done before them. Moſt certainly, had Pichegru no other claims to military glory than this conqueſt, he might, with Dumourier and Cuſtine, write, '*I came, I ſaw, and I conquered*; but it was becauſe, in place of enemies to combat, I found none but adepts to embrace.'*

Means of another ſpecies will explain the triumphs of the Sect in Spain. The brave RICARDO had reſtored the Caſtilians to their ancient valor; he had threatened to retaliate on the captive Jacobins, for the cruelties exerciſed on the French emigrants that fell into their hands. The *Aqua Tophana* immediately liberates the Sect from ſo fierce an enemy; he dies by poiſon. The bulwarks of Spain fall like thoſe of Holland at the approach of the legions of *Equality and Liberty*. REDDELEON ſells the fortreſs of *Figueras* for a million of livres. He values his treaſon too highly, and going to Paris he receives his million in aſſignats, then only worth 48,000 livres. He complains, and in compenſation is ſent to the guillotine, for the Sect need not buy traitors at ſo exorbitant a price. His treachery, however, left Spain at the diſcretion of the Jacobins. That unhappy country ſought to buy peace, and for a time it is ſuffered to enjoy a truce; but every thing ſeems to denote, that the brethren have made a ſufficient progreſs to leave the taſk of eſtabliſhing the reign of Equality and Liberty to the adepts of the interior, without reſorting to arms.

In Spain.

In Portugal the adepts dare not as yet throw off the

In Portugal.

* Extract of a Secret Memorial.

maſk; but at ſome future day the Court may judge proper to publiſh the correſpondence found among the papers of the Brabanter *Segre*. This propagandiſt had been thrown into the priſons of Liſbon. The brethren had not forgotten the doctrine of the *patet exitus*; they ſend a mattreſs to the priſoner, and a razor is concealed within it. The wretched Segre underſtands the meaning of the Sect, and the next morning is found weltering in his blood on this very mattreſs.

It tranſpired, however, that the conſpiracy in which he had engaged aimed at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the royal family, and the total overthrow of the ſtate. It was further aſſerted that a correſpondence between him and the *Prince of Peace* was found among his papers, and that the Spaniſh miniſter, informed of his arreſt immediately claimed it; but the court of Portugal returned for anſwer, "That ſince God had in his goodneſs preſerved the ſtate from the greateſt misfortune with which it had ever been threatened, her Moſt Faithful Majeſty would only treat of this buſineſs with his Catholic Majeſty himſelf." But even ſhould this fact be well authenticated, are we not ſufficiently aware of the intrigues of the Sect? Does it not frequently procure ſecret commiſſions from miniſters, and then, under pretence of tranſacting the buſineſs of that ſtate, proſecute the moſt villanous plots? It is ſufficient for us to have ſhewn the Sect conſpiring in Portugal; the public papers deſcribe it as conſpiring in like manner at Turin and at Naples.

At Naples. Here again the ſecrecy of courts has debarred us from the details. At Naples atteſtations were taken reſpecting the guilty, and the proofs were acquired. By the orders of his Majeſty, all the documents relating to the conſpiracy had been collected and compiled by a magiſtrate of great merit and known integrity, Mr. REY, the ſame perſon whom Lewis XVI. had intended for miniſter of the police of Paris. From theſe it appeared, that many noblemen had been led to join in a conſpiracy againſt the royal family, while the occult adepts of this conſpiracy were to make away with theſe ſame noblemen, immediately after the deſtruction of the royal family. The King and the Queen of Naples both choſe to ſhow their clemency to the chief conſpirators, and rather let them preſerve life in confinement, than ſend them to the ſcaffold which muſt have been the inevitable conſequence of a public trial.—

The policy that has buried in darkneſs the details of this conſpiracy, has not, however, deprived us of this proof of the univerſality of the conſpiracies of the Sect.

In purſuit of its plans, the Sect marches triumphantly to Milan, Venice and Rome. Its armies entered Italy with Buonaparte, even more deſtitute of every thing that can enſure victory, than thoſe which had entered Germany under the command of Cuſtine. But numerous legions flocked to their ſtandards; and the banks of the Po, if we except Mantua, are as well prepared for the revolution as were thoſe of the Rhine. This will ceaſe to be a matter of of ſurpriſe to thoſe who will reflect that Weiſhaupt had ſent his apoſtles thither, and that Knigge and Zimmerman had long ſince boaſted of the progreſs of the illuminizing recruiters in thoſe parts. If we turn back to their reports, we ſhall find that the Maſonic Lodges had, like thoſe of Germany, been initiated into the laſt myſteries; and the triumphs of Buonaparte will be found to be not more aſtoniſhing than thoſe of Custine. Were it neceſſary to explain how the valor of the Archduke Charles, or of the veteran bands of Auſtria, was rendered fruitleſs when in preſence of the Jacobin troops; whence it aroſe that the faſtneſſes of countries could ſcarcely ſerve the wiſdom of a prince ſo worthy of being the leader of heroes; it would not be ſufficient to ſay, that the adjutant-general *Fiſher* was accuſed of having received one thouſand pounds a month from the Pentarques; or, that, to ſtifle all proſecution, and baffle any attempt that might be made to induce him to diſcover the number or quality of his accomplices, he had recourſe to that grand means of Illuminiſm the *Patet exitus*, and poiſoned himſelf. No; the reader muſt reflect, that the Sect had long ſince been educating its adepts for the armies, procuring poſſeſſion of the *Dicaſteres*, and thus preparing for a future day, when they foreſaw that treachery and cowardice would ſerve them in the armies of princes.*

In all Italy, and in the armies of princes.

* Juſt as this ſheet was going to the preſs a publication, entitled, *Les Nouveaux Interets de l'Europe*, fell into my hands, and the following paſſage appeared to me ſo very applicable to our ſubject, that I have extracted it: "The Emperor has been "blamed for ſigning the preliminaries of Leoben, on the 18th "of April, 1798. This certainly appears to have been done "precipitately: but are thoſe who blame him acquainted with

At Rome. Need we explain why the revolutionary legions proceeded to Rome? Certainly but little reſiſtance could be made there. An aged pontiff raiſing up his hands to heaven, offering up his prayers for the peace and welfare of the faithful, makes every ſacrifice that of his faith excepted, in hopes of mollifying the obdurate hearts of thoſe barbarians. Buonaparte, no ſtranger to his virtues feigns a veneration for them. But Pius VI. is the chief of that religion of Chriſt which the Sect has ſworn to cruſh, and Rome is the centre of it.* From the very firſt moment

" the reaſons that induced him to take that ſtep? The Empe-
" ror had been informed by *his Brother, the Archduke Charles,*
" *of the bad diſpoſition of a great part of the officers of his ar-*
" *my of Italy. He knew that both at Verona and Padua they*
" *affected to imitate the French in their diſcourſe, manners,*
" *and ſentiments; it ſeemed as if they needed but the tri-colour-*
" *ed cockade to make the ſemblance complete. He was aware*
" *that they fled in the moſt critical moment of an action; ſo that,*
" *in ſpite of excellent generals, of a well appointed ſtaff, and of*
" *the braveſt men, he was always obliged to retire.* He may,
" perhaps, have conceived that he was betrayed by theſe ſame
" officers: for it is well known, that Buonaparte, in an unguard-
" ed moment, declared, *that the Auſtrian army coſt him more*
" *than his own.*" TRANS.

* When the Author publiſhed his Firſt Volume, or Anti-chriſtian Conſpiracy, in the beginning of 1797, and poſitively declared, " *the total overthrow of Chriſtianity* to be the object " of the Sect," his aſſertion was much cavilled at by thoſe who were eager that this nation ſhould not give credit to an author who was about to lay open the tenebrous ramifications of this univerſal conſpiracy; others again were made to believe, that the Sect only aimed at reforming what they choſe to ſtyle the errors of the Church of Rome. I here call my reader's attention to an event that has juſt taken place, and he may then judge whether the author was correct when he ſaid, *that the total overthrow of Chriſtianity* was the object of the Sect. In the *Propagateur*, 6 *Brumaire, Year* 7 (or 15th October 1798), we read, " The following is the diſtribution of the edifices (of " worſhip) for the uſe of the citizens of Paris, as determined " by the central adminiſtration of the Seine." Paris is divided into twelve Wards, in lieu of pariſhes, each having the following churches annexed to them, and which are in future to be called *Temples:* " Iſt. Ward—The church of St. Philip du " Roule *conſecrated to Concord.* II. The church of St. Roche " *to Genius.* III. St. Euſtache *to Agriculture.* IV. St. Germain " L'Auxerrois *to Gratitude.* V. St. Lawrance *to Old Age.* " VI. St. Nicholas in the Fields *to Hymen.* VII. St. Merry *to* " *Commerce.* VIII. St. Margaret *to* EQUALITY *and* LIBERTY. " IX. St. Gervais *to Youth.* X. St. Thomas of Aquin as *to*

of the revolution the adepts had made no ſecret of their hatred againſt Rome and its pontiff. I was preſent when Cerrutti inſolently accoſted the Secretary of the Nuncio at Paris, ſaying with a ſneer, "Take good care of your "Pope; take good care of this one, and embalm him af- "ter his death; for I tell you, and you may be certain of "the fact, that you will never have another." This pretender to prophecy little thought that he would be the firſt of the two to appear before the tribunal of that God who had promiſed that the gates of hell ſhould never prevail againſt his church. But the Knights-*Kadoſch*, who had ſworn the death of Kings and of the chief Pontiffs, ſtill ſurvived; as alſo that multitude of adepts who had long ſince been ſmoothing the way for the legions of impiety. Long ſince had Rome been the object of their conſpiracies; adepts of every ſpecies flock thither; and, in ſpite of every authority, the pupils of Caglioſtro open their Maſonic Lodges in that capital. The Illuminees of Sweden, Avignon, and Lyons, there unite in the moſt ſecret and moſt monſtrous of Lodges, and form the moſt terrible tribunal for Kings; that, in ſhort, which pointed out the Sovereign that was to fall, named the aſſaſſin, prepared the poiſons, or ſharpened the dagger.*

Many of Weiſhaupt's adepts were alſo to be found in Rome who had been initiated by Zimmerman; and the repreſentative of a King ſeconds their efforts againſt the altar. The Spaniſh Monarch is tottering on the throne, at the very time when the public papers deſcribe DOM AZARA, his ambaſſador at Rome, felicitating the Jaco-

"*Peace*. XI. St. Sulpice *to Victory*. XII. St. James-du-haut- "pas *to Benevolence*, St. Medard *to Labor*, and St. Stephen on "the Mount *to filial Piety*." This needs no comment, when in the hands of a Chriſtian reader. TRANS.

* Should the hiſtorian of the aſſaſſination of Guſtavus of Sweden not be a ſufficient voucher for the exiſtence of this tribunal (*Sect. IV.*) it is, however, an undoubted fact, that the Sect had moſt powerful advocates at Rome; for the Nuncio at Avignon, having ordered the Illuminee *Pernetti* and his adepts to leave the country in the ſpace of one month, they procured from Rome a counter-order (real or forged) permitting them to ſtay. This buſineſs was followed up at Rome by the arreſtation of an adept, which threw the adepts of Avignon into fears that were only removed by the revolution.

bins on their coming to drive the Sovereign Pontiff from his capital. Buonaparte may send his Lieutenants; their triumph will be easy, for shame alone could impede their progress; but they have stifled every feeling, and scoff at the very idea of the rights of nations, as well as at the overwhelming with affliction an aged pastor turned of fourscore. The upright man and compassionate heart might shed tears at such a sight; but the Jacobin, callous to every feeling, will leap with joy, and the Pentarques will compare their ignominious conquest to the storming of ancient Rome by Brennus and his Gauls. Next in the series we shall turn our eyes to a conquest long since announced in the Lodges of the Templars, Rosicrucians and Knights Kadosch, who had all sworn vengeance against Malta; and the fatal day is now come.

At Malta. Lest indignation might cause their secrets to be discovered, the cross of Malta had for a long time been a badge of exclusion for those bold Knights from the threshold of the Masonic Lodges. New arts will be now employed to render their courage useless. The adepts have made use of the same artifice against Malta which they had employed against the church. So far, said they, from breaking off all connection with these Knights, let our adepts become members of the Order; through their means we shall become masters of that Island that would proudly bid defiance to our combined hostile efforts both by sea and land. Letters from the virtuous and honorable part of that community had already prepared us for the catastrophe that has since befallen them; they had complained that false brethren, particularly of the Spanish and Italian tongues, had gained admittance among them. In the persons of *Dolomieu*, *Bosredon*, and the cowardly *Hompesch*, may the Sect be said to have reigned. Buonaparte appears; and, as if the Sect wished to shew Europe how it can carry the most astonishing works of nature and art by treason alone, it did not even give the conspirators a cloak for their treachery by the semblance of a siege.—The adepts of the exterior fraternize with those of the interior, and thus do we learn that the secret arms of the Sect are more terrible than the fire of the embattled legions. Let the hero of Malta set sail for Alexandria: There he will also find adepts that await his arrival: Then will the Sublime Porte learn how to value those rich presents sent by the revolutionary tribe, all stolen from the royal trea-

fury of the crown; it will understand why such immense sums of money were squandered in its capital, to buy the neutrality of the Divan, and thus to enable the Sect to wrest from its dominion its more distant provinces: It will learn that the Apostles of the Sect were, during its political lethargy, stealing along the coasts of Africa, and penetrating even into Asia.

At Constantinople and in the East.

It was at Constantinople particularly that the Sect was to be careful in the choice of its adepts and propagandists, and to adapt each person's mission to his talents. To spread the doctrines of Equality and Liberty throughout the states that had long since been subjected to the dominion of the Crescent, it was necessary to find men well acquainted with the language, manners, interests, and the various intercourse of those different nations. In the person of the author of the *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, or *Mouradgea d'Hobson*, a Greek by birth, formerly internuncio, and since ambassador from Sweden to the Sublime Porte, the Sect found all the requisites for such an undertaking. At first, he did not appear to be sanguine in their cause; large sums of money, and pensions then at the disposition of the *Committee of Public Safety*, (as we are informed by our Memoirs) at length dispel any further show of reluctance: On his return to Constantinople, Mouradgea places himself at the head of the Jacobin missionaries for the East. He was greatly indebted for the acquirements that had thus prepared him for this new revolutionary career to a Mr. *Ruffin*, who commenced his career as a teacher of languages in Paris; was afterwards an associate with the Baron Tott in Crimea; then attached to the French embassy at Constantinople; afterwards employed in the Admiralty at Versailles; and finally become Professor of the Oriental Tongues at the *College Royal*. For a long time Mr. Ruffin resisted every temptation to betray the Royal cause; for he was indebted to the king for his education, and for his elevation to be Knight of the Order of St. Michael. Similar inducements, however, make him forget his obligations to his king, and he becomes the co-adept of Mouradgea at Constantinople. *Lesseps* a young man, and one of the few survivors of La Perouse, was also animated by sentiments of gratitude for Lewis XVI.; but, seduced by the two apostles, he joins them, and, under the direction of this triumvirate, one part of the subaltern agents disseminate

their doctrines among the people of Conſtantinople, while others ſpread themſelves throughout Aſia, travel into Perſia, and to the Indies. Others again preach their rights of man in the Levant, while the united forces of the Sect make their deſcent on the coaſt of Egypt, and teach the Ottoman court the fatal effects of having neglected to cruſh the firſt dawnings of the Sect.

But a very few years prior to the French revolution, the Turks abominated Maſonry, as much as the inhabitants of the Eaſt did the Manichæans for many centuries. The Ottoman court would not have ſuffered any French Religious to have remained at Jeruſalem, had it not known that it was their conſtant rule to refuſe to admit any perſon known to be a *Free-maſon* to viſit the holy places that were under their care. There was even an agreement between the Sublime Porte and the Court of France, by which the Superior of theſe Religious might and was obliged to diſmiſs from the Levant any French Conſul that ſhould dare to erect a Maſonic Lodge; and I have learned from a Religious who was on that miſſion for ſeven years, that the Superior had ſometimes exerciſed this authority. But the revolution has annihilated ſuch precautions, as well as many others. The Propagandiſts have croſſed the Mediterranean with their new-fangled doctrines; they have found brethren in the French merchants, who, under pretence of meeting with friends in all countries, had got themſelves initiated in the myſteries, and hence they needed not Lodges to be recognized.

in Africa; The ſucceſſes of the brotherhood in France inflamed the zeal of the brethren in Africa; and the very manner in which the Directory announced the progreſs of Buonaparte in Egypt ſufficiently denotes the arts that had been employed by the emiſſaries of the Sect previous to his arrival. Should he not (like Pichegru) fall a victim to the jealouſy of the Pentarques, or (more lucky than Brueys) eſcape the purſuits of a ſecond Nelſon, he will on the coaſt of India meet with other brethren, who, in the Malabar tongue are circulating the *Rights of Man*, *Equal and Free*, and thoſe of the *Sovereign and Legiſlative People*. The Engliſh General who took Pondicherry ſeized both the types and preſſes employed in diſſeminating the principles of the Sect and their revolutionary productions.

As the plague flies on the wings of the wind, ſo do

their triumphant legions infect America. Their apoſtles have infuſed their principles into the ſubmiſſive and laborious negroes; and St. Domingo and Guadaloupe have been converted into vaſt charnel houſes for their inhabitants. So numerous were the brethren in North America, that Philadelphia and Boſton trembled, leſt their *riſing conſtitution ſhould be obliged to make way for that of the great club*; and if for a time the brotherhood has been obliged to ſhrink back into their hiding places; they are ſtill ſufficiently numerous to raiſe collections and tranſmit them to the inſurgents of Ireland; thus contributing towards that ſpecies of revolution which is the object of their ardent wiſhes in America.* God grant that the United States may not learn to their coſt, that Republics are equally menaced with Monarchies; and that the immenſity of the ocean is but a feeble barrier againſt the univerſal conſpiracy of the Sect!

The triumphs of the brotherhood at Geneva, at Venice, in Holland, and at Genoa, are demonſtrative proofs that it is not at Monarchs alone that the adepts of the Sect aim their blows. Nations muſt alſo learn, that, whether Monarchies or Republics, they are all to be comprehended within the revolutionary vortex; and that neither friendſhip, alliance, nor the moſt paſſive obedience, can make the ſavage conſpirators relent.

In vain did the Swiſs Cantons in ſome ſort forget the dignity of their anceſtors; they were ſilent under the humiliating treatment of their brethren at Aix, the butchery of their troops at Paris, and the violation of the moſt in Switzerland;

* See Iriſh Report, No. XIV.—At Quebec, July 7, 1797, a man of the name of *David M'Lean* was tried and condemned to ſuffer on the 21ſt of the ſame month, being convicted of having come into Canada, under the diſguiſe of a merchant, with a view of raiſing the people againſt the Government, and to deliver over the colony to the French. He had taken all the neceſſary ſteps; the oath of ſecrecy, pikes, and other arms, were to be delivered to the people. The brethren at Montreal and Quebec were by the next ſpring to prepare the way for an army of 10,000 men that was to be brought over in a French fleet, and attack both theſe towns at the ſame time. Mr. Adet, the French miniſter at Philadelphia, was implicated in it; thus do the Pentarques convert their embaſſadors into the ring-leaders of the conſpiring bands wherever they are received; this may be ſaid to be one of the marking features of Jacobiniſm.

ſacred treaties even on their own territories. They bore with reſignation the inſults perpetually offered to them by the Jacobin dictators, who would ſometimes deign to mingle aſſurances of fraternity and promiſes of peace with their outrages. While the armies of the Sect were ravaging the neighboring countries, it would lull the credulous Swiſs into a fatal ſecurity by their cant of fraternity and affection; but in the mean time the adepts were laboring in the mountains. Weiſhaupt had made many converts in thoſe parts; and a ſwarm of Illuminees flocked thither from *the Univerſity of Gottingen*, all ready to proſecute the views of the Sect. *Fehr*, curate of Nidau, and after him *Bugg*, correſponded with the brotherhood in Germany; and the moment was approaching when he was about to receive the price of his zeal by being elected chief of the revolutionized Canton of Argau.*—At Lucern *Pfiffer*, at Berne *Weiſs*, at Baſle *Ochs*, preſided over the clubs of Equality and Liberty. By various artifices, the Jacobins had formed a party of ninety-two in the great council of Berne. The Pentarque Rewbel ſent as auxiliaries from Paris, *Maingaud*, *Mangourit*, and *Guyot*; and in Switzerland (as in Holland and at Mayence) ſecret correſpondence and ſecret ſocieties were preparing the way for the armies of the Sect. Thus was the fate of Switzerland to be ſimilar, and an equal ſhare of glory to redound to the victors.†

in Sweden; Yet there are monarchies ſtill in exiſtence, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Sect. True; but, if we except Denmark, whoſe neutrality appears to be of too great ſervice to the Sect, for it to think of deſtroying that kingdom at preſent, what other country is there in Europe that has not been expoſed to the machinations of the Sect? Guſtavus III. fell beneath the blows of an Ankarſtroem; but this aſſaſſin had come from the great Pariſian club. Thoſe very perſons who wiſh to iſolate this murder tell us, that adepts had declared, that *they knew of the projected murder of Guſtavus beforehand, and that all Europe knew of it.* Who are theſe men that were ſo well informed throughout Europe, if not thoſe adepts to whom the Sect has made known their determinations againſt a Prince whoſe activity could give them little

* Private Notes on Switzerland.

† See the Hiſtory of this Revolution by Mallet du Pan.

hopes of retrograde movements when he was about to fight the enemies of monarchy? When thoſe ſame writers caſt ſuſpicions on the Duke of *Sudermania*, they ground their attack on his being *Grand Maſter of the Swediſh Lodges*, as Orleans was in France. They further ſubſtantiate their charge on the multitude of illuminized Maſons that are ſpread all over Sweden, and on the horror of their myſteries. Is not that telling us, that Ankarſtroem was but a mere inſtrument of the Sect, which, in recompence for his regicide, erected ſtatues to him in the Club of the Jacobins? I will hereafter ſhow that the adepts had previous knowledge of this foul deed, and that it had even been clearly expreſſed in the public papers. But at preſent let us turn our eyes toward Ruſſia.

On the death of Lewis XVI. the Empreſs of Ruſſia or- In Ruſſia;
dered that all the French within her dominions ſhould take the oath of fidelity to the lawful heir of the Bourbons, and renounce all connection with France until monarchy was reſtored; but this was a fruitleſs precaution. The Sect had many adepts in Ruſſia, whom it had taught to ſcoff at oaths;* and they only took the oath of fidelity to the monarchy, that they might the more eaſily annihilate the Ruſſian diadem. The conſpirators were headed by *Genet*, heretofore the agent for the cabinet of Verſailles, but now become the agent of the Jacobins. The zeal with which he ſerved his new maſters had already filled Peterſburg with clubs compoſed of that ſpecies of men who, having no homes in their own country, travel to foreign parts in hopes of gaining a livelihood. Hair-dreſſers, Cooks, Valets, Bankrupts, Teachers of the French Tongue, and Street-porters from Paris, all were combining together to prepare a pike revolution. The moſt artful and moſt violent of the conſpirators daringly held their meetings in the Hotel of *Sir Charles Whitworth*, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Peterſburg. They met there once

* Knigge's apoſtles in Courland and Livonia had, doubtleſs, extended their miſſion; and a Ruſſian gentleman informed me, that one of the great adepts preſided over an academy at Moſcow where the young Nobility were educated. Every thing ſeemed to denote an excellent ſchool, when by degrees it was obſerved, that the illuminized Rights of Man was the groundwork of the ſecret leſſons of this great teacher. They were obliged to diſmiſs him, as the only means of reſtoring his pupils to the true principles of religion and ſociety.

a month by means of three French ſervants, who had been recommended to Sir Charles by ſome of the party as moſt excellent characters. Public fame, and ſoon after the Ambaſſador, informed the Police of this meeting. On making enquiries after the adepts, and on ſeizing their papers that had been carefully hidden, it was diſcovered, that their plot had been contrived according to the general plan and views of the Sect. At Rome, the brotherhood, had made uſe of an Ambaſſador of the King of Spain; in Ruſſia, it is the Secretary of Embaſſy and *Chargé d'Affaires* from the Court of Sardinia, a Mr. *Boſſi*, who is implicated in their foul projects. The adepts were baniſhed, according to the laws of Ruſſia. The diplomatic character of Mr. Boſſi ſaved him for ſome time from a ſimilar diſgrace; but no ſooner was the Czar Paul ſeated on the throne, than he received orders to quit Peterſburg in twenty-four hours, and the territories of his Imperial Majeſty with all poſſible ſpeed.*

In Poland. I ſhall not dwell long on the labors of the Sect in Poland. Among the number of its Apoſtles, I might name *Bonneau*, who was ſent to Siberia; *Duveyrier*, who wrote the *Proces Verbaux* at Paris for La Fayette, and who was diſcovered at Copenhagen on a ſuppoſed miſſion for buying corn, while his real object was to viſit the brethren of Poland and Ruſſia, to ſtimulate them; and our Memoirs inform us, that on the road he was to make an attempt on the life of the Count Artois, juſt as the German adepts have ſince done on that of Lewis XVIII. Duveyrier was accompanied by one *Lamarre*, and that *Caſtella* ſince arreſted in company with *Semonville* when proceeding to Conſtantinople with the plunder of the French crown, in hopes of bribing the miniſters of that country. But to give my reader an idea of the multitude of miſſionaries employed by the Sect in Poland, it will ſuffice to advert to *Cambon's* report, where he owns that it has already coſt France *ſixty millions* of livres to ſupport the brethren at Warſaw. This avowal ſhows how the Sect employs the public revenues, little caring whether the creditors of the interior are paid, and ſending its viſible legions to live on contributions levied on the exterior, while it largely pays that crowd of inviſible adepts and ſecret emiſſaries who prepare the way for its triumphs.

* Extract from a Memorial on Ruſſia.

This alſo demonſtrates what great ſtreſs the leaders of the Sect laid on the projected revolution in Poland; and, indeed, had they ſucceeded in revolutionizing that country, the Jacobins might have made a ſtrong diverſion on the very territories of the moſt formidable powers that had entered into the coalition. Equality and Liberty would have infuſed itſelf throughout Ruſſia with much greater facility. The Pruſſian and Auſtrian brethren began to ſhow themſelves more openly. Their hopes already ſeemed to be crowned with ſucceſs; Koſkiuſko had excited to revolt Warſaw, Wilna, and Lublin. The biſhop of this latter place, with many other gentlemen, had been hanged; in vain had the unfortunate Poniatowſki endeavored to allay the ferocity of the revolution; Poland was advancing rapidly towards its end, and it finiſhed by loſing both its king and its independence. My object is not even to hint an opinion on the conduct of the powers who have divided that country among themſelves, but to point out the univerſal conſpiracy of the Sect. Germany, which gave birth to the moſt profound adepts of the Sect, has already ſeverely felt the effects of its treachery, but has not yet met the fate which the Sect is preparing for it.

In Auſtria.

Joſeph II. lived long enough to deplore his miſerable policy. He was lamenting his philoſophiſm, and that deteſtable policy that had induced him to trouble the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the enjoyment of their religion, thus breaking the moſt ſolemn treaties and driving to deſpair ſubjects who deſerved a better fate, when the manifeſto of the *Grand Orient* came to teach him, that his policy had been juſt as erroneous in protecting the Maſonic Lodges. If credit is to be given to *Kleiner's Report*, or at leaſt to the extract from it given me by a nobleman of undoubted veracity, it was in conſequence of this manifeſto that Joſeph II. gave orders to *Kleiner* to get himſelf initiated into the illuminized Lodges, and by this means acquired certain knowledge of the Occult Myſteries of the Sect. He then learnt, that the Swediſh adepts had preciſely the ſame object in view as the offſpring of the modern *Spartacus*; and the Maſonic Lodges were the cloaks for both of them. I have learned from a perſon who was frequently in company with the Emperor, that nothing could equal his vexation, when he ſaw that he had been ſo ſtrangely impoſed upon by men whom he had favored, or when he diſcovered that, *ſo far from*

having himself named persons to the different charges of the state, he had only adopted the choices made by the Sect. He then openly declared, that the Free-masons were nothing more than a set of sharpers and jugglers; he went so far as to attribute all the thefts that had been committed on the treasury of the state to the Occult Masons; he determined to exclude them from every employment civil and military; he was indignant at seeing an *imperium in imperio* rising in the state. He would have followed up his indignation too, had he not learnt that many of his most faithful subjects, and some even for whom he had the greatest regard, such as the Prince *Lichtenstein*, were Masons. The greater part of these, however, renounced Masonry. Joseph had undertaken to destroy the Lodges and repair the errors of his philosophism, when a premature death put a period to his reign.

Leopold his successor, wishing to be informed of the nature and progress of the Sect in his new territories, applied to Professor Hoffman. No man was better able than he was to give the desired information, for he had been tampered with by the Sect, who, writing to him in the most high-flown phrases, endeavored to seduce him over to the cause of the revolution; but, on the other side, several Masons, *ashamed of having fallen a prey to the seduction of the Illuminees, had discovered most important secrets to him*, and joined with him in baffling the views of the Sect. He had learned from them, " that Mirabeau " himself had declared to his confidants, *that he carried* " *on a most extensive correspondence with Germany, but* " *in no part so extensive as at Vienna.* He knew that the " revolutionary system was to be extended throughout the " universe; that France had only been chosen as the scene " of a first explosion; that the propagandists were busied " in disseminating their principles throughout every climate; that emissaries were dispersed through the four " quarters of the globe, and particularly in the capitals; " that they had their adherents, and were particularly active in strengthening their party at *Vienna* and *in the* " *Austrian dominions.*—In 1791 he had read, as several " other persons also did, two letters, the one from Paris, " the other from Strasbourg, *describing in cypher the names* " *of seven commissaries of the Propaganda then resident* " *at Vienna, and to whom the new commissaries were to* " *apply, as well for the wages of their labors, as for in-*

" *ſtructions how to proceed.*—He had alſo ſeen ſeveral of " thoſe manuſcript news-papers that were ſent weekly " from Vienna, replete with the moſt abominable anec- " dotes againſt the court, and with arguments and prin- " ciples impugning the government.—Theſe papers were " to contribute toward the diſſemination of Jacobiniſm " throughout the towns and villages of the empire, and even " in foreign countries, as they were ſent poſt free, and with- " out even the ſubſcription being aſked for. He had even " tranſmitted ſome of theſe letters to government. He had " diſcovered the object of the frequent journeys of the Il- " luminee *Campe* to Paris, and his correſpondence with " Mirabeau and Orleans. He had acquired *certain know-* " *ledge* of the plans of the German Mirabeau," that is to ſay, of Mauvillon, who had been Mirabeau's Inſinuator, and the ſame perſon who had written thus to the Illuminee *Cuhn* [the letter is preſerved in the archives at Brunswick:] " *The affairs of the revolution go on better and* " *better in France; I hope that in a few years this flame* " *will be lit up every where, and that the conflagration* " *will become univerſal.* THEN OUR ORDER *may do* " *great things.*"* Mr. Hoffman alſo knew that this very Mauvillon " had drawn up a very explicit plan for the " revolutionizing of all Germany; that this plan had been " tranſmitted to the greater part of the Maſonic Lodges, " and to the clubs of the Illuminees; and that it was cir- " culated among the Propagandiſts and emiſſaries, who " were already employed in exciting to revolt the people " on the out-poſts and frontiers of Germany."† While this zealous citizen was thus unfolding to Leopold the intrigues of the Sect, he correſponded with the Great ZIMMERMAN of Bern, who was ever revered by the learned, beloved by all good citizens, and only hated by the illuminizing Jacobins, becauſe he no ſooner became acquainted with their myſteries than he warned the Society of their dangerous tendency. This learned man was alſo employed in compoſing a memorial for the uſe of the emperor, on the means of curbing the progreſs of the revolution;‡ but the Jacobins were aware of the hatred that Leopold had conceived for them. They knew that the

* June 1791.

† Important notice by Hoffman, Vol. I. Sect. 19.

‡ Hoffman's Letter in the Eudemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.

chief inſtigator of the treaty of Pilnitz was as much to be feared as Guſtavus; *and they were determined to ſhow that even an Emperor ſhould not oppoſe their plots with impunity.**

Juſt at the time when the two ſovereigns were making their preparations, the King of Pruſſia had recalled from Vienna his ambaſſador, the *Baron Jacobi Kloeſt*, who, as the Sect ſuppoſed, was favorable to their cauſe.—The *Count Haugwits*, who was more decidedly a friend to the meaſure of the treaty, was ſent in his ſtead. The journaliſts of Straſbourg announced this news with the following comment: "Hence politicians pretend, that the union between the two courts will be conſolidated. They "are certainly in the right to make the French believe ſo; "but in deſpotic countries, in *thoſe countries where the "fate of ſeveral millions of men hangs on a bit of paſte, "or on the rupture of a little vein, one can calculate on "nothing.* Let us ſuppoſe that the court of Pruſſia acting honeſtly in concert with the court of Auſtria (which "is difficult to be believed), or that the court of Auſtria "is acting ſo with that of Pruſſia (which is ſtill more incredible), *a ſingle indigeſtion, or a drop of blood forced "from its proper veſſels, will be ſufficient to diſſolve this "brilliant union.*"——This comment in the *Courier of Straſbourg*, No. 53, was dated from Vienna, *the 26th of February*, 1792. Leopold died (poiſoned) on *the 1ſt of March* following, and Guſtavus was aſſaſſinated in the night between the 15th and 16th of the ſame month.†

The firſt precaution taken by his young ſucceſſor was to diſmiſs all the Italian cooks, that he might not be expoſed to the ſame fate as his father, and fall a victim to what is called the *Naples broth*. More zealous in the cauſe, Francis II. not only oppoſed the Sect by force of arms, but, in order to attack illuminiſm in its dark receſſes, he applied to the diet of Ratiſbon in 1794, for a decree to ſuppreſs all ſecret ſocieties, whether Maſons, Roſicrucians, or Illuminees, of every ſort. They had powerful ſupporters in this firſt council of the Empire, and they intrigued againſt the propoſition of the Emperor. They pretended that theſe bodies of Illuminees were nothing more than little aſſociations of ſchool-boys, that were very common

* Important notice by Hoffman.

† Travels of two Frenchmen in the North, Vol. V. ch. 12.

in the Proteſtant univerſities.—Through the organs of the Pruſſian, Hanoverian, and Brunſwick miniſters it was objected, that the Emperor was at liberty to forbid theſe different lodges within his own ſtates; but that, with reſpect to all others, they could not attempt to curtail the Germanic liberty. All that the Emperor could obtain was a decree for the abolition of thoſe aſſociations of ſchool-boys. This decree not only left the great adepts in full poſſeſſion of their lodges, but was alſo unattended to in moſt of the colleges, where Illuminiſm continued to make the moſt awful progreſs.*

* So late as February laſt (1798) the magiſtrates of Jena, were obliged to puniſh about a dozen ſcholars, who, formed into an aſſociation calling themſelves *Amiciſts*, were under the direction of the adepts. To prepare theſe youths for the myſteries of Illuminiſm, their ſecret ſuperiors repreſented the oath appropriated to this aſſociation as the moſt ſacred engagement that could be taken and the leaſt violation of it as being immediately followed by the moſt terrible puniſhments.—They were then queſtioned, whether they were ſufficiently enlightened to believe that they could, *without ſcruple*, break the oath which they had ſworn to the ſuperior of the college, never to engage in any ſecret ſociety;—whether they believed themſelves ſufficiently virtuous to accuſe themſelves alone, and no other perſon, in caſe the magiſtrates ſhould puniſh them for a breach of that oath;—whether they thought themſelves ſufficiently courageous to continue in the aſſociation, though they ſhould be compelled to abjure it.—The Illuminee who had queſtioned them, if ſatisfied with their anſwers, gave them the Code of the *Amiciſts*, and therein they learned that they and their aſſociates formed *a ſtate within the ſtate*; that they had *laws of their own* according to which they judged of affairs *that were beyond their ſphere*; and this required the moſt profound ſecrecy; that ſhould ſeveral of them hereafter meet in the ſame town, they ſhould eſtabliſh a lodge, and do all that lay in their power to propagate the ſociety; that if they were perchance to change their place of habitation (which ſhould be only done in ſome extraordinary caſe), they ſhould then correſpond with their own lodge, while the ſecretary was to hold correſpondence with the other lodges, making his return of the name, quality, and country of every new candidate; that they would obey the ſuperiors of the Order, ſuccor their brethren, and procure advancement for them; in ſhort, they were *to be ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Order*.

Several of theſe young *Amiciſts*, which of all the different aſſociations was ſuppoſed to be the moſt innocent, refuſed to give the liſt of the brethren, leſt they might be inculpated.—They, however, declared that the Order comprehended many *men of quality and of high honor, magiſtrates and perſons in of-*

While the young Emperor was thus endeavoring to counteract the plots of the Sect, it was conspiring in the very heart of the Austrian states to overturn the government. By the death of the *Chevalier de Born* the Sect had lost at Vienna one of its chief adepts; this gentleman was powerfully rich, yet at his death nothing but immense debts appeared, in consequence of the sums he had spent on the propagandists. Two other adepts, as zealous at the least, and far more enterprizing, had succeeded him. HEBENSTREIT the *Lieutenant de place* at Vi-

fice. (See the Minutes of the Judgment, or the Staats un gelehrte zeitung *of Hamburgh*, No. 45, 13th of March.

Supposing that the reader may wish to know in what state young men came from these Lodges and Colleges, I will here quote an an example from the notes I have received from Germany. "At the time I am writing this (July 13th 1794) at "the Baths, four leagues from Hanover, there resides here a "young man who arrived a few days since from the university "of Jena, where he was educated. It is the reigning Count "Plattenberg, one of the richest noblemen of Germany, aged "24, of Catholic parents, and a nephew of Prince Kaunitz, "the minister. In consequence of the principles imbibed by "this young Count at the university of Jena, he dresses in the "complete style of a democrat, and affects the uncouthness of "their manners. He would have his servant sit next to him "at the *table d'hote* but it was not permitted. This young "*Egalité* goes about singing the *Ca-ira* and *Marseillois Hymn*, "with other youths whom he gathers together. Don't let "this be taken in the light *of an anecdote only relating to a* "*thoughtless individual. His folly is the reigning folly of stu-*"*dents in all the universities of Germany; and this folly is the* "*produce of those doctrines taught by the professors, while go-*"*vernments pay no attention to them.*"

The same notes (and they are written by a Protestant) represent the *university of Halle* in Saxony, where the greater part of the King of Prussia's subjects go to finish their educations, as in a state similar to that of Jena. In April 1794 the chiefs of the commission of religion of Berlin, *M. M. Hermes and Hilmer*, went, by order of the King of Prussia, to visit the Lutheran college at Halle, and they disapproved of many things that were going on. The students received them with the cry of *Pereant* (let them perish), and obliged them to seek their safety in flight. Their ministers of religion are exposed to similar insults. Dogs are set at them when preaching, and indecencies take place in the churches that would not be suffered in the streets. "The *Illuminees themselves publish these abomina-*"*tions*, that their pupils the *Amicists* may be induced to act "in a similar manner." Such is the education of youth where the Sect predominates.

enna, was one; and the other was MEHALOVICH, an ex-capuchin of Croatia, whom Joſeph II. had imprudently taken from the cloiſters, and had given him a living in Hungary, in recompence for the diſpoſitions he had ſhown to ſecond the Emperor in his pretended reforms in the church. A number of other adepts had joined theſe two conſpirators, among whom we may diſtinguiſh the Captain *Billeck*, mathematical profeſſor at the Academy of Neuſtadt, the Lieutenant *Riedel*, the profeſſor of philoſophy *Branſtäter*, the ſtupid, but rich merchant, *Hackel*, and finally *Wolſtein*, one of thoſe adepts whom the Sect had contrived to ſend on a revolutionary miſſion throughout Europe at the Emperor's expenſe, under pretence of acquiring knowledge in the veterinary art, of which he has ſince been created profeſſor.

The reader may judge of the number and importance of the conſpirators by the plan that was agreed upon in 1795. Thro' their influence at court, they found means of forming a garriſon in Vienna of ſubſtantial and honeſt citizens little accuſtomed to bear arms. They had ſelected them from this claſs, and had got an order to compel them into this ſort of duty, under pretence of the imminent danger of the State. Always pretending that they had the orders of the Emperor, they treated theſe new-raiſed corps with unheard of ſeverity, in hopes of indiſpoſing them againſt the court by the time that their revolutionary plots ſhould be ready for execution. The populace was in their hands, and daily became more attached to their cauſe, in conſequence of their being excluded from the new-raiſed corps, and by making them partake of the large ſums diſtributed among a banditti who were to be put in poſſeſſion of the arſenal on the day of inſurrection. On that day the inſurrection was to be general, during which *Hebenſtreit*, followed by a banditti, was to ſecure the perſon of the Emperor; other detachments of the banditti were to take poſſeſſion of the arſenal, and poſt themſelves on the ramparts. The perſon of the Emperor being in their hands, the conſpirators were to oblige him to ſign *the Code of the Rights of Man*; that is to ſay, certain edicts ready prepared, by which the rights of all nobility and great proprietors were to be annulled; all were to be declared equal and free; and the ſovereignty of the people proclaimed. Theſe edicts were to be ſent into the Provinces in the name of the Emperor, juſt as if

he had enjoyed his liberty. Every outward appearance of reſpect for his perſon was to be preſerved; in ſhort, he was to have been treated juſt as the gaoler La Fayette had treated the unfortunate Lewis XVI. It is not known, whether the *Aqua Tophana* was to be adminiſtered in ſuch a doſe as to *kill*, or to *ſtupify*; it even appears, that the young prince was to be kept as a hoſtage; but in all cases, he was only to be reſtored to his freedom after the people had been well accuſtomed to the new reign of Equality and Liberty, and had acquired poſſeſſion of the eſtates of the Nobility in ſuch a manner that all reſtitution of property, or revival of the ancient conſtitution, would be rendered impoſſible. All the preparatory ſteps had been taken; the Catechiſms of the Rights of Man, and the moſt incendiary performances, had been profuſely diſperſed in the villages and cottages. Female adepts in the ſtyle of the adepts Necker and Stael made their appearance. The Counteſs of *Marchowich* diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the zeal ſhe ſhowed in diſtributing the new Catechiſm. The fatal day was drawing near, when a moſt ſingular circumſtance led to the diſcovery of the whole plot.

While the ex-capuchin Mehalovich was out one day, a domeſtic playing with one of his fellow-ſervants, took into his head to put on the capuchin habit which his maſter had preſerved among his cloaths, when all on a ſudden Mehalovich knocked at the houſe-door. The ſervant, who did not underſtand the nature of the habit, could not get it off again, ſo ſent his comrade to open the door, and hid himſelf under the bed. *Mehalovich* came in with *Hebenſtreit* and *Hackel*; they thought themſelves ſecure; the ſervant overheard their whole converſation; it related entirely to the conſpiracy that was to break out in three days. Hebenſtreit renewed the conſpirator's oath, on his ſword. Mehalovich took five hundred thouſand florins, which were hidden in a harpſichord, and gave them to him for the execution of the plan; and no ſooner did they leave the room, than the ſervant got from under the bed, and diſcovered the whole plot to the Miniſters of the State.

The councils were immediately called in conſequence of ſo important a diſcovery, and the chief conſpirators were arreſted on the day preceding the intended exploſion.—Hebenſtreit was hanged at Vienna; Mehalovich, with ſeven Hungarian gentlemen, his accomplices were behead-

ed at Preſburg; and many others were condemned to exile, or to perpetual impriſonment.

The King of Pruſſia had ſimilar conſpiracies to guard againſt at Berlin. The papers of *Leveller*-Leuchſering, which had been ſeized, had already warned William III. of the conſpiracy that was brewing in the Lodges; but in the month of November, 1792, a new plot was contriving. The ſignal agreed upon for the general inſurrection was, the ſetting fire to two houſes in different quarters of the town. On the day appointed the two houſes were really ſet on fire. The brethren expected that the troops in garriſon would be immediately ſent, as was customary, to extinguiſh the flames and keep order. While abſent from their poſts the rebels were to ſeize on them, and let their banditti looſe. Happily the Governor General Möllendorff had been informed of the plot. He commanded the troops to remain at their poſts; the conſpirators, finding their plans had been diſcovered, did not dare to ſhow themſelves. The incendiaries were arreſted, the plot failed, and William III. preſerved his Crown. In Pruſſia.

Having acquired certain knowledge of the views of the conſpirators, and of their connection with the French Jacobins, this Prince, as every reader would ſuppoſe, ought to have ſhewn more conſtancy in the cauſe of Royalty againſt Jacobiniſm. Court jealouſies, and differing intereſts, that perpetually keep the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin at variance, may have led him to agree to a pacification with the ſworn enemies of every power; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to account for the great ſway which thoſe very men muſt have had in his deciſions, whoſe diſorganizing principles he ſo much deteſted. The reader has ſeen the adepts of the modern *Spartacus* concealing themſelves in the Lodges of Maſonry; he has obſerved *Philo*-Knigge promiſing diſcoveries that would give the Sect ſovereign ſway over credulous minds. Unfortunately for Frederic William III. he had become a member of one of thoſe Lodges which the Illuminees, under the cloak of Roſicrucians, had converted into one of their theatres of impoſture; and the following is an account given me by a learned Proteſtant Miniſter, who had had frequent converſations with his Pruſſian Majeſty on the ſubject of Freemaſonry. He informs me, that to diveſt his Majeſty of any reſpect he might have for the Scripture, theſe Roſicrucians ſucceeded in making him believe that the Bible

and Gospel of the Christians were deficient; that a far superior doctrine was to be found in the *sacred books of Enoch and of Seth*, supposed to be lost, but which they pretended to have exclusively in their possession. Had it been possible to undeceive the king, the demonstrations adduced by our learned correspondent must have done so, since he invited his Majesty to read those pretended books of *Enoch* and *Seth*, or those apocryphal rhapsodies which these impostors offered to him as so precious, so secret, and so rare, but which had long since been printed in *Fabricius's Collection*. His Majesty seemed to be convinced of the imposture of these empirical mystifiers; but curiosity is weak, and the Rosicrucians regain their ascendency under the pretence of apparitions. So notorious was the credulity of the Prussian Monarch on this score, that in 1792, at the fair of Leipsic, were sold waistcoats called the *Berlin Jesus waistcoats (Berlinische Jesus westen)*, in memory of the brethren having on a sudden announced the apparition of Christ; and the King asking how he was dressed, they answered, *in a scarlet waistcoat, with black facings, and golden tresses*. If I am to credit what I have learnt through the same channel, William III. deserved to be imposed upon in so humiliating a manner; for the great influence these impostors had acquired over his mind, not only proceeding from their magic arts, but from their flattering his passions and propensity for the fair sex. They carried their impudence so far, as to tell him, that Christ *had granted him permission to have twelve wives at once.*

The most famous of his mistresses was a Madame de Reiz, afterwards created Countess of Lichtenau. Had the matters that appeared on her trial been made public, some light might have been thrown on her supposed understanding with the French Jacobins, from whom she is said to have received rich presents, and with *Bischofswerder*, who is now occupied, as we are told, in very different projects. We might then have learned how to reconcile that real hatred which William had conceived for the Jacobins, and the personal courage he has shown in combating them, with the peace he made precisely at the time when his armies could most efficaciously have co-operated for their destruction. But his successor has thought proper to commit to the flames the minutes of this trial, saying, that he would not read them, lest *persons, who might still be useful to him*, should be implicated in these in-

trigues. Some princes might have thought it prudent to read them, that they might learn who were the perſons that could ſtill do them much miſchief. Without pretending to comment on the deſtroying of this monument of hiſtory, we are happy to ſay that William IV. has inherited from his predeceſſor all his hatred for the Sect, without any of his weakneſſes. The Freemaſons of Berlin went ſo far as to aſk to have their Lodges confirmed by letters patent; but the King diſmiſſed them, ſaying, that in ſhowing ſuch a marked favor to them, he would be wanting in his duty to his other ſubjects, and that they would find protection as long as they did not trouble the public peace. The Maſons, we may be ſure, in return, promiſed to be moſt faithful ſubjects to his Majeſty.—— They made ſimilar promiſes during the reign of the late king; yet I have ſeen very honeſt Maſons in London who were much alarmed at the language they heard in the Pruſſian Lodges, and that but a ſhort time before the death of William III. By their account the language of the Maſons was as frantic to the full as that of the Paris Jacobins: "When ſhall we be delivered from the tyrant? "When ſhall we follow the example of our brethren at "Paris? Is it not high time for us to ſhow ourſelves wor- "thy of Equality, and Liberty, and true Maſons?" Such expreſſions, with many others far more offenſive to the dignity and perſon of the king, were not in the mouths of ſome few brethren only; but whole Lodges were ſeized with the phrenzy, which raged moſt violently among the adepts who were connected with the French. Nor is it a trivial circumſtance, or to be overlooked, that has taken place in the Lodge of Berlin calling itſelf *The Royal York.*—Public fame has informed the world, that this Lodge has eſtabliſhed within itſelf *a Directory, a Senate of Ancients, and a Senate of Youngers, modelled on the actual Government of France.* How far this revolution in the Lodge is to contribute towards, or denote the impatience with which the members thirſt after the univerſal revolution which the Pentarques are endeavoring to operate, I ſhall not pretend to aſcertain; but this much I can poſitively aſſert, that the auxiliaries of the Paris brotherhood are not confined to the Lodges. They have their brethren, ſent from Paris, in the Pruſſian armies. On the one hand, theſe ſoldiers are paid by his Pruſſian Majeſty to maintain his throne; on the other, they are paid by the

Pentarques to corrupt the Pruſſian regiments, and teach them to revolt againſt the throne. The generoſity of the Jacobins is ſo great, that the wives of theſe diſguiſed apoſtles are penſioned in France. Every one knows, that the arch-conſpirator Syeyes is gone to Berlin in a diplomatic character. Should his miſſion be ever accompliſhed, then will the hiſtorian have to explain conqueſts ſimilar to thoſe of Italy. Germany would certainly have long ſince fallen a prey to Illuminiſm had the plots formed met with ſucceſs.

Tired of ſuch partial treaſons, that only threw a ſingle town or a province into the hands of the enemy, the ſenate of the adepts, at that time holding its ſittings at Vienna, had, as early as 1793, either digeſted a plan themſelves, or received one, in thirty articles, that was to revolutionize the whole empire at the ſame inſtant.—Letters, poſt-paid as far as Ægra, were already diſpatched for Gotha, Weimar, Dreſden, and a hundred ſuch towns, fixing the day of general inſurrection for the firſt of November, inviting brethren and citizens to arm on that great day, though *it were only with knives*; to aſſemble in the ſquares of the towns, or in the fields without; to form into centuries, and to elect chiefs; *to ſeize on the public revenue, on the arſenals, on the powder magazines, and on the members of government.* In compliance with the ſame plan, *a National Aſſembly was to rear its head in ſome town of the empire on the ſame day*, and the brethren in inſurrection were to ſend their deputies to it. Theſe letters were ſent during the month of October; and happily for the ſtate, a ſufficient quantity of them were ſeized to counteract the effects of the conſpiracy. The Sect conſoled itſelf in the idea that ten years would not elapſe, as Mauvillon had declared, before all Germany would be revolutionized. The adepts, indeed, are ſo very numerous, that it is almoſt incredible that the revolution has not already taken place; and the only way of accounting for it, is by conſidering the inert diſpoſition of the people, who cannot be eaſily thrown into that ſtrong effervescence neceſſary for an exploſion.

The letters from that country complain bitterly of the progreſs of Illuminiſm. To give my reader the means of judging how it comes to paſs, that princes, who are the beſt acquainted with the views of the Sect, continue to tolerate them, I will tranſcribe the following paſſages from

the memorials which I have received from Germany, and which have been confirmed by ſeveral well-informed perſons: " One of the Sovereigns of Germany, who has the " moſt wit, the Duke of Brunſwick, has ſuffered, under " the auſpices of *Gampe*, *Mauvillon*, and *Trapp*, three " famous Illuminees, both his capital and his ſtates to be- " come the public ſchool of irreligion and Jacobiniſm.— " This might lead us to believe, that the prince was him- " ſelf tainted with thoſe principles, but it would be ca- " lumny to ſuppoſe it, for he only tolerates *theſe raſcals* " that he may not fall a victim to their plots. *Suppoſing I* " *was to ſend them away*, ſaid he, *they would only go elſe-* " *where and calumniate me. A league ought to be enter-* " *ed into by the German princes, to ſuffer them in no part* " *of the empire.*"

Meanwhile, till ſuch a league is agreed upon, there are other governments, in that country, that permit the laſt myſteries of Illuminiſm to be taught publicly. " At Jena, " in Saxony, for example, a profeſſor is permitted to teach " publicly, that *governments are contrary to the laws of* " *reaſon and of humanity*; and, conſequently, that, in " twenty, fifty, or a hundred years time, not a govern- " ment will exiſt."*

To go ſtill farther; few of the German princes will permit writers to combat either the Sect or its doctrines. A ſociety of men of unblemiſhed principles, (if we may judge by their publication, the *Eudemonia*, right genius) had conſecrated their labors in that journal to the unmaſking of the intrigues, cunning, and principles, of the Illuminees. Not a ſingle prince encourages this publication; ſeveral have proſcribed it in their ſtate, while the moſt jacobinical publications are allowed a free circulation. The Eudemonia has juſt been forbidden in the Auſtrian States, under the ſpecious pretext, that its object and views are good, but that it makes principles known that are not ſufficiently refuted. As a proof, however, that they were much better refuted than the Illuminees could wiſh, we need only obſerve, that the *Gazette Litteraire of Gotha*, the leading paper of the Sect, announced the prohibition before it was even known at Vienna.—The reader will be leſs ſurprized at the artfulneſs of the pretext, when he learns, that two of the *cenſors*, who are to

* Memoirs on Jacobiniſm in Germany. Anno 1794.

pronounce on the literary productions, are the well-known Illuminees *Sonnenfels* and *Retzer*, who, had it been for a journal of another ſtamp, would have reclaimed the liberty of the preſs in its favor.

We muſt now turn our attention to a new ſpecies of Jacobins who are making an amazing progreſs in Germany. Theſe are the diſciples of a Doctor KANT, who, riſing from darkneſs, and from the chaos of his Categories, proceeds to reveal the myſteries of his Coſmopoliticism. According to this ſyſtem,—I. It *is melancholy* to be obliged to ſeek, *in the hopes of another world*, for the end and deſtiny of *the human ſpecies*.—II. It is not of man, conducted by reaſon, as it is of brutes led by inſtinct. The former has each for his end the developement of all his faculties; while, in the latter, the end is accompliſhed in each individual brute. Among men, on the contrary, the end is for the ſpecies, and not for the individual; for the life of man is too ſhort to attain the perfection and the complete developement of his faculties. In the claſs of man, *all the individuals paſs and periſh; the ſpecies alone ſurvives, and is alone immortal*.—III. With reſpect to man again, the end of the ſpecies cannot be accompliſhed; that is to ſay, his faculties can only be entirely developed *in the moſt perfect ſtate of ſociety*.—IV. That perfect ſtate of ſociety would be *a general confederacy* of the inhabitants of the earth, ſo united together, that diſſentions, jealouſies, ambition, or wars, would never be heard of.—V. Thouſands and thouſands of years may elapſe before this happy period of perpetual peace may come; but, " whatever may be the idea conceived of the " free exerciſe of our will, *it is nevertheleſs certain, that* " *the apparent reſult of that volition, the actions of man,* " *are, as well as all the other facts of nature, determined* " *by general laws*."—This nature proceeds with a ſlow but certain ſtep toward its object. Vices, virtues, ſciences, the diſſentions of mankind, are in her hands, but the ſure and infallible means by which ſhe leads the human ſpecies from generation to generation to the moſt perfect ſtate of civilization.—Sooner or later the epoch of the general confederation, of univerſal peace, muſt come; nevertheleſs, even at that period, *the human ſpecies will have proceeded but half way towards its perfection*.*—I know

* Plan of a General Hiſtory in a Coſmopolitical View, by Kant. See The *Spectateur du Nord*, April 1798.

not whether this doctrineer Kant will inform us in what the other half of the way toward perfection consists; but, in the meantime, his disciples who are daily increasing, tell us, " that Europe must necessarily dissolve itself into " as many republics as there are now monarchies; and " then only will the human species show itself in all its " strength and grandeur; then people incapable of go- " verning will no longer be seen at the head of nations; " *they will then rise to that high state of perfection at* " *present attained by the French nation, where birth is* " *nothing, but genius and talents every thing.*"* Other adepts, however, perfectly understand what is alluded to by the other half way toward perfection; and these acknowledge man only to be in a state of perfection when he recognizes no other master but himself, no other law but his reason. In short, it is man according to the professor of *Jena*, it is the *Magnus* of Weishaupt or of Babœuf.†

Notwithstanding the different methods of proceeding, it is easy to see that the system of *Kant*, at present Professor at *Konigsberg*, ultimately leads to the same end as that of *Weishaupt*, heretofore Professor at *Ingolstadt*.— The same hatred for revelation is to be found in both, as well as the same spirit of impiety, which cannot brook the idea of a world to come, where all delusion must cease in the presence of the Creator, and where the end of man and of the human species will be proclaimed at the tri-

* Memoirs of the State of Jacobinism in Germany.

† I was not put to the trouble of reading Doctor Kant's works in German. Mr. *Nitsch* has published a sort of analysis of them in English. Those who might tremble at the idea of bewildering themselves in his chaos of Categories may read the account given them in the British Critic, August 1796; and the reader may easily judge of the absurdity of the arguments which the Prussian Doctor heaps up against the very possibility of revelation. A Doctor *Willich* has lately shown himself a rival of Nitsch in proclaiming the glorious feats of this professor of darkness. I have perused the analysis that Dr. Willich has given us, and the praises bestowed on *the project of a perpetual peace*. I cou'd not understand why he would only give the title of the work that relates chiefly to that point, I mean of that very treatise whence Doctor Kant's principles on Cosmopolitism have been extracted. Was the disciple afraid that it would have exposed the doctrines of his master too much, and opened the eyes of the English reader on this *plan of perpetual peace*, and on the drift of his whole system of Cosmopolitism?

bunal of a remunerating and avenging God. *Kant* and *Weiſhaupt*, with ſimilar pretenſions to ſuperior genius, are equally baffled in their attempts, falling into the moſt voluntarily abſurd propoſitions, that leave the preſent generation no other conſolation in its afflictions, than the empty dream of the imaginary happineſs of thoſe future Coſmopolites, who, in thouſands and thouſands of years, are, as we are told, to inhabit this earth. In both we may obſerve that ſame hypocriſy pretending to great ſenſibility and virtue; pretending not to know, that every individual who ſhall be perſuaded that he is not born for any fixed or perſonal end, will ſoon ſhape his conduct according to his views or to his pleaſures, and will little regard the future Coſmopolites, their univerſal peace, or the happineſs that is to be ſpread over the earth twenty or thirty ages after his death. The ſame inept fataliſm is taught by them both, wiſhing to repreſent nature as acting exactly as it pleaſes, in ſpite of our volition, and prevailing over our paſſions by its *general laws*; and nevertheleſs repreſent mankind as ſlow in ſeconding the grand object of Nature, juſt as we were free to accelerate or to retard its views by our actions. The only difference that can be perceived between theſe two prototypes of German Jacobiniſm, is, that the one at Konigſberg envelopes his views in a pacific cant; while the other, in his myſteries, animates and infuriates his Epopts, teaching that the day is not far diſtant when the adepts are to reſort to force, in order to cruſh and ſtifle every thing that ſhould dare to reſiſt them. But notwithſtanding the pacific cant of the former, his doctrines alſo make his hearers thirſt after that great day when the children of Equality and Liberty are to reign. His colleagues in the univerſities do not teach his principles with his coolneſs; the diſciples become violent; the Jacobins ſmile; and as the ſyſtem ſpreads, the offſpring of both theſe teachers unite and form alliances in their tenebrous abodes. Under pretence of this perpetual peace that is to be enjoyed by future generations, they have begun by declaring a war of cannibals againſt the whole univerſe; nor is there to be found ſcarcely one of their offſpring, that is not ready to betray his country, his laws, and his fellow-citizens, to erect that Coſmopolitan Empire announced by the Profeſſor Kant, or to enthrone the *Man-king* of the modern *Spartacus*.

Such is the ſtate of the Sect in Germany: It ſways the

Clubs, the Lodges, the Literary Societies, the *Dicaſteres*, or Offices of Government, and even Princes. It appears under variegated forms and names; but, however theſe may differ, it perpetually keeps that unhappy country in a ſtate of criſis. Every throne is undermined by a volcano that menaces exploſion whenever a favorable moment ſhall offer.

In England.

Why will not truth permit me to declare, that the conſpiring Sect has reſpected that nation which, content with the wiſdom, and living happy under the ſhield of its laws, muſt naturally have been adverſe to, and conſtant in repelling the diſorganizing plots and baneful myſteries of Illuminiſm? But have we not ſeen that Miniſter of Petkam, RONTGEN, ſent to London under the protection of a great Prince? Nor is he the only apoſtle of Weiſhaupt that has croſſed the ſeas in hopes of illuminizing England. The very name of *Xaverius Zwack* in theſe Memoirs recalled to the minds of many perſons the ſtay which that famous adept of Illuminiſm made during a whole year at Oxford, juſt after his flight from Bavaria. The exactneſs of his deſcription, taken from the Original Writings, left not the leaſt ſhadow of doubt as to the perſon of the *Cato* of Illuminiſm. This has made people underſtand the real motives that induced this adept to make that famous town his habitation, though he pretended to have been attracted thither by the fame of its ſcience. Neither the place nor the times, however, were propitious to his miſſion, nor to principles that entailed upon him the juſt contempt of the doctors. Mr. Hornſby, who had entruſted him with ſome diſcoveries in aſtronomy, will now underſtand how this adept could barefacedly publiſh them in Germany as the offſpring of his own genius. This will alſo explain why the *Cato* of Illuminiſm, who was deſpiſed at the univerſity, and nearly expelled, never returned, though he only pretended a ſhort abſence to the Continent. Other apoſtles have ſucceeded him in his miſſion; and, in gratitude for the aſylum which this nation has granted us, I muſt declare, that the miſſionaries of Weiſhaupt have not been foiled in all their attempts.

When Mr. Robiſon publiſhed his aſſertion that certain Maſonic Lodges had been tainted by the illuminizing brotherhood, patriotiſm naturally exclaimed that it was impoſſible. Men who have inſtituted themſelves into a ſort of tribunal of public opinion called upon this reſpec-

table writer to produce his proofs. I know not what the anſwer of Mr. Robiſon was; all I know is, that he might have replied, " When perſons who are entitled to queſtion me ſhall do ſo, I will anſwer."—To thoſe who may wiſh to queſtion me, I will ſay, that there are circumſtances which may forbid me to anſwer; it is ſufficient that thoſe who watch for the ſafety of the nation ſhould be informed of them, that they may take precautions to counteract the Sect; beſides, are there not many hiſtorical truths, that cannot be proved in a court of juſtice?

I make theſe obſervations with the more aſſurance, as Government moſt certainly have the competent proofs in their hands, which their wiſdom, nevertheleſs, has kept ſecret.—I make them, becauſe Mr. Robiſon has ſpoken with ſufficient clearneſs, in his Appendix, and in his Notes, to ſhow that he was but too well informed when he ſpoke of the intruſion of Illuminiſm into certain Engliſh and Scotch Lodges, without being obliged to particularize the Lodges. But he certainly acted prudently in not expoſing himſelf to the fate of the celebrated Zimmerman, who, as all the world knows, fell, in ſimilar circumſtances, a victim to the Illuminee *Philo*-Knigge; not becauſe he had accuſed him unjuſtly, but that legal evidence was wanting to prove that *Philo* and Knigge were names applicable to the ſame perſon; a fact now ſo clear both by his own works and thoſe of the adepts. They who have thus attempted to brand Mr. Robiſon with the name of calumniator, would have done well to reflect on the many means employed by the Sect to influence ſuch a judgment; that it is a ſtanding law of the Sect, *that where an author of merit cannot be gained over, he is to be discredited by every means poſſible*; and moſt certainly he has a glorious title to the hatred of the Sect. I willingly confeſs, that it would have given me great pleaſure, had it been conſonant with prudence, that Mr. Robiſon had publiſhed all his proofs, as I am perſuaded that many of thoſe perſons who have been ſo haſty and intemperate in their judgments, would have voted him thanks for the ſervice he has rendered to his country, actuated, as I ſuppoſe them to be, with the ſame zeal for its happineſs, but not equally informed as to the dangers with which it is menaced.

Nothwithſtanding the variance that is to be found between that reſpectable author and myſelf in ſome articles,

(particularly on the Catholic religion,* and on the Jeſuits, whom he might have repreſented in different colours,

* I do not here pretend to refute the religious prejudices of certain writers againſt the Catholics: But what has the French Revolution to do with confeſſion, with monaſtic vows, with indulgencies, or the juriſdiction purely ſpiritual of the Pope, and articles of ſuch a nature? The proof that theſe objects were far from contributing to the Revolution is, that the Jacobins ſpare no pains to deſtroy them.—In a book combating the Jacobins, what can induce a writer to vent his ſpleen againſt the tenets of a Catholic? I might ſay to many writers who have been guilty of this moſt extraordinary imprudence, Begin, at leaſt, gentlemen, by making yourſelves acquainted with our tenets, and then ſee whether we are able to defend them To others I would ſay, For God's ſake let us expoſe our belief ourſelves, let us ſay what we do and what we do not believe. The defence you may with the beſt intentions ſet up for us, may be more hurtful than beneficial to our cauſe. Mr. Robiſon, no doubt, thought that he was ſpeaking in favor of the church of France, when he ſaid, that that church had long ſince eſtabliſhed its independence of the Court of Rome. If by the Court of Rome he means the temporal dominion of the Pope, the French had no great trouble in eſtabliſhing ſuch an independence, as it never recognized any ſuch dominion; if he means the purely ſpiritual juriſdiction of the Pope, neither our Catholic Biſhops, Clergy, nor Laity, ever wiſhed to throw it off. They all continue to believe what they always have believed, that the Pope, as ſucceſſor of St. Peter, has the juriſdiction as firſt paſtor over the Church of France, as he has over all others. Every one knows, that this juriſdiction of the ſovereign Pontiff is held in our faith as an eſſential point of the hierarchy eſtabliſhed by Chriſt; but every one alſo knows, that the juriſdiction of the Pope, as well as that of all Biſhops, is not of this world; that it does not militate in any way with the duties we own to our ſovereigns; that it can never abſolve us from the fidelity and ſubmiſſion which we owe to the laws of the State. I, therefore, here proteſt againſt all thoſe who may chooſe to interpret the eſteem I have declared to entertain for Mr. Robiſon's work as alluding to thoſe parts of it that are abſolutely contrary to my faith. On this occaſion alſo I beg to obſerve, that in the caſe of the preſent Revolution both Proteſtants and Catholics ſhould unite, and lay aſide their prejudices againſt each other, to combat the impiety of the Jacobins, as their aim is to annihilate the religions of both. Beſide, what party has a right to boaſt, when the revolution is conſidered; *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt and *Cato*-Zwack were two apoſtate Catholics—*Philo*-Knigge and *Lucian*-Nicolai two apoſtate Proteſtants—Thomas Paine an apoſtate Anglican. In France, the Catholic citizens of Paris, the Proteſtant citizens of Niſmes; in Ireland, large portions of a Catholic populace organized into a revolutionary army under Proteſtant chiefs.

had he had, as we have, the whole hiſtory of their pretended Maſonry before him, a mere fiction of the Illuminees to dupe the Maſons, and avert the attention of the public from the true conſpirators); notwithſtanding this variance, I ſhall never heſitate to acknowledge, that he is entitled to the thanks of his fellow-countrymen for having denounced a conſpiracy that threatens this, as much as it does any other nation; I ſhall always bear willing teſtimony to the juſtice of his cauſe, to the ardor of his zeal, and to the uprightneſs of his intentions. Meanwhile, till he may judge it proper to publiſh his proofs on the Illuminiſm of certain Engliſh Maſonic Lodges, I ſhall mention a few circumſtances that have come to my knowledge.

To my certain knowledge, there are two men in England who have been tampered with by the Apoſtles of Illuminiſm. One of theſe, who belongs to the Navy, ſtill preſerves that honeſt indignation which muſt naturally ariſe in an upright heart at ſeeing itſelf ſo atrociouſly duped by an Inſinuator, who, under pretence of initiating him into the ſecrets of Maſonry, was plunging him head foremoſt into Illuminiſm. The other, a man of great merit, who might have known more had he not diſcovered his real ſentiments; but his letters bear teſtimony of the following particulars:

Of thoſe books which ſhow the multitude of Illuminized Lodges, there is one bearing the title of *Paragrafin*; and it is often put into the hands of certain candidates by the Inſinuators. In this production we may ſee the travelling adept Zimmerman boaſting of having illuminized Lodges in England, juſt as he had done in Italy and Hungary. In ſome of theſe Lodges the tenets of Illuminiſm were well received; but of five that have come to my correſpondent's knowledge, two ſoon abandoned the myſte-

In Germany, the Illuminees take their origin in a Catholic Univerſity, and all the Lutheran Univerſities are full of Illuminizing Profeſſors. Such conſiderations as theſe ſhould certainly put an end to reproach on either ſide. I muſt confeſs, that the Lutherans and Calviniſts with whom I correſpond in Germany are much more candid; they ſpare neither ſide, and are the firſt to point out thoſe of their own perſuaſion who are tainted with Illuminiſm. They behold the Jacobins as enemies to every religion; and when Jacobiniſm is in queſtion, they wiſely confeſs the neceſſity of uniting all parties to cruſh the hydra.

ries of the modern *Spartacus*, the other three are not known to have rejected them.

Another apoſtle ſoon ſucceeded to Zimmerman; this was a Doctor *Ibiken*, an aſſumed name, perhaps, as it was cuſtomary with the travelling adepts to change their names according to circumſtances. Whatever may have been the caſe, this *Ibiken*, an emiſſary of the Ecclectic Lodges of Illuminiſm, began by uniting with ſome Quakers. He was afterwards received into certain Lodges, and introduced ſome of the preparatory degrees. He even ſucceeded in completely illuminizing ſome of the duped brethren. He alſo boaſted of his ſucceſſes in Ireland and England. He would foretel to his Engliſh pupils, that a great revolution was about to be operated in the pitiful and miſerable Maſonry of their country. Thoſe to whom this language was perfectly unintelligible at the time, have told me, that they have perfectly underſtood his meaning ſince they have peruſed my publication. They have loſt ſight of the Doctor, which was the natural conſequence of his being admoniſhed to depart with his myſteries by thoſe who watch over the public ſafety.

Another emiſſary ſoon after appeared, and coming from America under the name of *Reginhard*, declared himſelf an Alſacian, and formerly an Almoner in the French navy. He expected to be well received by certain Engliſh Lodges in correſpondence with thoſe he had juſt left at Boſton, and which, according to his account, had made a ſurprizing progreſs ſince they had fraternized with the brethren that had gone from France to America.—This *Reginhard* did not appear ſo zealous as the other apoſtles; he even ſignified his diſguſt with a miſſion that ſo little became his ſtation of life. It was through him more particularly that my correſpondent became acquainted with the exiſtence of Illuminiſm on the banks of the Thames.

This is certainly enough to prove, that the Illuminization of England was not neglected by the conſpiring brethren. I will ſay more, that notwithſtanding the honorable exception I have made in favor of the Engliſh Lodges, I am no longer ſurprized to hear of Illuminiſm being well received by certain Lodges. And here I think it neceſſary to repeat, that when I made the exception, I only meant to ſpeak of what is called the *National Maſonry, reſtricted to the firſt three Degrees.* I ſhould have

been more circumſpect in my exception, had I known of a pamphlet, entitled, FREEMASONRY: *a Word to the Wiſe.* Here, in vindication of the Grand Lodge of England, I ſee the moſt violent complaints preferred againſt the introduction of a variety of degrees, of which, in a political point of view, it is certainly the duty of a well-ordered government to repreſs the vice and immorality; the *impiety* of the Roſicrucians is particularly complained of (page 9); and I think that in the courſe of theſe Memoirs I have pretty clearly proved, that from the profound Roſicrucian to the myſteries of Weiſhaupt there is but a ſhort ſtep.

There is alſo extant another work, printed *fifty* years ago, *On the Origin and Doctrine of Freemaſons.* This work would have been of the greateſt uſe to me had it fallen into my hands a little ſooner. Let me no longer be accuſed of having been the firſt to reveal, that an impious and diſorganizing *Equality and Liberty* were the grand ſecret of the Occult Lodges. The author of this work was as poſitive in this aſſertion as myſelf, and at that time clearly demonſtrated it, by following, ſtep by ſtep, the Scotch degrees of Maſonry as they exiſted in thoſe days. Time may have changed certain forms; but all the numerous degrees ſtyled *philoſophical* have not been able to add an iota to the ſyſtems at that time followed in the Lodges of the *Scotch Architects.* That ſpecies of Maſons is as bad as the Illuminees. It can ſcarcely be conceived with what art they proceed. As they are ſtill extant in Great Britain, it is not too late to point the attention of the ruling powers toward them. Let us proceed at once to their laſt myſteries.

"When a candidate preſents himſelf to be received a "*Scotch Architect*, the tyler aſks him, whether he has a "vocation for *Liberty*, *Equality*, *Obedience*, *Courage*, and "*Conſtancy*." When the candidate has anſwered *Yes*, he is introduced into the interior of the Lodge. Here it is no longer the repreſentation of the Temple of Solomon, but of five animals, the *Fox*, the *Monkey*, the *Lion*, the *Pelican*, and the *Dove*. The *Signs*, and the word *Adonai*, being given to the candidate, the orator begins an enigmatical diſcourſe, of which the following is a part: "*Craftineſs*, *Diſſimulation*, *Courage*, *Love*, *Sweetneſs*; "Cunning, imitation, fury, piety, tranquillity; miſchief, "mimickry, cruelty, goodneſs, and friendſhip, are all one

" and the ſame thing, and are generated in the ſame thing. " They ſeduce, inſpire joy, give riſe to ſorrow, procure " advantage and ſerene days. They are five in number, " and ſtill they are but one. Soon—ſoon—ſoon—by him " that was, is now, and ever ſhall be, &c. &c."

" The remainder of the diſcourſe (ſays my author) is " in the ſame ſtrain. However obſcure theſe things may " appear, they are nevertheleſs clear as day, if attention " be paid to the figures that denote the character of Free- " maſons. The *craftineſs of the Fox* denotes the art with " which the Order hides its object. The *imitation of the* " *Monkey* typifies that ſuppleneſs of mind, that addreſs " with which the Maſons can accommodate themſelves " to the various talents and taſtes of the candidates. The " *Lion* denotes the ſtrength and courage of thoſe who " compoſe the ſociety. The *Pelican* is the emblem of " the tenderneſs that reigns among the brethren. The " peaceable demeanor of the *Dove* is repreſentative of *the* " *peace of the golden age*, or of thoſe ſerene days that " Freemaſons promiſe to the univerſe."

The author from whom we made theſe extracts lived for a long time with Maſons of this ſpecies. He was often preſent at their Lodges and councils: He attended at their deliberations when contriving the means of accompliſhing their plans. He then continues to ſpeak of the initiation of a Scotch candidate: " There is no rule which " ordains, that the object of the Society ſhould be made " known to him in clear terms; but only in terms that " would be inſufficient to make him wholly underſtand " the morality and polity that are univerſally received.— " On the night of his reception they ſimply tell him, that " *Equality* and *Liberty* among the brethen is the ſole ob- " ject of the Society. But ſhould the *new Architect* ſhow " ſigns of a perfect preparedneſs for the ultimate myſtery " of the Society, *he is then let into the ſecret, or rather* " *informed of the grand object of the Society, which is to* " *reduce* ALL MEN *to a reciprocal* EQUALITY, *and to* " *reinſtate mankind in its natural* LIBERTY. In ſhort, " after a few days meeting, they openly declare, that the " expreſſion of *eſtabliſhing Equality* among men, and of " reinſtating mankind *in their natural liberty, indiſtinct-* " *ly comprehends all perſons of whatever quality or ſta-*

" *tion they may be, without excepting magiſtrates, great,* " *or ſmall.*"*

The ceremonies and catechiſm of this degree perfectly coincide with theſe explanations. In ſhort, every thing ſo clearly demonſtrates *Equality and Liberty* to be the ultimate object of their myſteries, that the author attributes the origin, or, at leaſt, the reſtoration of Maſonry to Cromwell and his Independents. The author would have ſimply attributed the reſtoration to him, had he been acquainted with the manuſcript of Oxford. Inferences of the utmoſt importance may be drawn from this work, both as to the hiſtory of Freemaſonry and the intereſts of Governments. It is eaſily ſeen at preſent, that the diſorganizing myſteries of the occult Lodges are at leaſt anterior to the reign of the French Sophiſters. Theſe may have new-modelled them after their faſhion, and multiplied and varied the degrees; but their principles had been received in the Lodges long before Voltaire wrote. —The *Knight Kadoſch* was already extant in the *Scotch Architect*. When the latter is aſked in his catechiſm, what he is called, he anſwers *cunning* and *ſimple*; the *Kadoſch* may anſwer *bold* and *impatient*. The difference lies in the character, and not in the ſyſtems. This degree of *Scotch Architect* alſo explains whence the pre-eminence of the Scotch Lodges ariſes, and why the Lodges of other countries are ſo deſirous of correſponding with the mother Lodge called the Lodge *Heredom of Kilwinning*, in Scotland. It is there that the famous *Architects* of *Equality* and *Liberty* are ſuppoſed to be the guardians of the laſt myſteries. It was with this Lodge alſo, that a number of French Lodges at Marſeilles, Avignon, Lyons, Rouen, &c. &c. would be affiliated, notwithſtanding the influence of the *Grand Orient* of Paris.†

* Of the Origin of the Free-maſons, degree of Architect.

† I have in my poſſeſſion, the original of the patents empowering a Brother maſon to erect Lodges under the direction of that of Rouen. A Provincial holds his reſidence at this latter place, and is entruſted with the power of judging the lawſuits or diſſentions that may ariſe within his province; but when any thing of great conſequence has happened, it is referred to the Lodge of *Heredom* for judgment. Had *Joſeph II.* ſeen this, he might have called it an *imperium in imperio*, or *an empire throughout* ALL *empires*. The reader will remark, that the bre-

In ſhort, the diſcovery of this degree of *Grand Architect* is of importance to Governments in general, and particularly to that of England; for it ſhows the dangers to which a ſtate is expoſed where, in the midſt of thoſe brethren who dedicate themſelves to an innocent Equality, exiſt a number ſufficient to tranſmit the Grand Myſteries of the Sect.

In ſpite of all the ſecrecy obſerved by this ſpecies of adept, who is there that can view their very exiſtence in any other light than as a perpetual conſpiracy againſt the ſtate? How then can we be ſurpriſed if the Illuminees found perſons in theſe countries willing to fraternize with them, and to combine their plots with thoſe of the miſſionaries? However pure the generality of the Engliſh Lodges may be, is not this enough to ſhow that the moſt diſaſtrous plots may ſuddenly burſt from the Lodges; and that the preſence of virtuous men may only ſerve as a cloak to the deſigns of the wicked?—Do not let me be told, that the Good counteract the evil intentions of the Wicked; for the latter can find means of meeting unknown to the former, though the ſame Lodge may be an aſylum for them both. There are Lodges now extant, that (to uſe the expreſſion of a brother who frequented them a few months ſince) would not admit *a ſingle Ariſtocrat*.—My reader muſt underſtand ſuch language?—There are Lodges the entries to which are perfect labyrinths. The adepts do not go out by the ſame houſes as they entered; and, the more completely to baffle the vigilance of the conſtituted authorities, they have changed their dreſſes.

But let us for an inſtant ſuppoſe, that the Sect could make no impreſſion on the Engliſh Lodges, we know that *Chauvelin* and *Vandernoot*, on quitting London, left their emiſſaries behind: public danger is beſt probed by private facts; and the reader will not be ſurpriſed when he ſees me deſcend to the following particulars relative to the emiſſaries of Jacobiniſm in England.

Having been honored with the acquaintance of Mr.

thren ſay, *Heredom* (Harodim), is a Hebrew word ſignifying *chiefs* or *governors*. It is alſo to be remembered, that there is another degree of *Grand Architect* entirely different from that which I have juſt deſcribed. The multiplicity of theſe degrees only ſerve the better to hide their object.

Burke, I introduced to him a gentleman who wiſhed to conſult him with reſpect to a letter written to Manuel, who at that time governed the *Commune* of Paris, in conjunction with *Tallien*, the ſanguinary butcher of the bloody September. This was in the firſt year of my emigration. The letter had been written for a French nobleman, who, wiſhing to return to Paris, thought it might be advantageous to get a letter of recommendation to Manuel from a Jacobin then reſident in London. This nobleman's wife ſuſpected ſome treachery, and opened the letter. The epiſtle really began with a ſort of recommendation, but ended with ſaying, "this nobleman is, after all, a rank ariſtocrat, who ought to be got rid of by the pikes or the guillotine, that he may not return any more to London." In the body of the letter an account was given to Manuel of the ſtate of the brethren in London. Among other things it ſtated, that *five hundred* perſons were preſent at their laſt meeting; that they were ardent in the cauſe; that their numbers daily increaſed, and that every thing denoted the beſt diſpoſitions for hoiſting the revolutionary ſtandard. This letter was immediately laid before the miniſtry.

Notwithſtanding every method was adopted that wiſdom could ſuggeſt, the partizans of the Sect increaſed, inſtead of diminiſhing; and, in a ſhort time, there were at leaſt *fifteen hundred* conſpirators in London, worthy of being marſhalled by *Jourdan Coup-tête*. There were at the ſame time in London two men who had been educated in all the arts of the police of Paris, and they were ordered to enquire into the ſtate of the foreigners, and to diſtinguiſh the real emigrants from the new comers. It was ſoon diſcovered, that a banditti of all nations, criminals from the *Bicetre*, from the *gallies*, and who had eſcaped the gallows; the choſen bands in ſhort, of Necker, Orleans, and Mirabeau, had been ſent into England by their ſucceſſors of the great club, to effect a ſimilar revolution. It was in conſequence of this that the Alien Bill was enacted.

But the Sect is relentleſs; it roars at the very idea of the obſtacles it has met with in England. At London, at Edinburgh, at Dublin, it has its national brethren, its conſpiring and *Correſponding Societies*. In London we ſee the duped brethren of the higheſt ariſtocracy proclaiming the *ſovereignty of the people* at their revels; while, in the

hidden retreat of their ſecret ſocieties, other brethren are plotting how to put the fortunes of the ariſtocratic dupes, of the banker, and of the merchant, in requiſition for the uſe of that *ſovereign people*; in thoſe ſame receſſes, under pretence of *Reform*, do they wiſh to erect on the ruins of the Britiſh conſtitution, the reveries of a Paine, a Syeyes, or of the Pentarques; they wiſh to plant that tree of Equality and Liberty whoſe nouriſhment is gore and pillage, whoſe fruit is murder, miſery, and exile. Others are training their deluded followers to aſſaſſination, and are forging pikes.—Yes, the ſcourge has been wafted acroſs the ocean with all its plots; the adepts have not forgotten the land of their anceſtors, the Puritans, Anabaptiſts, and Independents. They have diſcovered their progenitors in thoſe ſame dens to which Cromwell had confined them, after having, through their means, dethroned and murdered his king, diſſolved the parliament, and ſeduced the nation to his yoke. The brethren of Avignon recognized the Illuminees of Swedenbourg as their parent Sect; neither were they unmindful of the embaſſy ſent them by the Lodge of Hampſtead. Under the auſpices of *De Mainauduc*, they have ſeen their diſciples thirſting after that *celeſtial Jeruſalem*, that *purifying fire* (for theſe are the expreſſions I have heard them make uſe of) that was to kindle into a general conflagration throughout the earth by means of the French revolution—and thus was Jacobin Equality and Liberty to be univerſally triumphant even in the ſtreets of London.

But what a concatenation of conſpiracies will the hiſtorian find when he ſhall turn to the archives of thoſe ſocieties ſtyling themſelves of *Conſtitutional Information* or *Correſponding*. Here, however, Juſtice and the Senate have interpoſed; they have torn away the maſk, and behold the brethren of *Edinburgh* bound in the ſame plots and machinations as thoſe of *Dublin*, of *London*, of *Sheffield*, of *Mancheſter*, of *Stockport*, of *Leiceſter*, and of many other towns, all uniting their wiſhes, invitations, and addreſſes to the Jacobin Legiſlators.* The Mother

* I have annexed a more extenſive application of theſe Memoirs to Ireland and Great-Britain at the end of this fourth Volume. Let me on this occaſion beg and beſeech every Magiſtrate and every Clergyman, whoſe province it is more particularly to inſtruct and guide the people at large, and for whom this work is more particularly adapted, to read once more and

Society at once demonſtrates all the arts of the *Secret Committees of the Grand Orient* under Philip of Orleans; the deep cunning of the *Bavarian Areopage* under Weiſhaupt; and the profligate means of ſeduction of *Holbach's Club* under D'Alembert. All theſe they combine in hopes of hurrying away a generous nation into the ſink of impiety, and thence to rebellion; they combine, in hopes of uniting the councils and the efforts of the diſperſed brethren in the cauſe of revolution. Subſcriptions are raiſed in Great Britain and Ireland, as they were in France, to print Paine's Code of Rebellion, and circulate it from the town to the village, and even in the very cottage.*—Others of the brethren are diſtributing, at their own expenſe, all the poiſons of infidelity, nor do they bluſh to go and aſk ſubſcriptions from houſe to houſe for the reprinting of the moſt profligate and impious productions of Voltaire, Diderot, Boulanger, La Metherie, and of other Deiſts or Atheiſts of the age, and this under the ſpecious pretence of *enlightening ignorance*, and how? by putting all the blaſphemies of the Sophiſters into the hands of the people.

The brethren of Edinburgh, like thoſe of Berlin, were not to be contented with the mere arts of ſeduction. One might be led to think that the adepts *Watt* and *Downie* had received their inſtructions from the Pruſſian Areogage. Notwithſtanding the immenſe diſtance that divides Edinburgh from Berlin, they adopted preciſely the ſame plan to draw off the attention of the troops by means of the burning of ſome houſe, and while the ſoldiery ſhould be occupied with extinguiſhing the fire to fall on them, and in the midſt of this popular commotion to proclaim the Jacobin Code.—In London have we not ſeen regicides? At Paris, Lewis XVI. captive in his capital, was dragged to the guillotine. At Ublingen, Lewis XVIII. when a fugitive, was wounded in the head by a ball. In London, was George III. in the midſt of the acclamations of his ſubjects, aimed at by the regicide crew; and if Heaven averted the ball, is the Sect leſs treacherous or

with attention the Reports of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons made in 1794. After having peruſed theſe Memoirs, they will view them in a very different light from what they formerly did. *Tranſ.*

* Thoufands of that abominable pamphlet were ſent out to the Britiſh eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt-Indies. *Tranſ.*

leſs abominable, becauſe it did not ſucceed in its foul attempt? At length, diſdaining obſcure crimes, and aiming at the annihilation of the Throne, of the Parliament, and of the whole Britiſh Conſtitution, they attempt to ſeduce the legions of the empire from their allegiance by means of the moſt inflammatory hand-bills; they would perſuade gallant troops to ſhake off diſcipline and butcher their officers, as had been done in France. Emiſſaries found their way into the fleets; and the ſailors were for a time deluded by the ſophiſms of thoſe ſeducers, who wiſhed to pervert the bold opponents of the Jacobins on the ocean, into the treacherous abettors of thoſe ſame Jacobins that dare not face an honeſt tar. In Ireland, they aſſume another form; independence in church and ſtate is held out to a deluded people by the emiſſaries of thoſe who have obliterated every worſhip and every law in France, in Corſica, in Belgium, in Savoy, in Holland, in Italy, to ſubject the miſerable inhabitants of thoſe once flouriſhing countries to the tyranny of the Pentarques.—In that unfortunate country all the arts of ſeduction have been played off that Illuminiſm could invent, and its perjuries have raged to a frightful exceſs. There did the legions of the Sect, conceiving themſelves powerful in their numbers, ſally forth from their lurking places. It was no longer a partial treaſon to be puniſhed; the force of armies was neceſſary to cruſh whole legions of rebels who were daily expecting ſuccour from a foreign foe.

But, Praiſe be to God on high, who, in his mercy, has counteracted the malice of ſuch plots, of ſuch ſeditions: Praiſe be to the all-powerful God, who has preſerved this ſtate from the machinations of its enemies!—May the Hiſtorian, after having traced the origin, the code, the reunion, the attempts, and the ſucceſſes of ſuch numerous conſpiring Sects, againſt God and his Son, againſt thrones and kings, againſt ſociety and its laws, repoſe himſelf, and complacently view the happineſs of theſe Iſles, when he comes to treat of the land that has proved an aſylum to ſo many unfortunate victims! May he triumphantly ſay, "There it was that the ſurges of inſurrection were daſhed back upon itſelf, the attempts of Jacobiniſm were as vain as the efforts of its fleets."—Happy ſhall we be, if, by entering into this diſquiſition on the fury of Jacobiniſm, we ſhall have contributed to awaken the attention of nations to the true cauſes of all their misfortunes and re-

volutionary diſaſters!—Thrice happy ſhall we be, if we ſhall have ſucceeded in guarding this nation againſt the dangers with which it is threatened; a nation to which the world looks up for its ſafety; a nation which, in its beneficence, is become our adoptive country. May it ever behold us offering up our prayers to heaven for the preſervation of its king, and for its proſperity, with all that affection and zeal that nature inſpires for one's native ſoil!

To preſume that we have fulfilled our taſk in ſuch a manner as not to ſtand in need of the indulgence of our readers, would be impertinent. We ingenuouſly confeſs the inferiority of our talents, and the many imperfections, we are conſcious muſt exiſt in Memoirs of ſuch high importance to the public cauſe. But with confidence we aſſert, that we have never ſwerved from truth. It has been our conſtant and only guide in pointing out the cauſes of the revolution, it ſhall continue to be ſo in treating of ſuch means, and drawing ſuch concluſions as muſt neceſſarily follow from the facts demonſtrated in the courſe of theſe Memoirs.

CONCLUSION.

WHAT a painful and diſguſting courſe have I at length terminated!—Wandering through thoſe ſubterraneous haunts where, in the ſhades of darkneſs, conſpirators were plotting againſt all religion and ſociety, I have frequently ſhuddered with horror, and felt my courage ſinking! Fired with indignation at the ſight of ſuch iniquity, ſuch a concatenation of crimes ſtill contriving, how often have I ſaid to myſelf, Leave this abyſs of wickedneſs—fly the abodes of theſe vile and monſtrous conſpirators; it may be better even to fall their victim than to fully one's mind with the recollection of ſuch villany, treaſon, and impiety, or to be the accuſer to poſterity of the age in which we live.—But have I not cotemporaries to be ſaved?—There ſtill exiſt nations that have not bent beneath the Jacobin yoke; my fellow-countrymen may, perhaps, be induced to ſhake off that yoke, when they are made acquainted with the unparalleled plots and artifices contrived for their ſeduction. And ought not poſterity to be informed to what an extent this diſaſtrous Sect raged in our days, that it may guard againſt a renewal of ſimilar horrors? Such thoughts inſpired me with courage; they have carried me through this diſguſting taſk; they were my ſupport when overpowered with the odious ſight of legions of conſpirators conjuring up every helliſh art to heap miſery on the inhabitants of the earth: moreover the moſt covincing proofs have never been wanting.

But can it be poſſible that my endeavors ſhould prove fruitleſs? if ſo, alas! let theſe pages be rent aſunder; commit to the flames theſe Memoirs which bear teſtimony of ſuch a multitude of hideous plots that threatened ſociety. Kings, Pontiffs, Magiſtrates, Princes, and Citizens of every claſs, if it be true, that I have attempted in vain to diſſipate the fatal illuſion; if it be true, that the peſtiferous blaſt of Jacobiniſm has deadened your ſenſes, and plunged your ſouls into lethargy; if it be true, that the torpor of indolence has rendered you callous to your own dangers, as well as thoſe that threaten your children, your

country, your religion, and your laws; if you are incapable of the leaſt effort, of the ſmalleſt ſacrifice for your own ſafety and for that of the public; if the world be peopled only by daſtards, who are ready to ſubmit their necks to the Jacobin yoke, let them be carried into bondage, let them be ſlaves to Jacobins and to their principles; may their fortunes fall a prey to brigands; may their temples, thrones, governments, palaces, and habitations, fall beneath the blows of the relentleſs Sect! When you tear theſe pages, baniſh from your mind all preſage of diſaſters; paſs your days in joy, feſtivity and merriment, till the knell of revolution ſhall ſound and ſtartle ye from your lethargy. The Jacobins will take upon themſelves the care of haſtening the fatal hour. To announce it beforehand to ſuch torpid ſouls would be to anticipate their ſufferings; no, ſleep the ſleep of death; may your ears be deaf to the ſound of thoſe chains that are forging for you; approach not where truth may undeceive you; no, follow in the retinue of ſome falſe prophet that may beguile you.

'But ſhould there be found men whoſe manly courage would be fired with zeal for the public cauſe at the very recital of ſuch monſtrous combinations againſt church and ſtate; for them I write; it is on them that I call when I ſay, that notwithſtanding all the artifices of the various Sects, and the tremendous power which Jacobiniſm has already acquired, Europe is not yet ſubjected to them. It is yet poſſible to cruſh that Sect which has ſworn to cruſh your God, plunder your country, and annihilate ſociety.—— Your country and yourſelves may ſtill be ſaved. But in the war that the Sect is waging againſt you, as well as in all other wars, the firſt requiſite for working your ſafety is the perfect conviction of your danger, and an accurate knowledge of the enemy, of his plans, and of his means. It was not unintentionally that I heaped proof upon proof to demonſtrate that Jacobiniſm was a coalition of the *Sophiſters of Impiety* ſwearing to cruſh the God of the Goſpel; of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion* ſwearing to overturn the thrones of kings; and of the Sophiſters of Anarchy conſpiring not only againſt the altar and throne, but ſwearing to annihilate all laws, property, and ſociety. I was certain that my readers would neglect all means of ſelf-preſervation ſo long as they were not convinced of their danger. Should the proofs that I have adduced ſtill leave them in doubt as to the reality of the plots of the Sect,

I ſhall have loſt my labor; I can but weep over their blindneſs; they will have already fallen into that ſtate of apathy into which the Sect wiſhes to plunge them. The leſs credit my readers ſhall give to the reality of theſe plots, the more certain will the conſpirators be of ſucceſs. If then I farther inſiſt, let my inſtances meet with a candid reception; for, reader, it is your ſafety and that of the public weal that actuates me.

Let us then ſuppoſe, for example, that a perſon comes to warn you, that you are ſurrounded by men who, under the cloak of friendſhip, are only waiting for a favorable moment to execute an old plan which they have contrived of robbing you of your money and property, of firing your habitation, nay farther, perhaps, of butchering your wife, your children, your relations; ſuppoſing that the intelligence you have received of ſuch a plot were ſupported but by a thouſandth part of the proofs that I have adduced of the plots contriving againſt your country, and againſt every ſtate without exception, would you waſte that time in idle declamations and ſuperfluous doubts on your dangers, which your perfidious friends were huſbanding for your ruin? or would you expect to ſee perſons beſeeching you to watch for your own preſervation?—— Well, I now wiſh to convince ye, whether princes, nobles, rich, poor, burgeſſes, merchants, citizens, in fine, of every claſs, that all theſe conſpiracies of the ſophiſticated, maſonic, or illuminizing adepts, are conſpiracies againſt your perſons, againſt your property, (whether hereditary or mercantile,) againſt your families, your wives and children. Are you wild enough to believe, that while your country is delivered over to the revolutionary conflagration, an exception will be made in your favor, becauſe you inhabit ſuch or ſuch a place, counting-houſe, or cot? In the univerſal pillage of the ſtate, ſhall your property be more ſacred than that of your neighbor, and eſcape the rapacity of the brigands, or the requiſition of their Pentarques? The characteriſtic of a revolution made by ſectaries is, not that the danger is diminiſhed by its univerſality, but that terror, indigence, and ſlavery, ruſh down like a torrent, ſwallowing and beating down without diſtinction every thing that is to be found on its paſſage.

In the whole progreſs of the Sect, wherever it has acquired ſovereignty, in France, in Holland, in Brabant, in Savoy, in Switzerland, in Italy, ſearch for a ſingle man

of property that has preſerved it entire; a poor parent that has not had to fear for the requiſition of his children, or his own labor; a ſingle family that has not to weep for the loſs or ruin of ſome one of its branches; a ſingle citizen that can lay himſelf down to reſt with the proſpect of being able to ſay, when he awakes, that his property, his liberty, his life, is any better guaranteed to him, than was that of the unfortunate victims whom he had ſeen during the day plundered of their property, dragged in chains, or falling under the inſatiable guillotine.—No, they are not to be found. Ceaſe then, ſluggard, to flatter thyſelf. The danger is imminent, it is terrible, it ſtares ye all in the face without exception.

Yet ſink not under the preſſure of terror; that would be cowardice indeed; for, though ſo poſitive as to the certainty of your danger, I may boldly ſay, *Will* it only, and your ſalvation is certain. I appeal to the Jacobins themſelves; for how often have they repeated, that "it is not poſſible to triumph over a nation that is determined to defend itſelf." *Will* as they do and you will have little to fear from them. The true Jacobin is not to be diſcouraged by oppoſition. The myſteries infuſe into the adepts a uniform, conſtant, and relentleſs determination to attain the grand object in ſpite of every obſtacle; that oath, that irrevocable oath of overturning the whole univerſe, and ſubjecting it to their ſyſtems, is the true principle whence originate their reſources; this fires the zeal of the adepts, and induces them to make ſuch numerous ſacrifices; it inſpires its warriors with enthuſiaſm; it creates rage and fury in the heart of its brigands. It is this principle which conſtitutes the Sect; in that its force reſides; it is the director and mover of its adepts, whether in arms, in the clubs, in the lodges, or deliberating in the ſenate.—But what inferences may not nations draw from this very principle as to the nature of their plots? Does it not entitle us to ſay, that the whole of the French revolution is nothing more than the offspring of that oath, of that premeditated determination of overturning the altar, the throne, and ſociety, which the Sect has infuſed into its adepts? It triumphs becauſe it knows how to *will*; hence it is evident, that to render their efforts abortive we need only reſolutely to *will* the ſalvation of the altar, of the throne, and of ſociety, and they are ſaved. Let it not be ſaid, that the Jacobins alone can be ſteady in their cauſe

and predetermined on their object. To know the evils with which the revolution threatens you, and to determine boldly and resolutely to counteract them, does not certainly dispense us from the obligation of applying to the means, and of making the necessary efforts and sacrifices to deliver us from the scourge; yet do not let it be tho't that it is idle in me to insist on that boldness, sincerity, and determination. The French revolution is in its nature similar to our passions and vices: it is generally known, that misfortunes are the natural consequences of indulging them; and one would willingly avoid such consequences: but a faint-hearted resistance is made; our passions and our vices soon triumph, and man is hurried away by them.

But should I, on the contrary, have succeeded in inspiring you with the courage necessary to make you act with resolution; if you need but to know the true means of counteracting the Sect to adopt a firm resistance; then I may boldly say, the Sect is crushed, the disasters of the revolution shall disappear.—But the reader, whose humanity might be alarmed at my saying *the Sect is crushed*, should remember that when I said *the Sect must be crushed or society overthrown*, I took care immediately to add, "Let it however be remembered, that to crush a Sect is "not to imitate the fury of its apostles, intoxicated with its "sanguinary rage and propense to enthusiastic murder.— "The Sect is monstrous, but all its disciples are not mon- "sters;—*yes, strike the Jacobin, but spare the Man*; the "Sect is a sect of opinion; and its destruction will be "doubly complete on the day when it shall be deserted "by its disciples, to return to the true principles of rea- "son and social order."* It is to reclaim the unfortunate victims of Jacobinism from their errors, and to restore them to society, not to butcher them, that I have been so long examining and tracing all the tortuous windings of the Sect; and I am overjoyed to see that such weapons for self-preservation are the natural result of these Memoirs. How different are these arms from those with which the Sect has provided its disciples.

The Jacobins have seduced nations by means of a subterraneous warfare of illusion, error, and darkness.—Let the honest men oppose them with wisdom, truth, and light.

* See Preliminary Discourse, Vol. I. P. xiii.

The Jacobins are waging againſt Princes and Governments a war of hatred of the laws and of ſocial order—a war of rage and deſtruction; let a war of ſociety, humanity, and ſelf-preſervation be waged againſt them.

The Jacobins are waging a war of impiety and corruption againſt the altars and religion of every nation; let morality, virtue, and repentance be oppoſed to them.

I explain:—when I ſpeak of a ſubterraneous warfare of illuſion, error, and darkneſs waged by the Sect, I allude to the productions of its ſophiſters, to the artifices of its emiſſaries, and to the myſteries of its clubs, lodges, and ſecret ſocieties. It would be uſeleſs to conteſt the point; for we have incontrovertibly demonſtrated, that thoſe have been the preparatory means for all its revolutionary triumphs. It is by ſuch means that Jacobiniſm has inſinuated itſelf under the ſpecious forms of a diſorganizing Equality and Liberty, or of a chimerical Sovereignty of the People, which has ever been the cant of thoſe factious tribunes, who, by flattering their pride, ſought to enſlave that ſame people. It is by retailing all the ſophiſticated doctrines of the Rights of Man to the multitude, by violent declamations againſt the exiſting laws, by captious and fallacious deſcriptions of a ſuppoſed happineſs which they are preparing for us, by urging nations on to *certain eſſays at leaſt*; by ſuch means do the emiſſaries of Jacobiniſm ſeduce nations, and imperiouſly ſway that public opinion which will ſooner level your ramparts than all the artillery that they can bring againſt them. From ſuch inconteſtable facts I conclude, that if it be your intention to guard againſt the misfortunes which have befallen France, you muſt begin by diſarming the Sect of all its means of illuſion. Snatch from the hands of the people all thoſe incendiary productions; but when I ſay people, I mean from every claſs of ſociety; for I know none that are proof againſt illuſion; more particularly would I ſay, from that claſs which has been ſuppoſed to have been moſt abundant in learning, that claſs of literary ſophiſters, ſuch as our Voltaires, D'Alemberts, Rouſſeaus, Diderots, our academicians, and our doctrineers of the reading ſocieties; for this is the claſs of all others that has ſhown us the example of the powerful illuſion of ſophiſtry. It was from this claſs that the revolutionary miniſters Necker and Turgot ſtarted up; from this claſs aroſe thoſe grand revolutionary agents, the Mirabeaux, Syeyes, Laclos, Con-

dorcets; thoſe revolutionary trumps, the Briſſots, Champforts, Garats, Merciers, Paſtorets, Gudins, La Metheries, Lalandes, Cheniers; thoſe revolutionary butchers, the Carras, Frerons, Marats; I will alſo ſay of that claſs of advocates ſo verboſe and fertile in delirium; for from among them ſprung the Targets, Camus, Treillards, Barreres, and all the tyrants of the revolution, the Reveillère-Lepaux, Reubels, Merlins, and Robeſpierres. What have all theſe men proved, whether taken from the academies or from the bar?—that if they were the perſons whoſe talents enabled them to repreſent all this ſophiſtry of impiety, of ſedition, and rebellion, in the moſt ſeducing colours, they were alſo the perſons that were moſt eaſily imbued with and drank moſt deeply of the poiſon;—they were at once the moſt readily tainted and the moſt eager to taint others.—No; I can make no exception of claſſes; none are entitled to an exception when I exclaim to Magiſtrates and Sovereigns—Will you ſave the people from the diſaſters of the French Revolution?—then ſnatch from their hands thoſe incendiary productions—thoſe libels of impiety and ſedition. Let that man be puniſhed as a traitor, who writes and circulates ſuch writings, conſcious of the injury he is doing to ſociety; let him meet with the fate of a madman, if he thinks he can ſeduce, and ſtop the conſequences of ſeduction.

But I hear clamours on all ſides ariſing in the literary world, of intolerance, of tyranny, of cramping genius!—I foreſaw that I ſhould have to treat with men lukewarm in the cauſe, ſaying they were determined, nevertheleſs unwilling; ſaying they deteſted the revolution, but timorous when it is to be cruſhed in the germ. But you, at leaſt, who profeſs to enlighten nations by your writings, to point out maxims to Princes for the happineſs of their people, you who demonſtrate the goodneſs of your intentions by the purity of your principles, by your zeal in defence of the laws, by the wiſdom of your writings, is it from you, I aſk, that ſuch cries ariſe?—No, no: ſhackles thrown on the venemous writer circulating his poiſons, will never give concern to the honeſt writer; againſt laws prohibiting poignards none will rebel but the aſſaſſin. Let us no longer be led away by the ſtale cries of Liberty of the Preſs, Liberty of Genius; ſuch cries in the mouths of the Jacobins will be but a ſhallow cover to their deſigns;—ſee what the Sect does itſelf, leſt any writ-

er ſhould open the eyes of the people by the expoſition of real truth; wherever the adepts have acquired dominion, aſk what is to be underſtood by liberty of thinking, of ſpeaking, of writing. They deſtroy not only the author, but ſeller, and even buyer of every book that combats their ſyſtems. The printing preſſes of Crapard, the publications of La Harpe, or the diſcourſe of Camille du Jourdan, are ſo many conſpiracies puniſhed by the Pentarques, with exile to Cayenne. It is high time for nations to open their eyes, and diſpel the illuſion of all this pretended oppreſſion of thought and genius. If Magiſtrates are the dupes of ſuch outcries, the people are the victims, and nations muſt be preſerved from the illuſion that they may be ſaved from the revolution. It is the act of a father and not of a tyrant, that takes from the hands of his children ſuch inſtruments as may prove fatal to them.

Let the ſophiſter talk of uſeful diſcuſſions. Go to antiquity, and queſtion the Roman ſenate why it drove from the ſoil of the republic that ſwarm of Sophiſts* juſt arrived from the Grecian ſhores, ſo expert in the quibbling arts; and the ſenate will anſwer, that they do not enter into diſcuſſions to know whether the plague is uſeful, that they haſten to ſeparate from their fellow countrymen whoever has been tainted with it, and to deſtroy whatever may propagate it. Guard the people, therefore, againſt ſuch vile ſeducers; tremble at the effects of their diſcourſes; but fear ſtill more the poiſons of their impious and ſeditious productions.

Your laws pronounce death againſt a traitor, though he betrayed his conſpiracy but by a ſingle word; and a conſpiring ſophiſter may commune and habitually converſe with all your ſubjects by means of his writings! he is in the midſt of your families; he inſtils his principles into your children; his arguments become more and

* The word *ſophiſter* has been made uſe of throughout this work, to diſtinguiſh the modern rebels from the Greek Philoſophers of the ſchool of Sophiſts. Johnſon, in his dictionary, defines SOPHISTER as a *diſputant fallaciouſly ſubtle; an artful but inſidious logician;* ſuch is the ſpecies of men that have been deſcribed in this work, who, conſcious of their own fallacy, but acting the part of Satan to pervert mankind, ſhould never be confounded with thoſe men of antiquity whoſe ſyſtems of diſputation may have been fallacious, but whoſe intentions were upright, and who did not combat every ſacred or ſocial principle in hopes of ſubverting ſociety. *Tranſ.*

more cogent; he dwells on them; they are presented under all the dazzling colors that a perfidious genius could invent after a long study how to seduce your offspring, lead them astray, or stir them up to revolt against you! The treason spoken by the Jacobin, and for which he has been punished, may have made but a slight impression on his hearers; but this labored and studied concatenation of sophisms will make a deep impression. Your laws must be inefficient indeed if the revolutionary writer is not stamped as the most baneful of conspirators; and, Magistrate? whoever you are, you must be most unmindful of your duty, if you allow his writings to circulate freely through town and country.

Are you still a stranger to the immense power that such productions has given to the Sect? The revolution has not been ungrateful, and its gratitude points out its progenitors. Follow the Jacobin to the pantheon; see to whom he has decreed honors, to whom he does homage; ask him how Voltaire or Jean Jaques can have deserved such tribute, such honors. He will tell you, that those men are no more, but that their spirit has survived them in their writings, and more powerfully combat for the cause of Jacobinism than all their armed legions.—Here they prepare the minds and hearts of the people for our principles; there they gain over the public opinion to our cause; and when once that has declared for us, we may boldly proceed to certain triumph. Should such honors dazzle any writer for an instant, let him stop and behold the shades of the victims sacrificed to the revolution flitting round the monuments erected to these revolutionary deities; see them ghastly and enraged, passing from the urn that contains the ashes of Voltaire to that of Rousseau; hear them exclaim in bitter reproaches,—"Be satiated with the fumes of Jacobin incense! It is not on Jacobins that we call down vengeance from heaven, for you were our real murderers! You are now the object of their adoration; but you were our first executioners, you brought our King to the scaffold, you still continue to be the butchers of our progeny.—O ye Idols of blasphemy and of anarchy! may their blood, may our blood, may all the blood that shall be spilt by the brigands formed at your schools, fall back upon you!"

Ye whom the God of society has endowed with talents which you may turn to the detriment or conserva-

tion of ſociety, beware that ſuch curſes do not fall upon you, flee from any thing that may breed remorſe. Be not dazzled with the jacobinical tribute paid to theſe ſophiſters of darkneſs; they may have ſucceeded in obſcuring the light; it is your duty to rend the cloud aſunder, and bear in triumph the fundamental truths. The God who formed man for ſociety did not give him the code of Equality and Liberty, the code of Rebellion and Anarchy. The God who ſupports ſociety by the wiſdom of the laws, never abandoned the making or ſanctioning of thoſe laws to the caprice of the multitude. The God who has pointed out the empire and ſtability of the laws as inherent to that ſubordination of the citizens to the magiſtrates, and to their ſovereigns, did not create as many magiſtrates and ſovereigns as he did citizens. The God that has bound all claſſes together by their mutual wants, and who, in conſequence of this diverſity of wants, has endowed men with a variety of talents for different arts and profeſſions, has not given the ſame rights to the mechanic or to the ſhepherd as he has to the prince that is to preſide over the ſtate. Reſtore to theſe ſimple and plain truths, all that reſplendency which has for a moment been obſcured by the ſophiſters of rebellion; and the dangers of the revolution will ſoon diſappear. Be as earneſt in reſtoring the people to light, as the Jacobins have been in plunging them into darkneſs. Reſtore them to their principles pure and untarniſhed. There is no compounding with error; the Sect cares not by which road illuſion may lead you to revolution, provided you do but fall a victim. Some it will attack with anti-religious ſophiſms, while it tampers with others by means of its antiſocial ſophiſtry. To ſome it will unfold but a part of the conſequences to be drawn, point out but one half of the career that is to be run, or, under pretence of reform, propoſe ſome few eſſays or new means to be tried. But far be driven from us theſe demi-geniuſes of demi-revolutions with their long train of demi-conſequences? This is the tribe whence the Sect will ſelect a La Fayette or a Necker, puſh them forward as long as they can ſerve the cauſe, and then abandon ſuch non-entities; or thoſe open rebels ſtyling themſelves *Conſtitutionaliſts*, or thoſe others called (probably through deriſion) *Monarchiſts*. They were the beginners of the revolution, and are at this preſent day imbecile enough to teſtify their ſurprize at other

rebels having ſhivered a ſceptre which they had begun by disjointing. Writers of this ſpecies, ſo far from enlightening the people, only contribute to lead them into the path of error; and that was the taſk of the firſt revolutionary adepts.

In your writings beware of falling into an error ſimilar to that of a celebrated author, who thinks he is ſerving the cauſe of monarchy when deſcribing religion as a fruitleſs ally. How is it poſſible that he ſhould not better feel the conſequences of that ſarcaſtic ſentence borrowed from Bayle and Rouſſeau, he who, in the midſt of the moſt preſſing and moſt appoſite exhortations to princes to unite and combine againſt Jacobiniſm, forgets himſelf ſo far as to ſay, "In a ſimilar criſis, the Romans would have flown "to arms reſolved to conquer or die, *the primitive Chris-* "*tians would have ſung hymns to Providence and ruſhed* "*to martyrdom*; their ſucceſſors neither die nor fight.*" Moſt undoubtedly, it cannot be the intention of the author to revive that contempt which the Sophiſters ſo much affect for Religion; but what a falſe policy to repreſent that alledged nullity as inherent to Chriſtianity at a time when the courage of nations ſhould be ſtirred up againſt the revolutionary tyrants! Happily it is not true, that the primitive Chriſtians would only have ſung hymns to Providence and ruſhed on to martyrdom. The primitive Chriſtians were not ideots; they did not confound the legitimate powers, which they could only oppoſe by the courage of martyrs, with the uſurped power of a tyrant or of barbarians that came to inundate the empire. They could conquer or die under the ſtandard of the Cæſars as manfully as the Romans; nay, they ſurpaſſed them in courage and reſignation, and their apologiſts were well grounded when they ſet the Sophiſters at defiance to point out a ſingle coward or traitor among the Chriſtian legions. In our days too, did thoſe heroic Chriſtians of the Vendee content themſelves with ſinging hymns, they whoſe courage was more terrible to the republicans than all the combined forces of Clairfait or Beaulieu? Where have we ſeen any of our emigrants that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their piety, chanting hymns to Providence during the hour of battle? Whence this triple

* *Mercure Britannique*, Vol. I. No. IV. P. 292.

infult to the Chriftian hero, to his religion, and to the very evidence of reafon? Whence this affectation of repreſenting the powerful and active incitements of Chriſtianity as uſeleſs to governments? Is not the crown of a ſoldier dying for laws or for his king, which his God commands him to defend, as valuable as your laurel-wreath? Tell then the Chriſtian ſoldier, that the coward and the traitor ſhall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven, and ſee whether he will not conquer or die. You think that you are ſerving the cauſe of ſociety againſt Jacobiniſm by repreſenting Chriſtianity as imbecility. Jacobins would reward ſuch ſarcaſtic ſentences, becauſe they foreſee their conſequences. Are our writers then to be always outwitted by theirs; they can combine their efforts againſt the altar and the throne; and ſhall we never be able to defend the one without betraying the intereſts of the other?

What can be the cauſe of ſuch imprudence, ſuch falſe lights? Neither do they ſtudy ſufficiently the Sect nor its artifices. They wiſh to be blind to its power, and even to its influence. I alſo am an admirer of the vigor of that ſame writer, who ſeeks to ſtir up the courage of nations; but ſhould he miſtake the real cauſes of our misfortunes, what have we not to fear from writers who are endowed neither with his knowledge or his energy? Will not the Sect rejoice to hear him ſay, " it is far more to that con-" tinental fataliſm than to the Illuminees, that we are to " attribute the lethargy of the higher orders of ſociety?" I know not what *continental* or inſular *fataliſm* can ſignify. God forbid that Princes ſhould for an inſtant believe in it, for it would only be immerſing them ſtill deeper in their lethargy. No efforts are made againſt fatality; I know, at leaſt, that the Illuminees would rejoice to ſee no credit given to their exiſting influence; for the leſs they ſhall be feared in conſequence of your writings, fewer will be the precautions taken to guard againſt them. I am poſitive, that had you ſtudied one half of the arts employed by the Inſinuators to ſeduce the higher claſſes, and even courts themſelves, you would be the firſt to find a very different cauſe than *fataliſm* for the continental lethargy.*

* It is evident, however, that the author of the *Britiſh Mercury* never wiſhed to favor the *Illuminees*. He is as indignant

Far be from me the abſurd pretenſion of alone enjoying the means of giving uſeful counſels. It is, on the contrary, becauſe I wiſh that the public ſhould be improved by your's, that I am eager to ſee you better informed of the real cauſe of all our misfortunes. I could wiſh to ſee a holy league formed of ſuch men of talents as are really actuated with a true zeal againſt the revolutionary errors. My reader has ſeen the baneful effects of that coalition of the ſophiſticated writers of Holbach's Club, of the Sophiſters of the Maſonic and of the Illuminized Lodges; he has ſeen the influence of their principles on the public opinion, and of opinion on our misfortunes; why ſhould not virtuous and learned writers then unite in their efforts to bring back the public opinion and the people to the true principles, by laying open all the artifice and cunning that has been employed by the Sect to ſeduce them.

The Code has been explicit on the means to be employed for the ſeduction of youth, a time of life moſt acceſſible to illuſion. Will not virtuous fathers take upon

as we are at the ſucceſſes of the *inept Philoſophiſts* of *modern republicaniſm*, of that revolutionary warfare waging againſt property and the laws, of thoſe young Jacobins juſt coming from the Univerſity of Gottinguen. He is indignant at the audacity of the *revolutionary letters* and of the *northern league*, that is to ſay, of a *company of Theologians, Profeſſors, and Philoſophers of Holſtein*, who aſk to form a central aſſembly, having under it ſubordinate committees to form and direct *public education, without being under any control of government, laws or religion* (P. 192). He would have ſpoken juſt as we have done of the *Illuminees*, had he known theſe *philoſophical* abſurdities and their ſucceſſes to be the work of the Sect; that the youths come from Gottinguen were juſt arriving from a haunt of Illuminiſm; that the northern league is nothing more than a branch of the *German Union* invented by the Illuminee Bahrdt: that the plan of education originated with the *Illuminee Campe*, heretofore paſtor and preacher to the garriſon of Potzdam, called to Brunſwick, protected by the firſt miniſter, and decorated with the appellation of *French Citizen*, in recompenſe for what he has more particularly written on the independency of education.—*(See the Univerſal Reviſion of every thing relating to Schools, Vol. VI).* I ſhall therefore repeat. Study the Sect, ſtudy its code, its hiſtory; ſtudy its means for ſeducing the Great; and, ſo far from deſpiſing the influence of the Sect, you will find the cauſe of that diſaſtrous lethargy which has ſeized on men whoſe duty it is to be moſt active, far better explained than by your *Fataliſm*.

themſelves to diſcard from their children maſters of ſuſpicious characters, and books that diſſeminate theſe poiſons? Will not governments take as much pains to drive the adepts from the pulpit, from the chairs of ſcience and profeſſorſhips, as we have ſeen the Sect taking to make itſelf maſter of education and to corrupt youth? Unhappy we, ſhould the reader be affrighted at the detail of ſuch precautions, while the Sect attends to each particularity, and we have ſeen it as eager for the nomination of a country ſchoolmaſter, as for the ſucceſs of an adept at court, or the nomination of the general who is to command its legions.

One ſpecies of illuſion appears to be the favorite engine of Jacobiniſm, I mean that theory of eſſays in government, and thoſe demi-reforms. No art has been more powerfully played off on the Engliſh nation than this; let the people be put on their guard againſt this illuſion; let them be taught, that France alſo began by eſſays and demi-reforms; I need not hint at their conſequences. If it be neceſſary to humble the pride of the Jacobin Sophiſter, and blight the very idea of that pretended happineſs which they attach to their ſyſtems, let the people learn that ſuch eſſays have long ſince been made; that the brigands who appeared under the different denominations of Lollards, Begards, followers of John Wall, of Maillotin, and of Muncer, all promiſed the ſupreme happineſs of Equality and Liberty; that it was perfectly uſeleſs to talk to us of the *Philoſophy* of a revolution that was nothing more than the repetition of the errors of certain Sects of which the barbarous and devaſtating tenets could only be equalled by the horror and contempt in which they are held by our anceſtors. When, under pretence of arguing on certain truths the Jacobin ſeeks to lead you into diſcuſſion, guard againſt his ſophiſtry, by anſwering, that no argumentation can be held with Weiſhaupt or Robeſpierre; the firſt will retail all the arguments of former brigands, the latter does what they did; for if our modern Jacobins have invented any thing of their own, it is a little more artifice and an unparalleled ferocity. They are then the more entitled to our contempt and hatred.

If every where encountered by this two-fold ſentiment, the Sect will ſoon loſe that power of illuſion which has prepared its triumphs, and you will ſee it ſhrinking back

into its ſubterraneous lurking places, the occult Lodges which have ſo long ſince offered it an aſylum. There it will once more attempt to recruit its legions, and contrive plots for the ſubverſion of the altar, of the throne, and of ſociety. But here what honeſt citizen can be blind to his duty? Under whatever name, pretence, or form, the magiſtracy may have thought proper to tolerate theſe clubs, ſubterraneous hiding-places, or Lodges of ſecret ſocieties, what proofs are they waiting for to proſcribe them all, now that they have ſeen legions of conſpirators ſallying forth from theſe receſſes? You who look upon yourſelves as entitled to an honorable exception, why are you ſeated there ſtill? You are tender of your perſonal loyalty, of your fidelity to your religion and to your country, how can you make ſuch ſentiments agree with your predilection for Lodges that you know to have been the aſylum of the moſt conſpiring Sects? Do not pretend that it is us, for it is the Jacobins, the moſt monſtrous chiefs of the Jacobins, their correſpondence, their ſpeeches, and all the archives of their hiſtory, that have unfolded to you the immenſe ſupport they have derived from your myſteries and from all your *ſecret ſocieties*, in the proſecution of their conſpiracies againſt *ſociety in general*, againſt all laws, and againſt every altar. In vain ſhall you attempt to hide it; no part of hiſtory can be better authenticated; theſe conſpiracies are proved at any rate to have gained admittance into your Lodges, and to have acquired ſtrength and numbers from them. Your particular Lodge may not be one of thoſe with whoſe honor the Sect has tampered; we are willing to believe it; but what proofs can you adduce? the Sect knows too well how to clothe perjury in the garb of innocence.—We are willing to believe it, and that will be another motive why we ſhould conjure you in the name of your country to abandon thoſe Lodges. Your preſence is only a cloak for conſpirators. The more unblemiſhed may be your character of honor, the more will the conſpiring adepts boaſt of your name, and of the fraternity and intimacy in which you live with them.—We addreſs our complaints to you yourſelves, but own that we have ſufficient grounds to addreſs them to the prince or to the ſenate; may we not with truth denounce you as demi-citizens, ſince by your oath the intereſts of the brotherhood are more dear to you than thoſe of your fellow-ſub-

jects? Are we not entitled to ask, whether you are not a secret enemy to every citizen who has the interest of religion and his country at heart, since you are a member of a secret society, under the cloak of which a multitude of brethren are conspiring against our religion and our laws, and that it is impossible to distinguish the innocent from the guilty? What right would you have to complain if the senate and your prince were to exclude you from your magistracy, or from every office that requires the whole attention of an impartial citizen, and on whom no suspicion can alight, as it appears that your affection is at least divided between society in general and your secret societies, as that affection, according to your own laws, must be greater for the members of your secret societies than for us; since, in short, it has been demonstrated, that a large portion of the members of secret societies are mere conspirators? In vain will you object that you have never witnessed any thing reprehensible in the Lodges. Were you only initiated in the mysteries of the Grand Lodge of London, know, that notwithstanding all the exceptions we have made in its favor, suspicions are even cast upon that Lodge, and a reviewer thinks himself founded in denying the validity of such exceptions.* If you are so careless of your reputation as to remain insensible to such suspicions, allow me at least to address myself to you in the name of all mankind, whose interests you tell us are so dear to you.

No longer than a century ago the remaining part of Europe was nearly a stranger to your Lodges and their mysteries. You made it the baneful present; the new-erected Lodges have filled with Jacobins, and from them the most disastrous scourge that has ever befallen the universe has rushed forth to produce these terrible effects; you imparted to them the mysteries of your Equality and of your Liberty; to combine and prepare them, you introduced them into your tenebrous asylums; to prepare their pupils, you taught them your trials and your oaths; and that they might propagate their conspiracies from pole to pole, you lent them your language, your symbols, your signs, your cypher, your directories, your hierarchy, and all the regulations for your invisible correspondence.

* See the Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol. XXXV. Page 504.

The offspring may have improved on the myſteries of their progenitors; but has not their conduct been ſuch as to make you abjure all connection with them; have not your Lodges been ſo prophaned as to make you haſten to abandon them; is not the diſaſtrous ſcourge that has burſt from them a ſufficient ground for eternally cloſing their gates? O you, whoſe fleets, under the protection of heaven, ride triumphant over the main, diſpelling the fleets of the Sect? O grant to the univerſe a victory, perhaps of ſtill greater importance. At the ſight of your admirals the Sect diſappears; drive then from its receſſes that bantling of yours; ſhow that if the abuſe of your myſterious aſſociations may in poſſibility be fatal to the univerſe, you are willing at leaſt to deprive the vile conſpirators of every plea that can tarniſh your glory. Show, that if ſports, innocent in your hands, could grow into a ſcourge in the hands of others, you are not backward in making a ſacrifice of ſuch utility to nations. Your example would be powerful; and it is incumbent on you to pronounce the anathema on ſecret ſocieties; to cloſe the gates of the Lodges, to cloſe them all without exception, nevermore to be opened, whatever may be the nature of their myſteries. None can exiſt into which the Sect will not attempt to penetrate; none can exiſt where the magiſtrate and honeſt citizen can ſit down certain that the Sect has not intruded with its plots and means of ſeduction. The more zealous you may be for the preſervation of our laws, the leſs will you be enabled to ſecure us againſt the plots of the Sect; for though it ſhall ever commune with you it will not lay its views open to you until it has ſeduced you. Maſons of England, what a fatal gift have you made to the world! May the hiſtorian who ſhall write the annals of this age, when ſpeaking of the ſcourge that has ruſhed forth from the Lodges, conclude by ſaying, if England made the baneful preſent to the univerſe, it was alſo the firſt to ſacrifice its own Lodges for the ſafety of nations.

Why ſhould not every honeſt Maſon on the Continent addreſs himſelf in terms ſimilar to thoſe in which we addreſs the Engliſh brotherhood? Their preſence would no longer be a cloak to the Myſteries of the conſpiring Jacobins. Left to themſelves, they could no longer plead the innocence of their Myſteries. If the Magiſtrates treated them with all the ſeverity of the law, he would not

have to fear the proteſts of honeſt citizens. Then would every thing denote that the time was come to ſtrike all ſecret ſocieties with the anathema of the laws; then would all the productions of the Sect be ſuppreſſed, or thrown away with indignation by every claſs of citizens. True principles only would be taught, and theſe would diſcard from the minds of the people all thoſe diſorganizing errors. The Sect once diſlodged from its lurking places, truth and light would diſpel that warfare of illuſion, error, and darkneſs, which, waged by the Sophiſters of Jacobiniſm, prepares the way for the triumphant entry of its deſtroying brigands.

But that long-expected day, that day of devaſtation and plunder foretold in the Myſteries, has dawned. In darkneſs have the adepts multiplied, and the legions of the Sect have ſallied forth. They now wage the war of pikes and deſtruction, they wave the firebrands of revolution, but have not abandoned the warfare of illuſion.—Sovereigns and Miniſters of Empires! It behoves you to ſtem the torrent of theſe men of blood by the marſhalled band of heroes whom you command. I do not pretend to ſtep over the threſhold of the chamber where our warriors ſet in council to deliberate on the means of vanquiſhing the Sect in the field of battle. But, to enſure the ſucceſs of your valorous efforts, may we intrude on your wiſdom to repreſent that force ſhould not attract your entire attention? The Jacobin is no common enemy. He wages a war of Sect, of proſelytiſm againſt you; and Sects are not to be vanquiſhed by the ſame arms as warriors waging a glorious war, or brigands ruſhing forth from their ungrateful ſhores in queſt of pillage and booty. The ſeat of conflict lies in opinions. The Jacobin has all the enthuſiaſm of the Sectary, and has alſo the force of arms; that you may overpower his arms, you ſhould know the object of his delirium.

I began by declaring, and think I have eſtabliſhed the poſition, that in this warfare of pikes and firebrands the Sect ſends forth its legions to ſhiver the ſcepter, not to fight the power; it has not promiſed to its adepts the crowns of Princes, Kings, and Emperors, but has required and bound thoſe adepts by an oath to deſtroy them all. In the Sovereign it is not the perſon that they hate; but it is the chief, the Miniſter of the Social Order. The war it wages againſt a nation is of a ſimilar complexion;

it is that war of opinion, which hates, not the Engliſh-man, but the laws of the Engliſh, which abominates not the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, but the God, the Altars, the Thrones, the Senates of the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, in ſhort, of every people. Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be miſled; the Pentarques will certainly attempt to warp theſe plans and plots of the Sect, and make them ſubſervient to their own ambition; but have not the myſteries taught us, that the elevation of an Orleans, a Barras, or a Rewbel to the throne, never entered the mind of the adepts when they murdered their lawful Sovereign?——It may ſupport its tyrannic Pentarques in the deſtruction of kings and governments, but it will cruſh theſe tyrants in their turn, when they ſhall have completed the deſtruction of ſociety. It is not a new Empire that they are ſeeking to eſtabliſh; it is at the annihilation of every Empire, of all order, rank, diſtinction, property, and ſocial tie, that they aim. Such is the Ultimate View of its myſteries of Equality and Liberty. Such is that reign of anarchy and abſolute independence, proclaimed in the ſubterraneous lurking-places, under the appellations of patriarchal reign, of the reign of Reaſon and of Nature.

Sovereigns, Miniſters, You who watch for the ſafety of the ſubject! Is it clear to you why we ſo much inſiſt on this general and predominating hatred as the ſole principle and object of this terrible war? Becauſe it immediately points out that it behoves you to combat this relentleſs foe by an ardor and zeal for the univerſal maintenance of ſocial order; becauſe it is now more than ever incumbent on you to caſt aſide all ideas of perſonal intereſt, that might counteract the general effort; becauſe, were it poſſible that the intereſts of the Sect could for a moment coincide with yours, it would be only a duty that you would fulfil in ſuſpending thoſe mutual reſentments or national jealouſies that have but too long nurtured enmities and bloodſhed; becauſe much woe will befal you, if you be imprudent enough to think but for an inſtant than you can either make the principles or the legions of the Sect the inſtruments of your vengeance, or of your perſonal views; for the powers you put in motion ſhall ſoon fall back upon you.

I am not one of thoſe who thought that they could trace ſuch a kind of policy in the firſt motions of the

French revolution, pretending that foreign powers had abetted the Jacobins with a view, if not to cruſh, at leaſt to weaken the ancient and powerful fabric of the French monarchy. I have probed the ſtrength of the Sect when it ruſhed from its dens. But let it not be overlooked by hiſtory; let the terrible example of that man who was held out as one of the greateſt politicians of the age, be ever preſent to the eyes of ſovereigns. The Sect began to demonſtrate the firſt elements of its Code of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People; baneful policy ordered La Fayette, D'Eſtaing, and Rochambeau, to proceed to the ſuccor of a colony aſſerting its ſovereignty againſt its mother country. I do not pretend to diſcuſs the rights of London or of Philadelphia; but let the miniſter, the politician Vergennes riſe from his grave, he who in America would make, and in Holland abet, revolutions of the people equal and free; let him look to the throne, or ſeek the ſovereign whoſe intereſt he thought to ſerve when uſing the Sect as an engine of ſtate!! Let the miniſter of Joſeph II. I mean, Mercy D'Argenteau, come forth; let him behold to what an end the ſervices of that ſovereign populace would lead which he was about to aſſemble in Brabant, or the ſervices of *thoſe pretended friends to the public ſafety*, in other words, of the *emiſſaries* of the Sect, already omnipotent in Paris, or of thoſe Jacobins that he would receive and ſupport, that he might oppreſs through the means of anarchy.* No, the Sect that has ſworn to ſhiver every ſceptre will not avenge any quarrel of your's, or prove a ſupport in danger.—Baniſh then every idea of alliance or union with its principles and means! it can never loſe ſight of its Ultimate End; and if it ſhould affect to make a common cauſe with you in the annihilation of the throne that gives you umbrage, it will only be that it may find you ſtanding alone and deſtitute of allies when it ſhall turn back upon you.

To renounce ſuch temporary and diſaſtrous ſervices can be no great ſacrifice. When the common enemy of ſociety rears its head, is it not the duty of the chiefs of ſociety to forget all private quarrels, and unite in combating ſo formidable a foe? Every ſtep gained againſt it,

* See Letters on the Affairs of the Auſtrian Netherlands, Let. II. P. 31.

will be a ſtep gained for yourſelf, for your people, and for that portion of ſociety over which you preſide. Still farther from your mind be all thoſe ideas of cold economy, calculating the ſacrifices or efforts you will have to make, or the indemnities you may claim! When the houſe that joins your palace is in flames, do you think yourſelf ſafe becauſe you have not contributed to the conflagration? Or do you enquire what reward is offered for extinguiſhing the flames? More wildly avaricious, would you think of pillaging that houſe while the flames were communicating to your own? Save the univerſe, and you ſave your own empire. Every throne beat down by the Jacobin, reduces an obſtacle that he has to encounter in the attack of yours. Will the arſenals he ſhall pillage, will the requiſitions of men, and legions raiſed, in the newly conquered ſtates, enſure the indemnities you aſk; or do you expect, by complacency, flattery, and meanneſs, to have an exception made in your favor? Can you hope to ſee the Pentarques always preſerving their neutrality in your regard, becauſe for the moment they are pleaſed not to demand any farther ſacrifices from you? Or, when you deſert the common cauſe, will you ground your ſecurity on treaties of peace, or even on treaties of alliance offenſive and defenſive? O virtue! what deſertion of the common cauſe! O ſhame! O cowardice! No, the very idea of ſuch treaties could never have entered your mind, had you been acquainted with the Sect that propoſes them. You have ſigned them; but you do not enjoy peace, not even a neutrality. You are its ſlave. You are only the mouth-piece of its imperious dictates, until the Sect ſhall chooſe to ſtrip you of even the ſemblance of authority.—You will tell us, perhaps, that you have been neuter in the conteſt; that is to ſay, you have not dared to attack the Jacobin that only waits to drag you into ſlavery till he ſhall have cruſhed thoſe with whom you ſhould have leagued, and who could have defended you or avenged your death.—You have lived in peace with the common enemy of ſociety! You have ſworn to abandon ſociety to be butchered, thrones to be annihilated and ſceptres to be ſhivered; and this without ſhowing the leaſt reſiſtance. —Have you made treaties of alliance? then you have ſworn to ſupport the deſtroying hordes, and to contribute towards the deſtruction and devaſtation of ſociety.

You are ſenſible as we are of the ſhame, of the igno-

miny, of such a neutrality, peace, or alliance.—But a superior force commands. . . . Then say that you are vanquished, that you are a slave to the Sect, and we shall then ask, if on no occasion a valiant death be preferable to slavery? Is that throne saved, around which you still hover, by permission of the Sect, merely as the mouthpiece of its commands? Are your people saved, who are obliged to fully their hands with the crimes inherent to Jacobins? Is that slave free, who, chained to the bench of the gallies, can only handle his oars in the service of a pirate? If you still preserve any glimmerings of Liberty, if your strength be not entirely exhausted, rise, Oh! rise once more, and fight the battles of society!—Could you still be lead astray by that flitting semblance of authority which the Sect has allowed you, hearken to Jean de Brie, proposing in the name of the Sect, in the midst of its legislators, to raise a legion of *twelve hundred assassins*, and to send them, not to kill *one* king, but to *murder every king!* Did not those legislators announce to you in terms sufficiently clear the fate which they intended for you and your people, when they declared that they would *fraternize* with every nation that wished to shake off its laws or rise against its magistrates and sovereign?* Would you wish to persuade yourself that there exists a single king who is not comprehended within the revolutionary proscription, go and assist at the annual celebration of the festival held by the Sect in honor of the murderers of their king; go and hearken to their constituted authorities, and to the ambassadors whom they send to the neutral or allied Powers, all solemnly swearing the oath of hatred to royalty. You have seen the adepts teaching in the universities, that but a few more years will elapse before the last mysteries of the Sect shall be accomplished; then neither king nor magistrate shall exist, nor a single nation, country, or society governed by laws. And with such a prospect before you, do you still hesitate at throwing aside petty jealousies and personal interests? Shall pretensions, mistrusts, and enmities, between king and king, or nation and nation, disunite you, when society calls upon you for the defence not only of your own crown but of every crown, not only of your own nation but of every nation wherever laws are recognized?

* Decree of the 9th November, 1792.

It is not yet too late. Nations are ſtill more powerful than the Sect; let then every nation unite; let their kings, their ſenates, their people, join in the common cauſe; let every man living in the ſtate of ſociety conſider the warfare waged by the Sect againſt ſociety and property as aimed at his own perſon. Shall the heart of the Jacobin alone be inflamed by the fire of enthuſiaſm? Shall the deſolation of your country, the deſtruction of your altars, of your laws, of your fortunes, the devaſtation of your towns and manſions, the tearing away of your children, not rouſe you from your lethargy? Shall not ſuch ſights inſpire you with courage, are they not inducements for ſacrifices as powerful at leaſt as the enthuſiaſm of delirium in the Jacobin? Shall it ſtill continue to be ſaid, that the Brigands alone know the power and ſtrength of union? Every where they are one; they have but one object in view; they all ſerve but one and the ſame cauſe; they are brethren wherever they meet, merely becauſe they univerſally aim at the deſtruction of the ſocial order. May chiefs of nations then unite in one common tie of affection; for it is the common intereſt of all and each of them to preſerve that ſocial order. Such would be my definition of a war of zeal for ſociety, a war entirely directed againſt the Sect, and the only means of depriving it of thoſe reſources which it may have but too plentifully drawn from politicians hacknied in wars of vengeance, jealouſy, and ambition, but little accuſtomed to the idea of ſuch ſacrifices as wars for the general intereſt of ſociety may require.

When I thus wiſh to ſtir up all nations to make but one power, but one nation in the common cauſe; when I thus wiſh to ſee them all actuated by the ſame zeal and ardor for combating the Sect; the reader may be tempted to aſk me, what is become of the war of humanity, of ſelf-preſervation, that I wiſhed to ſee oppoſed to that warfare of fury, deſtruction, and of ſanguinary rage againſt ſociety?—Doubtleſs, it muſt afflict me thus to ſound the general alarm, which calls your embattled legions into the field of Mars; but when we behold thoſe of the Sect nurtured on blood and carnage; when thouſands and hundreds of thouſands of citizens, whoſe ſluggard tranquillity and averſion to reſiſtance could not ſave them from falling victims; when women, aged parents, and even children, have been butchered ſo recently in the mountains

of Switzerland, juſt as they had been before in the fields of La Vendée, and in divers parts of France; when in every country into which the Sect can penetrate, the inhabitants muſt either bend the knee to adore the idol, or periſh beneath the pikes; who will be the true friend to humanity? Will that man ſet himſelf down for a friend to humanity, and as having preſerved ſociety, who would let the armies of the Sect ſucceſſively proceed from Brabant into Holland, from Savoy into Switzerland, from Piedmont into the Milanois, and from thence to Rome, every where overturning ſocial order, becauſe the Sect every where met but with a feeble and partial reſiſtance?—Which then ſhall be the true friend to humanity, the man who permits the ſcourge to extend and ravage all Europe, or he who excites you to cruſh the germ of ſuch horrors? Will the preſerver of your life be the man who, fearing to probe your wound, ſhall let mortification engender in your fleſh; or he who, employing the cauſtic or the blade, ſhall conſume or amputate the decayed part to preſerve the body? Had the counſellors of ſuch a cruel humanity foreſeen that a Sect, whoſe empire is terror, whoſe means are thoſe of brigands and aſſaſſins, was not to be overpowered by their perfidious complaiſance, what horrors, and what rivers of blood, would have been ſpared. What numberleſs citizens has that reign of terror chained to the ſtandards of the Sect, citizens even who abhorred it!—And what numbers would have joined your ſtandard, in defiance of the reign of terror, had they ſeen you waging a war againſt the Sect, and not a war of ambition. I never aſſiſted at the councils of princes, and am willing to believe that my fellow-countrymen have formed an erroneous judgment, and that the reports of partitioning and of ambitious views may even have originated with the Sect, ſince it acquires ſuch empire through its means; that error has recruited the ranks of the Sect with ſoldiers whoſe courage and lives would have been at your diſpoſal, had you found means of convincing them that you had fled to arms ſolely to vindicate the cauſe of monarchy, of their religion, and of their laws; had they not been led to think, that between two enemies they were obliged to repulſe that which was coming, not to defend them, but to profit by their diſſenſions, and deliver up their country to pillage, or make them ſhare the fate of Venice or Poland!—Deprive the Jacobins of this vain pretext; let every peo-

ple that groans under the bondage of the Sect learn from your candid declarations, ſupported by your deeds, that you only come as their ſaviour and liberator, that your legions have no other object in view than the reſtoring of them to the bleſſings of ſocial order.

But whither am I wandering, and what was I about to promiſe? Shall the fate of my country, the deſtiny of empires, ſolely depend on the ſtrength of armies? There is a war far more terrible than that of brigands, which the Sect wages againſt us. The amazing progreſs of impiety, the corruption of morals, and general apoſtacy of an age ſtyling itſelf the age of Philoſophy; theſe are the real arms of the Sect, the grand ſource of all misfortunes. Ye who may be affrighted at theſe truths becauſe they may affect you more particularly, turn back to the cauſes of our misfortunes, and you will trace them all to this apostacy.

Infuriate as a demoniac of blaſphemy, a diſaſtrous Sophiſter exclaimed, I will not ſerve, my Reaſon ſhall be free. The God of Revelation may perſecute me, but I will perſecute him; I will raiſe a ſchool againſt him, I will ſurround myſelf with conſpiring adepts, I will ſay to them *Cruſh the Wretch*—Cruſh J— C—. This ſchool was eſtabliſhed on the earth; kings and great men applauded the doctrines of this demoniac; they reliſhed them becauſe they flattered and unbridled their paſſions. This was the firſt ſtep towards the revolution. Do not come and plague me with idle repreſentations; turn to the archives of the impious man whom thou haſt idolized; there are my proofs. Princes, Nobles, Lords or Knights, ſuch was the crime, I will not ſay of each of you in particular, but ſo predominant among you, that I may in ſome ſort call it the crime of your corps. The miniſters of that God whom you abandoned admoniſhed you of the ſcourges with which apoſtates are threatened, and told you that your example would be fatal to your people as well as to yourſelves. Do you remember how their menaces were received? Attend for a moment to the acts of that ſchool which you ſet up in oppoſition to us. Heaven, in its wrath, has permitted the offſpring of the ſophiſters to multiply like unto the locuſts. They thought themſelves the Gods of Reaſon; they alſo raiſed their voices, declaring that they would not ſerve; but, turning their eyes toward you, they added, oppreſſion and tyranny has placed

men like unto us upon thrones; chance of birth has made men Nobles and Grandees who are not so good as ourselves. They said it; and that Liberty which you asserted against your God, when stimulated by your passions, they now assert against you at the instigation of their pride.—They conspire against the throne and the nobility that surrounds it. Abandoned to your blindness, you courteously received this cloud of sophisters, just as you had received their progenitor.—The priests of the living God came once more and admonished you, that this school of impiety would not only operate the ruin of the church, but sweep away into the common mass of ruin Kings, Princes, Laws, and Magistrates. Reason called as loudly on you as your priests; but you had turned away from Revelation, and you refused to hearken to the voice of reason.

The God whom you daily irritated by your apostacy permitted this cloud of Sophisters to descend into the abyss of the Lodges, and there, under pretence of Masonic pursuits, the occult adepts combined their conspiracies against the altar, the throne, and all distinctions, with those of the pretended sages whose dupes you have been. The adepts now multiplied as fast as the Sophisters.—Under the auspices of another pretended Sage, who could improve on every species of impiety and blasphemy, a new Sect is fostered under the name of Illuminees.—These, like the hero of your apostacy, swore to crush Christ, as his offspring swore to crush you yourselves; and in common with all brigands, swore to annihilate the empire of the laws.—Such has been the fruit of that Philosophism which you would so obstinately portray as true wisdom. At length to dissipate the illusion, and to call you back to the faith of his Gospel, far more than to avenge himself, what has your God done? He has silenced his prophets and the doctors of his law; he has said to them, "Discontinue those lessons with which you combat the delirium of these impious men. They raise their Reason up against me; it is my Son whom they have sworn to crush. They wish to reign alone over that people. They have taken upon themselves the important task of leading them to true happiness; I will let them act; I abandon that people to the wisdom of their new teachers. You, my priests and pontiffs, fly from amidst them, carry away with you the Gospel of my Son. Let their sages beat down his

altars; let them raiſe trophies in his temples to their heroes who had ſworn to cruſh him; and let that people proceed under the ſole direction of the light of their Reaſon. Begone, retire; together with my Son I abandon both the people and their grandees to their ſages; let thoſe ſages be their leaders, ſince they turn their backs upon me and my Son."

Frenchmen, the God of your forefathers has thus ſpoken. Oh, how deeply and eaſily can he confound *the prudence of prudent men and the wiſdom of ſages!* Go; proceed through that vaſt empire which he has abandoned to your pretended Philoſophy. His prieſts have abandoned it; his altars are beaten down; his goſpel is no longer to be found. Now calculate the crimes and diſasters!! Go and wander among thoſe ruins, behold thoſe mazes and ſhapeleſs heaps of rubbiſh. Aſk of the people, what is become of thoſe millions of citizens that formerly thronged in their towns and fields; inquire what inundation of Vandals has devaſtated their land. What has been the fate of that town, that proudly towered in magnificent palaces, or thoſe other towns, the modern rivals of ancient Tyre? By what means have thoſe riches dwindled into nothing that were annually brought from the ſhores of the eaſt, or the Iſles of the weſt. Thoſe notes of mirth, thoſe rural ſongs, why have they given place to groans and complaints? Why is that brow, formerly the ſeat of content now knitted and downcaſt with terror; and why thoſe ſighs, that even the fear of being heard cannot ſuppreſs! All you inhabitants of France, who were formerly ſo happy under the laws of your forefathers, but at preſent victims to all the horrors of the revolution, have you not among ye its Philoſophers, the wiſdom of its Deiſts, of its Atheiſts, and of its Philanthropiſts? And you in particular, the diſciples, and for a long time the zealous protectors of all theſe revolutionary ſages, how comes it to paſs that you are now diſperſed on the face of all Europe, poor and deſerted? Is not that Philoſophy which you ſo much idolized now triumphant in the very centre of its empire?

Ah, how bitter would be ſuch language in the mouth of a God but too well revenged! Unhappy victims of your confidence in theſe falſe ſages! You now conceive how terrible it is to be abandoned to the empire of impiety! Confeſs at laſt, that your credulity, your confi-

dence in these heroes of Sophistry has been disastrous indeed! They promised you a revolution of wisdom, of light, of virtue; and they have cursed you with a revolution of delirium, extravagance and wickedness. They promised you a revolution of happiness, Equality, Liberty, of the golden age; and they have brought down upon you the most frightful revolution that a God, justly irritated by the pride and wickedness of men, has ever poured down upon the earth. Such is the end of all that impiety which it has pleased you to style Philosophy.

Never let any person pretend to dispute the prime cause of all our misfortunes. Voltaire and Rousseau are the heroes of your revolution, as they were of your Philosophism. It is now time to dissipate the illusion, if you with to see the scourge cease, and preserve yourself from a similar danger in future. You must work a revolution that will be the death-blow to that philosophism of impiety, if you wish to appease the God who has only permitted this scourge to befal man to avenge his Son. It is not by persisting in the outrage, by leaving your hearts a prey to the prime cause of all our misfortunes, that you will find the termination of them. The great crime of the Jacobin is his impiety; his great strength rests in yours. The powers of hell will second him when he combats against Christ; and will heaven, think ye, declare for you, so long as your morals and your faith shall declare you an enemy to the Son of God? By your impiety you become the brother of the Jacobin. You are a Jacobin of the revolution against the altar; and it is not by persisting in this hatred against the altar, that you will appease the God who avenges the altar by the revolution annihilating our thrones and our laws.

Such is the last and most important lesson that we are to derive from those scourges that have befallen us in the same gradation as the sophisters of impiety, the sophisters of rebellion, the sophisters of anarchy conspired.—O that I may have succeeded, when terminating these Memoirs, in engraving it deeply on the minds of my readers! May it more particularly contribute to pave the way for the restoration of religion, of the laws, and of happiness in my country!—May the researches that I have made to discover the causes of the revolution, be serviceable to nations that may still preserve themselves, or rid themselves of such disasters!—Then will that God who has supported me in my pursuit, have blessed my labors with an ample recompence.

NOTE

For the End of Volume IV. of the Memoirs illuſtrating the Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm.

ON publiſhing the Tranſlation of the Firſt Volume of theſe Memoirs, I declared that I conſidered myſelf as only *fulfilling a duty* in laying open ſo excellent a work to thoſe of my countrymen who were not ſufficiently verſed in the French language to read the original. The object of *the Author* throughout has been to ſhew the univerſal havock and deſolation with which theſe depredatory Sects have threatened all Europe; *Mine* has been to excite the vigilant attention of my countrymen, leſt they fall into the ſnares that are laid to entrap them. This will, I hope, be thought a ſufficient reaſon for the following more circumſtantial application to Ireland and Great Britain of the dreadful plots that have been detailed in theſe Memoirs.

IRELAND.

Ireland, ever ſince the year 1782, had preſented a perpetual ſcene of different aſſociations for different objects. The Volunteers had given riſe to much debate; the Roman Catholics had been actively employed in petitioning the legiſlature for the redreſs of certain grievances under which they labored; and their prayer was at length partly acceeded to.

The firſt appearance, however, of the aſſociation to which we now allude was in June, 1791. The propoſals for it are couched in the ſtyle and exact terms of the Hierophants of Illuminiſm. They recommend the formation of an aſſociation, or, as it is ſtyled, "a beneficent conſpiracy" to ſerve the people; aſſuming "the ſecrecy "and ſomewhat of the ceremonial attached to Freemaſonry." *Secrecy* is declared to be neceſſary to make "the bond of union more cohesive, and the ſpirit of union more ardent; to envelope the plan with ambiguity; "to facilitate its own agency; to confound and terrify

" its enemies by their ignorance of the deſign, extent, and " direction," &c. Its *Ceremonial* is alſo Maſonic, in order to create enthuſiaſm. " Let every member wear (day " and night) an amulet round his neck, containing the " great principle which unites the brotherhood, in letters " of gold, on a ribbon, ſtriped with all the original co- " lours, and incloſed in a ſheath of white ſilk, to repre- " ſent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the aboli- " tion of all ſuperficial diſtinctions, all colours, and ſhades " of difference, for the ſake of one illuſtrious End. Let " this amulet of union, faith, and honor, pendent from the " neck, and be bound about the body next to the ſkin, " and cloſe to the heart."—Maſonic Secrecy, Equality, and Union, cannot poſſibly be better deſcribed.

Its members are to be choſen from among men in the prime of life, without diſtinction of religion; true philanthropiſts, who are not bound down to obedience to that " *wizard word* EMPIRE, nor to the ſovereignty of two " ſounding ſyllables;" from among men, in ſhort, " who " know liberty, who wiſh to have it, and who are deter- " mined to live and die free-men, *(vivre libre ou mourir.)*

This aſſociation (at firſt called the Iriſh Brotherhood, and afterwards the United Iriſhmen) " will have, it is " ſaid, an eye provident and proſpective, a reach and am- " plitude of conception commenſurate to the progreſſive " diffuſion of knowledge;—it will make the light of phi- " lanthropy converge." Its END is declared to be " *The* " *rights of men in Ireland*; the greateſt happineſs of the " greateſt number in this Iſland; the inherent and inde- " feaſible claims of every free nation:" For, " the rights " of man are the rights of God; and to vindicate the one " is to maintain the other. We muſt be free, in order to " ſerve him whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom."

The Hierophant next proceeds to ſtate, that " to form " a ſummary of the national will and pleaſure in points " moſt intereſting to national happineſs, and then to put " this *doctrine* as ſpeedily as may be into practice, will be " the purpoſe of this *Central Society*, or *Lodge*, from " which other lodges in the different towns will radiate." The diſtinctions of rank, of property, and of religious perſuaſions, are to be aboliſhed; but whether any thing ſhort of " *great convulſion*" can effectually and ſpeedily procure the reform propoſed, is to be, with many other principles of ſedition, the ſubject of future diſcuſſion by the aſſociation.

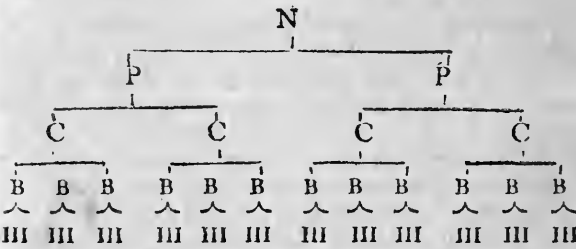
The whole body was to meet four times a year, and the (regulating) committee once a month. Theſe meetings were to be "*convivial*; *converſational*, not a debating ſociety; and *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked." Their *external buſineſs* to conſiſt, "1ſt, in "publications to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpoſe are to be "ſanctioned by the committee.—2dly, Communication "with the different towns to be aſſiduouſly kept up, and "every exertion uſed to accompliſh a National Convention.—3dly, Communication with *ſimilar ſocieties* abroad, as the JACOBIN CLUB at Paris, the *Revolution "Society* IN ENGLAND, *the Committee of Reform* IN "SCOTLAND."

Eulogies were to be pronounced (as in *the Minerval Schools*) "on ſuch men as ſhall have deſerved well of their "country *until death*, whoſe works ſhould live in a library to be formed by the ſociety and dedicated to liberty." The ariſtocracy (poor dupes) were to be made their "inſtruments."—*(Iriſh Report, Appendix, No. IV.)*—Such was the plan on which this aſſociation was to be formed, and it was recommended to the people of Belfaſt by a Mr. Tone. On the 9th of November, 1791, the day on which the aſſociation was inſtituted at Dublin, a ſimilar invitation was publiſhed by it, and was ſigned Napper Tandy. Thus do we find that Liberty, Equality, Secrecy, Union, and the Rights of Man, were the real objects of this aſſociation. It is true that Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were held out as their only objects; but it has ſince appeared upon oath, that theſe were only pretexts, and that "the people in Leinſter, "Munſter, and Connaught did not care the value of a pen, "or the drop of ink it contained, for *Parliamentary Re-* "*form*, or *Catholic Emancipation*."——*(Appendix, No. XXXI.*

Their Forms and Regulations were alſo Maſonic.—Members were honorary or ordinary, and admitted between two *ſponſors*, who vouched for the characters and principles of the candidates. The ſign and word were adopted. Funds were produced by admiſſion fees, loans, and voluntary contributions of the "*Ariſtocrats*." Taxes alſo of one penny per month were levied on the individuals of the aſſociation, and were generally tranſmitted through regular gradations to the High Superiors. Many

changes, however took place on this ſubject, and latterly three pence per month was levied. Theſe funds were not even entruſted to the Provincial Committees; but a member of the Executive attended to carry away the monies as ſoon as they were received. It is true, indeed, that the Executive acounted to the Provincial Committee once every three months.

A Chairman, or Maſter, preſided over the Lodges, whoſe duty it was to preſerve order and direct debates; he had the power of fining refractory members to the amount of five ſhillings, and even of expelling the member if he continues to be contumacious; as alſo to eraſe ſuch members as did not attend their duty after they had been ſerved with a regular notice. Officers were appointed, and the ſecretaries always belonged to a higher degree.—The concatenation of the degrees perfectly coincides with Weithaupt's plan, as the following ſcale of correſpondence (of National, Provincial, County, and Baronial Committees, emanating from the Individual Societies) will demonſtrate.



When an Individual Society amounted to thirty-ſix members, it was equally divided by lot. The firſt eighteen drawn by the ſecretary were conſidered as the ſenior ſociety, the remaining eighteen formed the junior ſplit, and received its number from the Baronial Committee through the medium of the ſenior ſplit.

The Baronial Committee was compoſed of the ſecretaries, treaſurers, and a delegate from each individual ſociety under their direction. The County and Provincial Committees were to be compoſed of the ſecretaries, treaſurers, and a delegate from the Committees immediately under them.—*(Ibid. No. II.)* Ireland was ſubdivided into its four Provinces, and its thirty-two Counties; but

as ſoon as two County Committees were formed, the Provincial Committee of that province was to be choſen.—When two Provincial Committees had been elected, the National was formed of five members from each Provincial Committee.

No perſon whatever could mention the names of committee-men; they were not even known to thoſe who had elected them in the caſe of the National or Executive Committee, the ſecretaries of the Provincial that examined the ballot only informing the perſons who had the majority of votes, without reporting to the Electors. Thus was the ſociety entirely governed by *unknown* Superiors.

When any queſtions were propoſed in an inferior ſociety, and this ſociety wiſhed to tranſmit them to other ſocieties (either to get information on the ſubject, or for any other reaſon) it was to ſend them to the committee under whoſe immediate direction it might be.

Strange members were admitted to the meetings, (or, as they termed it, "*to the honors of the ſitting,*") on producing their credentials; but the ſecretaries made no returns in their preſence.

A teſt was taken by every candidate previous to his admiſſion, in a ſeparate room, in preſence of his two ſponſors, and of a member delegated by the Maſter for that purpoſe. The teſt was declared to be "*a ſocial and ſacred compact*," and was in the words following: "I *A. B.* "do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavor-"ing to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen "of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſe-"vere in my endeavors to obtain an equal, full, and ade-"quate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland. I do "farther declare, that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor "puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirect-"ly to inform or give evidence againſt any member or "members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or ex-"preſſion of theirs done or made collectively or individ-"ually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit "of this obligation."—*(Ibid. No. II.)*

Dublin, Belfaſt, and Newry, were now become the head-quarters of the new conſpiracy. The latter town even enjoyed the excluſive privilege of printing the conſtitutions of the aſſociation, till by a decree of the 7th December 1796, it was reſolved, that they ſhould be printed in three different parts of the Kingdom for *conveniency's*

ſake. A delegate was alſo deputed from thence into the county of Cavan and the province of Leinſter, where he founded a number of ſocieties. The whole county of Antrim was ſoon in a ferment; its inhabitants were diſſenters, whoſe religious tenets bordered on democracy.—The new-fangled Rights of Man began to be the favorite theme of all the diſcontented in Europe; Paine's Works were profuſely diſtributed among the Iriſh; publications of all ſorts and ſizes were circulated, holding out "*Igno-*" *rance* as the demon of diſcord—*Union*, as power, wis-" dom, and the road to liberty," and teaching the riſing brotherhood "that a more unjuſt conſtitution could not "be deviſed, than that which condemned the natives of a "country to perpetual ſervitude under the arbitrary do-"minion of ſlaves and ſtrangers;—that the firſt and in-"diſpenſable condition of the laws in a free ſtate is, the "aſſent of thoſe whoſe obedience they require—that the "will of the nation muſt be declared.—Away from us "(cries the Hierophant) and from our children thoſe pu-"erile antipathies ſo unworthy the *manhood* of nations, "which inſulate man as well as countries, and drive the "citizen back to the ſavage." No longer ſhall man confine his attention to ſome few fragments of the temple of Liberty. In future, "the ample earth is to be its area, "and the arch of heaven its dome."—(*Ibid No: V.*)—The means of accompliſhing theſe great things were the union of the whole people; and England, Scotland, and Ireland, were ſimultaneouſly to raiſe their voice. In ſhort, the clergy, gentry, and government, were held out as the real oppreſſors of the people; and thus were all the principles of anarchy and deſtruction of property to be infuſed into that ſame people. Clubs and meetings were held under various denominations; the Defenders were invited to unite and make a common cauſe; and the County Committees were particularly entruſted with the care of making an union between the Orange Men and the Catholics, though great precaution was to be obſerved in ſpeaking of the latter, leſt the Proteſtants ſhould take alarm. Union among themſelves and diſaffection to government was to conſtitute their whole ſtrength. It was feared that the Catholic Clergy would impede their ſiniſter deſigns; reports were ſpread, "that the titular Biſhops had been "ſummoned before the Privy Council, and that they had "received a bribe of five hundred guineas; that they

" were to ſummon all their Prieſts, and command them " to do all in their power to diſcover ſuch of their flock " as were United Iriſhmen, or had any connection with " ſuch."—*(Ibid No. II).*—In thoſe parts where the whole population was Catholic, hand-bills were diſtributed, purporting to be the Conſtitution of the Orange Men, which was death and deſtruction to every Catholic; for, if the common people could be once ſtirred up to rebellion, it was eaſy to turn their minds againſt government as the centre of the Orange union (and what great weight muſt this aſſertion have lately acquired, when that badge was worn by perſons whoſe duty it is to be ever above party prejudice!) while, as in the county of Armagh, which had been the ſcene of much ſtrife between the contending parties, the Sect ſucceeded in uniting and leaguing them in one common cauſe againſt thoſe who were held out as the oppreſſors of the ſtate.

The chain of correſpondence once perfectly eſtabliſhed, communications were opened with England and Scotland, and negociations carried on with the French during the laſt ſix months of 1795; and in April 1796 the outlines of a Treaty with France was drawn up by the National Committee, and tranſmitted to the French Directory.—In the mean time the Sect continued to propagate its principles and enroll recruits, and on the 8th of November all the aſſociations received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to riſe, and to procure arms and ammunition, as the French were *immediately expected.*

On the 24th of December the French really did make their appearance at Bantry; and, ſtrange to ſay, they were not ſeconded in their attempts by the people, who univerſally roſe in the South to oppoſe their invaders; but this is accounted for in a ſtill more extraordinary manner. The Executive had received news, that the French had deferred their expedition till ſpring; this circumſtance threw them " off their guard, and in conſequence of it " no meaſures were taken to prepare the people for the " reception of the French army. *The people were left to* " *themſelves.*" I hope in God that this avowal, made by one of their intended Governors, may prove a wholeſome leſſon to that ſame people, and encourage them to follow the loyal and genuine dictates of their hearts.—*(Ibidem, No. XXXI).*

In future, the buſineſs that will chiefly occupy the

Committees will be reports on men, arms, and money, which latter article appears to have been a ſubject of great contention. Each degree thought itſelf intitled to diſpoſe of at leaſt a part of their funds; and ſuch had been the law originally; but the High Superiors found it neceſſary to declare, that no Committee below the County ſhould be empowered to diſpoſe of the funds. Soon after this power was confined to the Provincial, and ultimately one of the Executive Directors always attended at the Provincial Committee to carry away with him to the National Committee whatever contributions had been levied on the brotherhood. The jealouſy of the brotherhood obliged the National Committee at one time to iſſue a proclamation, declaring that not "*one penny of their money had been expended any other way than that it was intended for.*" The vigilance of Government greatly contributed to augment the expenſes of the Sect, as many of the members were taken up and brought to trial. Theſe were defended at the expenſe of the brotherhood. A regular Committee for the defence of priſoners travelled the circuits; and the eminent talents of Mr. Curran (employed at a great expenſe) will ever ſtand a voucher that juſtice was done the priſoners wherever he was preſent. Large ſums were ſubſcribed by all claſſes, and the duped ariſtocrats (or, as one of the ſecretaries ſtyles them, the *Araſtorricks*) contributed at one ſingle ſubſcription, in the county of Antrim, 374l. At the ſpring aſſizes of 1797, held in the county of Down, 750l. were expended, and a ſafe conveyance had been procured to the priſoners that were confined in the jail of that county.—This, however, was not the only means of defence deviſed; for it was given as the opinion of a County Committee, "that if there is any United Iriſhmen on the jury that will commit any of the priſoners that is confined for being United Iriſhmen, *ought to loſe their exiſtence.*" The expenſes became ſo heavy at length, from buying arms and ſupporting and defending priſoners, that a lottery was ſet on foot; but what reader would ſuſpect (as was really the fact) that this meaſure was objected to, on the plea that it *encouraged the immorality of the people?*

To return to the new military organization of the Sect. It was ordered, that every Baronial Committee ſhould form its three individual ſocieties into a company of one

hundred men, chooſing one captain, two lieutenants, and five ſergeants; total 108. The reader has already ſeen how exactly the correſponding ſcale coincided with Weiſhaupt's Illuminiſm; but when the military formation began to take effect, and the numbers increaſed beyond all expectation, it was deemed neceſſary to extend and change certain parts of this ſcale. Greater danger attending the taking of arms, the individual ſocieties began to ſplit as ſoon as their numbers amounted to twelve. Theſe were to be near neighbors, the better to watch over each other's actions and to enſure ſecrecy. The ſecretaries alone were to form the higher committees. They were the bearers of all orders from the higher to the lower degrees; they reported the progreſs made by, and the views of, the Sect, in as much as it was thought neceſſary to let them into the ſecret; for we find that even the County Committees were not in the ſecret as to the nature of the engagements entered into with the French. What unhappy deluded people then were the lower aſſociators, who were informed of nothing, but were to be the mere agents of rebellion and murder, and were hurried on into this abyſs of horrors by a few political libertines who graſped at dominion, and wiſhed to wade to the helm of the ſtate through the blood of their countrymen! Nevertheleſs every petty piece of information that was tranſmitted to the lower degrees was ſtyled *a Report to their Conſtituents.*

According to the new ſcale it was ordained, that TEN *Individual Societies* ſhould be under the direction of one *Baronial Committee*; TEN *Baronials* to one *upper Baronial*; and in large towns TEN *upper Baronials* to one *Diſtrict.* But as ſoon as a County contained four or more Diſtrict Committees, the County Committee was created. When committees had been appointed in two counties, the Provincial Committee was formed of two delegates from each, and the National Committee (or the Executive) of five delegates from each of the four Provincial Committees, though the National Committee was formed as ſoon as two Provincial Committees had been elected. A part of this Executive was ſtationary in each province; and it appears that Dublin, Cork, and Galway, were their reſidence in three provinces; but with reſpect to Ulſter, it does not appear whether Belfaſt, Armagh, or Newry, could claim the honor. From this new

formation, each upper Baronial will be found to contain a regiment.—*(Ibid. XXIV.)*

One Individual Society		12 Men.
One Baronial	10	120
One upper Baronial	10	1200

The captains elected the colonels, and the latter propoſed three perſons, one of whom was created adjutant-general by the national committee. It may not be improper here to remark the care with which theſe higher conſpirators ſought to preſerve their authority in their own hands, even in caſe of a revolution; for when there was a queſtion afterward of forming a *National Aſſembly*, it was reſolved that each of the thirty-two counties ſhould depute one perſon to be added to the Executive, all lower ſocieties being caſt out of the balance, and only to be conſidered as agents, who, after having been robbed of every moral and civil virtue, were to raiſe on high their ſanguinary chiefs and ſeducers, glutted with the blood of their lawful governors.

Here we ſee the amazing progreſs made, and the great power acquired ſince the 9th of November, 1791. Every thing now took a ſerious and military turn. The new-elected officers *were inſtructed to ſtudy tactics* and acquire every ſpecies of military information with reſpect to roads, magazines, mills, &c. Plans were deviſed for the ſupport of the wives and children "*during the exertions of the Bro-*" *therhood in the field.*" Every thing that could thwart government was diſcuſſed and reſolved. The conſumption of ſpirits was prohibited, in order to hurt the exciſe; bank-notes were cried down; and even the buying of quit-rents was expreſsly forbidden. In the mean time the High Superiors ſaw that this armed mob could not be competent of themſelves to cope with the king's troops; a means of debauching the latter from their allegiance was therefore contrived. Hand-bills were privily circulated, holding out their officers "as tyrants that had re-" belled againſt *the rights of man*, and whoſe orders were "damnable;" bills, in ſhort of the moſt inflammatory nature were diſperſed among the military by the townspeople, who were charged with the ſeduction of the troops of their garriſon. They ſwore in ſome few of the ſoldiers; theſe ſwore others; and when their number was ſufficient, ſocieties was formed in the regiments. Here again

we find the *ſign and word*, which were changed every month; the catechiſm for recognizing a true brother; and the oath, which was, "to be true to the French Repub-"lic, and to take the life of any man who would attempt "to diſcover." . . .—The rule for reckoning on friends among the military was, "that in caſe the perſon ſworn "is an United Iriſhman, and has not taken any active ſteps "againſt the body or any of its members, *out of the line* "*of his profeſſion*, he was to be deemed ſtill the Friend of "the United Iriſhmen."—*(Ibid. No. XIV.)*—The better to propagate the ſyſtem, it was held out to the military, "that when the French ſhould come, the ſoldiers "were to be ſuch as them; that *there were to be no* "*rich, but* ALL EQUALITY; and that there was no uſe "in their going againſt the French, becauſe when all the "Powers were againſt them, they could make no hand "of them."—They were alſo tampered with reſpecting their pay. When all this had ſufficiently ſucceeded, "a "ſoldier in each company was appointed to make a re-"turn of united men in his reſpective company, while "two of the ſteadieſt men," from each regiment, "were "employed to carry theſe returns" to the towns-people. Theſe, in return, informed them of the progreſs made by the Sect in Ireland, and of its numbers on board the *Engliſh* and *French* fleet; as alſo of all kinds of news from the latter. A plan was ſettled, "that upon a ſignal given, "(and this was ſetting fire to a houſe, or ſome ſuch to-"ken,) if it was by day-light, the men ſhould turn out "of the ranks; and if it was by night, and it could be ſo "contrived, an United Iriſhman ſhould be ſentry at the "gate, who was to ſell the barracks; and ſuch United "Iriſhmen as were within the barracks were to exert "themſelves in ſeizing ſuch arms and ammunition within "as they could get.—If there were but thirty friends in "the barracks, by having them diſperſed up and down in "the rooms, when the attack was to be made, they could "give the arms to the towns-people."—If any part of the garriſon were not to be depended upon, the cannons ſeized were to be pointed on the barracks, or whole corps were to be cut off for refuſing to coaleſce with them.—Some of the brotherhood even went ſo far as to attempt to ſet fire to the ſtores; but the burning coals were luckily diſcovered by a dragoon. Such was the plan for garriſons and towns; the mode of proceeding in camp is ex-

emplified in that of Bandon: "On the 1st of July, 1797, "the country was to be set on fire on both ends, and in "the middle; and then, with what friends Mr. O'Brien, "near Bandon, could send them, and what friends they "had in camp, about Four Hundred, they intended first "taking the cannon, and then taking the bell-tents, with "the small arms, which they would give to the country "people sent by Mr. O'Brien, and then *go put General "Coote and as many officers as they could to death*, and "retreat to Bantry, take possession of the battery, and "keep it, if possible, till the French would land." It appeared that, at a future time, when a rising was also to have taken place, that the soldiers *were to put all their officers to death, and the yeomanry also if they opposed them.* In return for so signal a service, the town of Skibbereen was to be given up *to the soldiers for pillage during eight hours.—(Ibid. XXIX.)* Thus do we see the gradual progress of this horrid association toward its cruel and sanguinary object—THE GREAT END!!—The committees in future proceed with the greatest eagerness to prepare every thing that can involve their country in rebellion and bloodshed. After the example of the bloody Marat, and according to the true principles of the Sect, a paper, entitled, the UNION STAR, was published at Belfast, printed only on one side, so that it could be pasted on the walls of the streets.—Let this paper describe itself:—"As the Union "Star is an official paper (of the Brotherhood) the mana-"gers promise the public that no characters shall be ha-"zarded but such as are denounced by authority, as be-"ing the partners and creatures of Pitt and his sanguina-"ry journeyman Luttrell." (that is to say, Lord Car-"hampton, the commander in chief.) "The Star offers to "public justice the following detestable traitors, as spies "and perjured informers. Perhaps *some arm more lucky* "than the rest may reach their hearts, and free the world "from bondage." Then was given a list of proscriptions, exactly such as Marat gave when he styled himself the *political calculator*, because, when four men had been torn to pieces by the demoniacs of Paris, he stated, that subtracting 4 from 30,000 there still remained 29,996 aristocrats to fall beneath the national vengeance. Now this official writer, in his frantic rage, thus addresses his Sovereign: "Let the indignation of man be raised against the "impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of reign-

" ing by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world " he can do no wrong.—Oh, man! or rather leſs,—Oh " king! will the ſmothered groans of my countrymen, " who, in thy name, fill the innumerable dungeons you " have made, for *aſſerting the rights of man*, be conſid- " ered no wrongs?—Go, impious blaſphemer! and your " hypocritical ſocerers, *to the fate* PHILOSOPHY, Juſtice, " and LIBERTY conſigns thee. 'Tis inevitable, thy im- " poſitions are detected; thy kind have been brought to " juſtice. The firſt poſſeſſor of thy trade has recently bled " for the crimes of the craft.—We appeal to thy noble " and venerated name, O Brutus! who bravely aſſaſſin- " ated the tyrant of your country amidſt his cohorts, and " in the preſence of his penſioned ſenate."—*(XXVII.)*

——Theſe are literal extracts from this paper; and no *Knight Kadoſch* of Maſonry, nor *Man-king* of Illumin- iſm could hold more violent language.—Another paper, nearly as wild, called THE PRESS, was publiſhed by Mr. Arthur O'Conner, with a ſimilar view of inflaming the minds of the people. The violence of his own productions may be preſumed from the ſentence he paſſes on all the moſt violent papers of England in his letter to his Brother.— " We (Burdett and himſelf) ordered you the COURIER; " as to the morning papers they *are mere lumber* in your " office; ſo we did not ſend you more than the COURIER, " as in the buſineſs of the Preſs we found it uſeleſs to have " any other."—*(Trials at Maidſtone.)*

The Committees continued to receive daily reports of the motions and determinations of their allies, the French; of their friends in England and in Scotland; and of the immenſe progreſs that the Sect was making. November, 1796, they are informed, " that *four new* Societies are " organized *in Scotland*, and that the County of Kerry " Militia required one hundred conſtitutions for their own " uſe."—In April, 1797, " that their numbers are im- " menſe in Leinſter, though *unacquainted* with the ſyſ- " tem of organization. In Ulſter there were 116,844 men " organized."*

* The reſolutions entered into by the united ſocieties of Donaghadee and its vicinity (and ſeized on the 14th of April, 1797) are too explicit to be omitted here. They reſolved, that " all power is radically in the people;" that " at the preſent " criſis the *people being united* ſhould arm, chuſe their officers, " and take a firſt, ſecond, and third requiſition of ſuch as are

In May, a new ſcene opens itſelf, which unfortunately ſhews us, that the Iriſh Brotherhood were no ſtrangers to deliberate aſſaſſination.—Between the hours of eight and nine of a Sunday morning, the 7th of May, 1797, a man of the name of James Dunn (a ſmith and farrier, who had been in Lord Carhampton's ſervice for the ſpace of fifteen years, and lived in a houſe at his lordſhip's parkgate) preſented himſelf at a *Baronial Committee*, held in a public-houſe, Strand-ſtreet, Dublin. Maurice Dunn, the keeper of the houſe, was his ſponſor, and "would engage his life for him that he was *up* or *ſtraight*." Hereupon the ſigns of the Brotherhood were put to him; and having, by his anſwers, proved that he was a true and accepted Brother, the chairman took the chair. James Dunn then ſubmitted to the Society, "that he and a few more "friends were thinking of *doing out* (ſhooting) Carhampton, becauſe he was a great hindrance to matters getting forward." This news electrified the whole committee with joy.—One exclaimed, "It is *great* news."—"It is glorious news," cried another: "It is the beſt "news we have heard yet," ſaid a third: and a fourth declared, that "it would do more for the cauſe than had "ever been done before." Dunn then mentioned a narrow part of the road leading to Luttrelſtown, and a ſtone wall from whence he might have a *ſlap* at Lord Carhampton, who, he ſaid, was *damned wary*, and always carried piſtols with him; but one good blunderbuſs would do as much as ten piſtols. He then declared that four friends, John Broderick, Peter Reilly, Patrick Carty, and Ed. Martin, had engaged to join him; on which the Committee named ſeven of their members to deliberate on ſo important a buſineſs, and ordered them to meet at ſeven

"able to go forth to war in *defence of their rights* as men;" that "if any prove hoſtile to liberty, their eſtates or property "ſhall be confiſcated, and converted to the national fund."—All enemies to the cauſe were to be tried by a jury, "according to the law *then exiſting*;" and a *Revolutionary Committee* was to be eſtabliſhed. It is true, that this patriotic zeal was condemned by the Provincial Committee as *premature*; but it is to be remembered, that the High Superiors of the Sect feared nothing but a premature inſurrection; "for (ſay they), by that "means Government would have it in their power to put us "down, never to riſe, at leaſt for a century; and likewiſe we "have paid a great deal of money to the people in gaol, and "it will take a large ſum of money to aſſiſt them all winter." —*(Appendix No. II).*

o'clock the ſame evening, when Dunn and his companions were to attend. The cuſtomary oath of ſecrecy was taken by all preſent, to the number of 17; they then parted, after giving as the new word "A GOOD ACT."—At ſeven in the evening the delegated members met, one excepted. The oath of ſecrecy having been adminiſtered to the four friends, they were introduced. Thomas Byrne then ſaid, "I ſuppoſe thoſe are *friends* and *gentlemen*;—"I ſuppoſe we all underſtand what we are met about?"—"If they were not," anſwered Dunn, "I would not "bring them here."—"We know the buſineſs we are "met about (ſays Byrne); let us proceed." Various plans were then propoſed for *doing* his Lordſhip *out*.—Dunn repeated his; Byrne would have at leaſt a party of nine mounted; but John Ferral, with ſanguinary zeal, inſiſted that every perſon preſent ſhould partake of the foul deed; and his opinion was adopted. Another reſolution propoſed by Byrne then paſſed: "That three at leaſt ſhould go "out diſguiſed with looſe coats and blunderbuſſes; and "the reſt, as yeoman cavalry, to be armed with piſtols."——The plan of execution was, that "thoſe with blun-"derbuſſes were to come at the back of the carriage and "to fire in; thoſe with the piſtols were then to ride on, "and fire in at the windows, leſt the fire from behind "ſhould not have taken effect; and as they paſſed the "*footman* and *poſtillion* they were alſo to diſpatch them; "they were then to recharge their pieces, ride on in a "body towards Dublin, and keep together, ſo as to ſe-"cure their retreat." A new oath was then taken, "to "be ſtaunch and ſteady, and true to one another in the "buſineſs."—When the book came to John Ferral, he enthuſiaſtically exclaimed, "If this buſineſs miſſes, if pro-"viſion be made for my family, I will undertake to *do* "him in the ſtreets." Several meetings were afterwards held on the ſubject; for never was a murder more deliberately planned.—Money being neceſſary for procuring arms, the chairman of the committee applied to the Baronial Secretary, who referred him to the Treaſurer; and the Sunday after (May 14) James Dunn and Patrick Carty were arreſted in the Phœnix-Park. Carty had, together with his father (a Chelſea penſioner) been a conſtant laborer on Lord Carhampton's demeſne, and had a houſe rent-free. The day after the arreſt Lord Carhampton viſited Dunn in priſon, in the hope that he would diſcover

what had become of the three other aſſaſſins, but he received no ſatisfactory anſwer. On his Lordſhip expreſſing his ſurprize that the priſoner ſhould be capable of ſo atrocious a deed, the aſſaſſin anſwered, that "he thought "it was *a good act*; that he had no perſonal diſlike to his "Lordſhip, and would never execute *it alone*, but with "his party; that he had never ſuffered any injury from "him; but that he was ſworn to execute it, and if he were "out of that (the priſon) he would execute it if he could." As to the murdering the poor innocent poſtillion, "it "was to do the thing completely."—After this are we to be ſurprized at the horrid murders that have taken place. Lord Carhampton, ſome time after the arreſt of the ſon, had an interview with Carty, the father, and told him, "that if his ſon would give examinations, he was inclined "to let him do ſo; and in that caſe he thought his life "might be ſaved; and he deſired the father would tell the "ſon ſo."—The father ſaid, "he was apprehenſive, that "if his ſon gave examinations, *he would be murdered.*" I have dwelt on this example, as it was the ſubject of a trial, in which the Attorney-General proſecuted for the crown, and four counſel attended on the part of the priſoner, Mr. Curran, Mr. M'Nally, Mr. Greene, and Mr. Emmett, who had himſelf been a member of the Executive Directory from January to the beginning of May.—Such able counſel, and ſo public a trial, will ever ſtamp this as an authentic document.—*(See Report of the Trials of Carty and Dunn, publiſhed by Ridgeway.)*

In June, the captains were informed, that the national committee had been ſitting fifteen days; but as only ten thouſand men of the County of Antrim would riſe, the buſineſs was retarded. The colonels of the County of Down were unanimous for the riſing. In July their hopes were buoyed up by an intimation that 75,000 men were embarked at the Texel for Ireland; but theſe were irreparably broken by the immortal Duncan on the 11th of October.

In Auguſt they received news, that a number of ſocieties had been *formed in North America*, and that theſe had tranſmitted 211 dollars to their Brethren in Ireland.—In October a perſon, juſt arrived from Scotland, attended at the county meeting, held at Down Patrick, and "*ſhewed* "*a Scotch conſtitution, which was*, WORD FOR WORD, "*the ſame as the Iriſh; only that the words* NORTH

" BRITONS *were put in the place of* IRISHMEN." November 14th, inquiries were made of the delegates of the Province of Ulſter, " whether they thought that they " could diſarm the military within themſelves; and they " all ſaid that they could, except Armagh."—(*Appendix, No. XIV.*)—On the 28th of December, " One conſti- " tution was voted to a member, to be given to part of " *a ſhip's company* lying in Belfaſt Lough, for the propa- " gation of the general principle."——At the Provincial Meeting for Ulſter, held the 1ſt of February, 1798, it was reported, that " three delegates (of whom the unfor- " tunate Quigley, ſince executed at Maidſtone, was one) " had juſt arrived from France; that the French were go- " ing on with the expedition; and that it was in a great- " er ſtate of forwardneſs than was expected; but what " was moſt flattering, was, that *three delegates had been* " *ſent from the* UNITED BRITONS *to the Iriſh National* " *Committee; and that from that very moment they were* " *to conſider* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND, as " one people acting for one common cauſe: There were " Legiſlators now choſen from the three kingdoms to act " as an executive for the whole."—They were alſo informed, that Quigley and one Arthur Mac Mahon, of Hollywood, had been the two principal perſons who *during the preceding ſummer, had opened the communication with the United Britons—(Ibid.)* The delegates from England brought an addreſs from the United Britons to the United Iriſh. In high flown and patriotic language, the *United Britons* informed their FELLOW MEN, that " various political ſocieties had been inſtituted for the pur- " poſe of REFORM.—But they had vaniſhed, or diſcon- " tinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPOND- " ING *Society*, and other ſocieties in union with it, had " riſen upon their ruins." That England was never without friends to ſubſtantial Liberty; but that the flame of Liberty had been for a long time ſmothered, " till the " French revolution again fanned its dying embers into a " glow, which, they hoped and truſted, would never be " extinguiſhed.—Our numbers (ſay they) are immenſe, " our influence ſtill more conſiderable, and *our ſentiments* " *accord with yours.* We are unthinned by the tyranny " of the law or of the ſword.—Our delegate is entruſted " to lay before you our proceedings." And they conclude, " With beſt wiſhes for the amelioration of the condition

" of man, and hopes that your exertions and virtues, aid-
" ed by an united people, will ſpeedily emancipate your
" country:—We remain, in bonds of Brotherhood and
" Union,

" Yours fraternally."

Friday, Jan. 5, 1798.

(Seal.)

It appears on the evidence of John Hughes, *(Lords, No. I.)* a printer of Belfaſt, that the delegate was a Mr. *Bonham*, who was accompanied by Citizen *Baily* and the *younger Binns*. The latter, who was introduced to Hughes by Quigley, ſaid that he had diſtributed moſt of the printed addreſſes, and deſired to have an edition of them printed. Accordingly a thouſand were printed, and three guineas paid for them by a perſon of Belfaſt.

During this month a regular military committee was appointed by the Executive, " to conſider and digeſt ſuch " plans, and direct the military force in ſuch manner, as " might be neceſſary in caſe of inſurrection; and in caſe " of invaſion to co-operate with the French."

On the 27th of February it was reported, that the Aſſociation had at that time fourteen delegates in France, and that there had *been held in London a meeting of all the delegates of England and Scotland.* In March, the brotherhood of the Province of Leinſter ſuſtained a conſiderable ſhock, by the arreſt of ſome of its leading members; but on the 25th of the ſame month it appears, that " the Provincial Committee of Leinſter had perfectly re-
" covered from the ſhock; they (the delegates of Leins-
" ter) were only four days from the time they were tak-
" en before they had the whole province in a complete
" ſtate of organization; the Government had alſo taken
" three of the Executive, but there were three appointed
" in their place the very evening after they were taken." How truly does this demonſtrate Weiſhaupt's aſſertion, that when he once has properly organized his bands, he will bid defiance to all his opponents.

Another principle of that prototype of rebellion had, unfortunately, been too well underſtood by the founders of the Iriſh brotherhood, and that was to make themſelves maſters of the education of youth. Many ſchoolmaſters (as I have been credibly informed) have ſhown themſelves extremely active in the whole courſe of this unfor-

tunate affair. The very firſt man who was tried and executed in Ireland, for ſwearing in the deluded Iriſh *to be true to the French*, was a ſchoolmaſter called Laurence O'Connor.—The following are extracts from his papers, and proved on his trial: "I, *A. B.* do ſwear in the preſence of Almighty God, that *I will be true to the preſent United States of France and Ireland, and every other Kingdom in Chriſtianity*, without its being hurtful to ſoul or body, as long as they prove ſo to me.—And that *I will not come as evidence* againſt any of my brethren or committees, in any court or place whatſoever, excepting in court-martial, under penalty of being excluded, *or death without mercy*.—All brothers to live lovingly and harmoniouſly, and quarrellous to be excluded, as the Committee thinks proper."

"Theſe articles are according to the Foreign United States of France and Ireland, by order of our committee of L. G. No. 16."

A ſecond paper was in theſe words: "*The bearer, A. B.* was initiated into our ſublime degree of L. L. L. by me C. D."

There was alſo found on the priſoner three regular certificates, one of *Free Maſons*, a ſecond of *Royal Arch*, and a third of *Knights Templars*, ſhowing that O'Connor was of theſe Orders. One of the Counſel attempted to explain away the oath, repreſenting it as "the mere rhapſody of a warm imagination, uſed to exerciſe itſelf on Maſonic myſteries;" he repreſented to the jury, that "it would be a cruel verdict indeed that would convict a man of high treaſon, *merely for uſing a few cabaliſtical words and ſymbols*."—I will venture to affirm, that ſhould the learned counſel ever chance to peruſe the *Memoirs of Jacobiniſm*, he will have a clearer inſight into the Cauſe he had to defend, than when at Naas at the adjournment of the ſummer aſſizes in 1795.—*(See his Trial.)*

What a melancholy ſcene did the ſeat of ſcience (I mean the Univerſity of Dublin) preſent, when on the 19th, 20th, and 21ſt of April, 1798, it appeared on the cleareſt evidence that a body of United Iriſhmen had organized themſelves within the walls of the College! had conſulted about providing themſelves with arms, and had elected officers!—Nineteen ſtudents were expelled, and ſome other perſons cenſured.—*(Viſitation held by Lord Clare.)*

In the mean time open rebellion continued its progreſs;

and on the 1ſt of April it is reported to a committee, that a letter had been received "from Bartholemew Teeling "(executed in September 1798, being taking in arms with "the French in their invaſion at Killala) who was one "of the delegates in France, ſtating, that the French "troops would moſt certainly be on board by the middle "of this month. The troops from Breſt and that neigh-"borhood were determined to try to evade the Britiſh "fleet, and to land in Ireland; of courſe the Britiſh fleet "would follow them; and while thus drawn off, all the "other troops embarked at other ports would make a "deſcent on England. Whatever might reſult from this "attempt, it was the fixed determination of the National "Committee, in caſe the French ſhould be fruſtrated, "*that the brotherhood ſhould of themſelves make a riſing.*" The citizens of Dublin, it was ſuppoſed, with the aſ-"ſiſtance of the army, could ſeize the capital at any mo-"ment." Unfortunately, the principles of the Sect had made ſuch a progreſs, that as early as February the returns declared the number of the brotherhood to amount in Ulſter to 110,990, in Munſter to 100,634, and in Leinſter to 08,272; and out of 8,000 military in Dublin alone, it was ſtated that 3,800 would act againſt Government. The Executive proceeded to carry their determination into execution. Dublin, Chapel-izod, the camp and the government, were to be ſeized on at one and the ſame time; and the ſignal was to be given to the whole country, by the burning of the mail coaches. But, in order to get poſſeſſion of the camp at Lehaunſtown, the Meſſrs. Sheares applied to Captain Armſtrong, who, true to his duty (and happily for his country), laid open the whole of the plan to his commanding officer at whoſe expreſs deſire he continued to commune with the conſpirators. He was queſtioned by them as to the ſtrong and weak ſides of the camp; and a Mr. Lawleſs (a ſurgeon), with the natural humanity of his Sect, obſerved, that "the trees on the right of the camp would be very convenient for hanging people." At length it was agreed, between the Meſſrs. Sheares (John was a member of the Executive) and Captain Armſtrong, that the latter ſhould "erect a ſtandard upon the night to be fixed upon for "the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by "all whom he had previouſly known to be United Iriſh-"men; *that no perſon was to be ſpared*; and they were

" not to be given the option of joining at the time of the " attack."

The camp once carried, and Dublin fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, we may judge of the uſe they meant to make of their victory, by the following paſſages of a proclamation found in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Henry Sheares, and in the hand-writing of John Sheares, the member of the Executive:

" Iriſhmen! your country is free, and you are about " to be avenged. That vile government, which has ſo " long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more. Some " of *its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the* " *forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands.*— " Ariſe then, *United* Sons of Ireland! Riſe like a great " and powerful people, determined to live free or die!— " Arm yourſelves *by every means* in your power, and " *ruſh like lions on your foes*—In the cauſe of Liberty, " inaction is cowardice, and the coward *ſhall forfeit the* " *property* he has not the courage to protect: let his arms " be ſeized, and transferred to thoſe gallant ſpirits who " want and will uſe them. Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by " *that eternal juſtice*, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the " brave patriot who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, " and the family of him who has fallen or ſhall fall here- " after in it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful na- " tion an ample recompenſe out of that property which " the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands. " *But we likewiſe ſwear, to puniſh robbery with death* " *and infamy!!!*

" As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn their " ſwords againſt their native country, *the national ven-* " *geance awaits them:* let them find *no quarter*, unleſs " they ſhall prove their repentance by *ſpeedily deſert-* " *ing.*—&c. &c.

" Many military feel the love of liberty glow within " their breaſts, and have joined the national ſtandard. " Receive with open arms ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glori- " ous an example. But for the wretch who turns his ſword " againſt his native country, *let the national vengeance* " *be viſited on him; let him find no quarter.*"—(*Trial of Meſſrs. Sheares.*

The foregoing is more than ſufficient to ſhow the nature of this aſſociation. My object has not been to write the hiſtory of the late rebellion, but merely to ſhow that

its *object*, *end*, and *means*, were entirely similar to that of the infernal Sect described in the Memoirs that have just been laid before the English reader. May my countrymen profit of this awful example in Ireland, and guard against the insidious progress of that Sect in Great Britain!

GREAT BRITAIN.

When we turn our eyes toward Great Britain, associations of a similar tendency appear; under a great diversity of names indeed, but all actuated by a similar spirit. Their first object was, to captivate the minds of the people by means of "lectures delivered on political subjects, calculated by their very extravagance to catch "the attention of the audience; and in the course of them "every topic was employed that could inflame their "minds, alienate them from the laws and constitution of "their country, and habituate them to principles of sedition and rebellion. The most violent publications "to the same effect were secretly but generally circulated "in hand-bills, both in the metropolis and in the remote "parts of the country. Every point that could excite "discontent, according to the pursuits, interests, or prejudices, of different classes, has been successively dwelt "on, and always in such a manner as to connect it with "the leading design. The attempt to accomplish this "End has appeared in the shape even of play-bills and "songs; seditious toasts, and a studied selection of the "tunes which have been most in use in France since the "Revolution, have been applied to the same purpose, of "endeavoring to render deliberate incitements to every "species of treason familiar to the minds of the people." (*Eng.* 2d *Report*, p. 20.)—"*In the same manner* (say "the conspirators) *that a farmer may be roused by the "mention of tythes, the shoe-makers may by the excessive "dearness of leather, the inn-keeper by the numerous and "unnecessary standing army, and* ALL *by a temperate "and dispassionate relation of the immense number of sinecure places and useless offices*, in which the corrupt and "prostitute favorites, agents, &c. of the Rich and Great "riot in the spoils and plunder wrested from the husbandman, mechanic, &c.—(*Ap.* C. p. 28.)

The association that took the lead was, THE SOCIETY

FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, which on the 23d of March, 1791, voted thanks to Thomas Paine for his work on the Rights of Man.—*(Ibid* 21.*)* Other ſocieties, ſuch as thoſe of Sheffield, Mancheſter, &c. paſſed ſimilar votes for his having demonſtrated *the rights of man* in a manner *ſo clear and convincing*. In May, 1792, this ſociety reſolved, that a communication ſhould be opened with the *Jacobin Club of Paris*; and an addreſs to that club was tranſmitted, ſigned by the chairman. An addreſs was alſo voted to the National Convention on the 9th of November, 1792, in conſequence of the attack of the 10th of Auguſt on the French Monarch, ſtyling the Convention "*ſervants of the ſovereign people, and bene-* "*factors of mankind. The benefits* (they ſay) *will in part* "*be ours*, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the "reward of your perſeverance; it is the prize of virtue." —*(Ibid* 24.*)*

Another aſſociation, calling itſelf THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, was inſtituted in January, 1792. It immediately formed a cloſe connection with the Society for Conſtitutional Information; on the 12th October, 1792, it framed an addreſs to the French Convention; the deputies who preſented it, "after pointing out their "wiſhes to effect in this country a revolution ſimilar to "that made in France, conſider the example of France as "having made *revolutions* eaſy; adding, that it would not "be extraordinary, if in a ſhort ſpace of time the French "ſhould ſend addreſſes of congratulation to a *National* "*Convention of England*; and the preſident in his anſwer "ſays, *the moment*, without doubt, approaches when the "French will bring congratulations to the *National Con-* "*vention of Great Britain.*"—*(Ibid.* 25.*)* The fraternal embrace and the honors of the ſitting were the natural recompenſe of ſuch patriotic declamation. The ſanguinary Barrere, St. André, and the inſolent Roland were declared honorary members, and the ſpeeches of the two former on the trial of Louis XVI. were entered on the books of the ſociety.

Various ſocieties were now formed in different parts of England, all correſponding with thoſe in London, as their centre. Reform in parliament, univerſal ſuffrage, and annual elections, were the objects held out to the over-credulous. Soon we find the *London Society for* CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION and the *London* COR-

RESPONDING SOCIETY in close connection with, and actually directing, similar societies at HERTFORD; at CAMBRIDGE; in NORFOLK, at *Norwich*; at LIECESTER; in WARWICKSHIRE, at *Coventry* and *Birmingham*; at NOTTINGHAM; in DERBYSHIRE, at *Derby* and *Belper*; in CHESHIRE, at *Stockport*; in LANCASHIRE, at *Liverpool* and *Manchester*; in YORKSHIRE, in the West-Riding, at *Sheffield*, *Leeds*, *Bradford*, *Halifax*, *Huddersfield*, and *Wakefield*; in NORTHUMBERLAND, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, &c. Associations were also formed at BRISTOL. With respect to SCOTLAND, *Edinburgh* appears to have been the central point for that country corresponding with London. In the interior of Scotland, and under its direction, we find many towns, such as *Leith*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, *Stirling*, *Kilsyth*, *Kyrkintulloch*, *Glasgow* (which also corresponded with London) *Paisley*, *Strathaven*, *Dalkeith*, &c. The same rules of proceeding, and for subdividing the societies, are to be traced again. But nothing can better illustrate the nature of these associations than that of Sheffield.

This association they tell us (Appendix D.) themselves, "originated in an assembly of *five or six mechanics*, who "by their meeting at some one of their houses, *and con-* "*versing about the enormous high price of provisions*; the "gross abuses this nation labors under from the unbound- "ed authority of the *Monopolisers* of all ranks, *from the* "KING *to the* PEASANT; the waste and lavish of the pub- "lic property by placemen, pensioners, luxury, and de- "bauchery, sources of the grievous burthens under which "the nation groans; together with the mock represent- "ation of the people;—these being the subjects of their "conversation, *they concluded*, that nothing but DARK- "NESS and IGNORANCE *in the people* could suffer the "rights of every freeman *to be* THUS *violated*." They then invited their neighbors to deliberate on this patriotic discovery; they re-printed an edition of 1600 copies of *Paine's Rights of Man*, and sold it at six-pence to enlighten their fellow-countrymen. They style themselves the Society for Constitutional Information, write up to London, on the 15th of January, 1792, to request the favor "of forming a connection with all the like soci- "eties in England, and especially with those or some of "them in London, the Thatched-house, the London-ta- "vern, or others, and humbly solicit their advice and as-

" ſiſtance in the accompliſhing thereof, *in order to form* " *our reſolves ſimilar to theirs*; becauſe, as we are actu- " ated by the SAME *cauſe and principle*, and *all* our in- " tereſts being *one*, *our ſentiments ought and muſt be the* " *ſame.*" In about four months after, they inform the London Society, that " not only their large and popu- " lous town, but *the whole neighborhood* for many *miles* " round about, have an attentive eye upon them; and that " moſt of the towns and villages were forming themſelves " into *ſimilar aſſociations, ſtrictly copying after us.*" They alſo declare their object to be, " a RADICAL REFORM *of* " *the Country* as ſoon as *prudence* and *diſcretion* would " permit, and eſtabliſhed on that ſyſtem which is conſiſt- " ent with the *rights of man.*" They requeſt that certain members of their aſſociation may be admitted to the London meeting, which now becomes the regulating committee, that " a more cloſe connection might be formed " and communication be maintained, " for the extenſion of " uſeful knowledge from *town to village*, and from village " to town, until the whole nation be ſufficiently *enlight-* " *ened* and *united in the ſame cauſe*, which cannot fail of " being the caſe wherever the moſt excellent works of " Thomas Paine find reception." Should any perſon wiſh to be convinced, that all theſe, as well as the Iriſh ſocieties, were formed on Weiſhaupt's correſponding ſcale, let him attend to the improvement which the Sheffield people were about to adopt at the end of the 4th month, and after this offspring of the diſcontented mechanics had correſponded with London: " It is certainly (they ſay) " the beſt way of managing large bodies, as in great and " populous towns; viz. dividing them into ſmall bodies " or meetings of ten perſons each, and thoſe ten to ap- " point a delegate. Ten of theſe delegates form another " meeting, and ſo on, delegating from one to another, till " at laſt they are reduced to a proper number for conſti- " tuting the *Committee* or GRAND COUNCIL." After this, it is really uſeleſs to trouble my reader with any thing more on the nature or principles of the ſocieties of Great Britain. We find ſubſcriptions carried on for the defence of the proſecution commenced againſt Thomas Paine. The Scotch Societies agree with thoſe of England to hold a Convention, which, tho' not general from England, met in October, 1793.—(Appendix F.)—A letter was there read from the four united ſocieties of Ire-

land. Citizens *Hamilton Rowan* and *Simon Butler* attended from Dublin, but *were not delegated*; however, the latter made a report to the convention on the ſtate of Ireland. *Margarot*, a London delegate, ſaid, "The ſo-"cieties in London are very numerous, though ſomewhat "fluctuating. In ſome parts of England whole towns "are reformers; Sheffield and its environs have 50,000. "In Norwich there are 30 ſocieties in one.—If we could "get a convention of England and Scotland called, we "might repreſent *ſix* or *ſeven hundred thouſand* males, "which is a majority of all the adults in the kingdom; "and miniſtry would not dare to refuſe us our rights." They had held *fourteen* ſittings, when the magiſtrates thought proper to put a ſtop to it and arreſt ſome of the members; others aped the conduct of the *tiers etat* at Verſailles, when ordered to diſperſe, and adjourned from place to place; happily, however, they did not ſucceed. All their forms, and even their modes of ſpeech, were ſervilely copied from the French. After the numerous adherents that they had ſeduced, it is natural to think that the teachers of the Sect thought it time *to bind the manſters* who dared oppoſe them; to effectuate this, pikes were forged in different parts of Great Britain. "A "plan (writes the ſecretary of the Sheffield ſociety, in "April, 1794) has been formed for carrying into effect "this neceſſary buſineſs (of arming). Pike-blades are "made with hoops for the ſhaft to fit the top ends; the "bottom end of the ſhafts ſhould be about an inch thick-"er, and fir is recommended for the ſhafts, ſelected by "perſons who are judges of wood. The blades and "hoops will be ſold at the rate of one ſhilling, properly "tempered and poliſhed. The money ſent with the or-"ders."—(2d *Report*, p. 2)—*The ſecretary of the Correſponding Society gave directions where the pikes might be procured* (page 5); thoſe who could procure muskets learned the uſe of them, exerciſing by candle-light, or under pretext of loyal aſſociations; that which aſſumed the name of Loyal Lambeth would admit none but thoſe who were members of the Correſponding Society, or who promiſed to become ſo; nor had this armed aſſociation been authoriſed by government. Meanwhile Scotland had made ſuch progreſs, that the brethren there not only began to arm with pikes, but alſo turned their mind towards acting! The plot was fortunately diſcovered. A ſheriff's

officer went to search the house of a *Mr. Watt*, for some goods which were supposed to have been secreted, as belonging to a bankrupt of the name of *Neilson*, and who has since commenced preacher in England. In this search he found some pikes; and in a second (made in the same week, on the 15th of May, 1794) many more were discovered in a closet. This gave rise to enquiries, and it was found that no less than 4000 pikes had been ordered for Perth, beside those wanted for Edinburgh. It was farther discovered, that this *Watt* was a member of the *Committee of Ways and Means* delegated from the remnants of the convention; that he had in this committee read a plan "For seizing on the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords "of Session, and the Lord Provost. A fire was to be "lighted at the Excise, and when the soldiers were com-"ing down, the people were to fall on them and seize the "Banks." As soon as this had succeeded, a proclamation was to be issued, "Desiring all farmers not to remove "their grain under pain of death, and all gentlemen not "to go three miles from their houses." This *grand plan* was communicated to the Societies by means of travelling adepts, who had a certificate authorizing them to call at the Societies. It was not signed, but seals were attached to the commission. The plan executed, and the "*Aristocrats seized*," couriers were to be sent to the country with the news. In *Watt*'s house were also found the types of the hand-bill contained in Appendix A. No. 1. and dated Dundee, April 12, 1794, which was distributed among the Fencibles, to stir them up to revolt.—The manner of distributing them is worthy of remark, as being *common to England* as well as to Scotland. *Downie*, who was also a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and who was convicted with *Watt*, after giving some to a person who was to distribute them, "desired him to throw the parcel on the floor; and if "any body asked him where he got it, he might say he "found it." A short time after, these hand-bills found their way to the soldiers in garrison at Dalkeith.—(*See the Trials of Watt and Downie, in August and September*, 1794.)

On the 12th of April, 1797, England witnessed the awful sight of its fleet in open insurrection. Here, as on land, we find oaths of secrecy and of union, delegates, and accord of system pervading the whole mutiny. At Ports-

mouth it was happily quelled, in a great degree, by the 20th of April; ſome ſtraggling ſhips would indeed ſhow ſymptoms of revolt, from time to time, both there and at Plymouth: At length the great mutiny at the Nore broke out *on the 12th of May*, and was not ſuppreſſed till the month of June. Many of the mutineers were brought to trial; and Parker, their leader, was hanged on the 30th of June. No authentic document appeared on theſe trials, indeed, that could connect this mutiny with the ſecret ſocieties on land; but, if we look to dates, it will be evident, that the *Correſponding Society* did not view this inſurrection of the fleet with an indifferent eye. I here allude to the papers that appeared on the trial of a man of the name of *Fellowes*, who had been a journeyman carpenter before he took to the *patriotic line*; he was tried at Maidſtone on the 13th of March, 1798, (his trial having been deferred at his own requeſt) and ſentenced to two years impriſonment. The account of the tranſaction given by the priſoner, as appeared in evidence, is as follows: "That he lodged at a Mr. Wratten's houſe in Maidſtone; "that a parcel came there on the *18th of May*, 1797, (the "fleet in full mutiny) directed to Mr. Wratten, by a "Charing-Croſs coach.—The wife opened the parcel; "and, as Mr. Wratten was from home, he (Fellowes) "told the wife, that the papers it contained belonged to "one of the ſocieties; there was to be a meeting, he told "her, on that night at the *Roſe and Crown*; that he would "carry them there, and take the ſenſe of the meeting. He "accordingly did ſo; read one of them, and none of the "ſociety made any objection. *He then laid them on the* "*table*, and the members of the ſociety *helped themſelves* "*as they thought proper*," (or, perhaps, *found them*, as was the caſe with the hand-bills in Scotland.) Some of the bills were carried from this meeting to another diviſion of the ſociety, ſitting at the *Caſtle Inn*, under the pretence of knowing whether they were legal; but, whether legal or not, they were diſtributed before morning among the ſoldiers then at Maidſtone.—The paper began thus:— "To the Britiſh Army:—Comrades, are we not men? "—Is it not high time we ſhould prove we know our- "ſelves to be ſuch?—Are we any where reſpected as men "—and why are we not?—Have not wrong notions of "diſcipline led us to our preſent deſpiſed condition?—Is "there a man among us who does not wiſh to defend his

" country, and who would not willingly do it without be-
" ing ſubject to the inſolence and cruelty of effeminate
" puppies? *Were not* THE SAILORS (at that time in full
" inſurrection), *like us, mocked for want of thought*, tho'
" not ſo much deſpiſed for poverty as we are? *Have they*
" *not proved that they* CAN THINK *and* ACT *for them-*
" *ſelves*, and preſerve every uſeful point of diſcipline full
" as well, *or better than when under the tyranny of their*
" *officers?*" Then comes a heap of declamation againſt the officers, againſt Parliament, againſt barracks, (a terrible grievance, as it guards the ſoldiers from falling an eaſy prey to the diſcontented) and on the ſyſtem of clothing; the Addreſs then proceeds:—" Theſe are a few of
" our grievances, and but a few; what ſhall we do?—
" The tyranny of what is falſely called diſcipline *prevents*
" *us from acting like other men.* We cannot even give in
" a petition for that which common honeſty would freely
" have given us long ago. We have *only two choices*, ei-
" ther to ſubmit to the preſent impoſitions, or *demand the*
" *treatment* proper for men. *The power is all our own.*
" The *regiments* which ſend you this are willing to do
" their part." (Can the Correſponding Society here denominate themſelves regiments, in conſequence of their pike-buſineſs?) " They can ſhow their countrymen *they*
" *can be ſoldiers without being ſlaves*, and will make their
" demands *as ſoon as they know you will* NOT DRAW THE
" TRIGGER AGAINST THEM.—Of this we will judge
" when we know you have diſtributed this bill, not only
" among your comrades, *but to every ſoldier whom you*
" *know* IN EVERY PART *of the country*—Be ſober—Be
" ready." The whole of this trial took place in preſence of ſeveral of the members of the Correſponding Society of Maidſtone; and after the ſentence of two years impriſonment was paſſed on Fellowes, and that he was taking from the bar, ſome of his friends conſoled him by ſaying, " Two years! that is a long while; but Buonaparte will
" be here before that." However this vapouring Cameleon is little to be dreaded by Britons.

Hand-bills of the ſame nature were diſperſed among the army in other parts, and particularly in London; but, like true ſoldiers, they only anſwered by offering rewards (collected from their pay) for the diſcovery of the miſcreants who had conceived ſo mean an opinion of them as to think they could be ſeduced from their duty. A par-

cel of hand-bills, in the very terms here mentioned, was thrown into the ſtables of the Second Regiment of Horſe Guards, between the hours of one and three in the morning, but was treated with the contempt it deſerved. The diſtribution of ſuch hand-bills, and the proof adduced at Maidſtone, will cauſe much leſs ſurprize, when it is known, that "the deſign of endeavoring to ſeduce the army from "their duty had been the frequent ſubject of converſation "among ſome members of the Correſponding Society; it "even appears, that a project was repeatedly agitated a-"mong them, of ſtriking a ſudden blow, and beginning "by ſecuring the Royal Family and the Members of both "Houſes of Parliament, with the hope (as it was expreſs-"ed) *that the army being without leaders, would no long-"er oppoſe their attempts.*—(2d *Report*, p. 17.)

The Iriſh ſyſtem was now fully adopted in Scotland; as on the 21ſt October, 1797, a perſon juſt arrived from Scotland brought a Scotch Conſtitution to a County Meeting at Down Patrick, "which was *word for word* the "ſame as that of the Iriſh, only the words *United* NORTH "BRITONS were ſubſtituted for *United* IRISHMEN."—*(Iriſh Appendix, No. XIV.)*—And on the 5th of January, 1798, *The United Britons* ſend the addreſs already mentioned in the account of Ireland, declaring that "The "*Society of the Friends of the People* and *that* for *Conſti-"tutional Information* had diſcontinued their exertions; "that the *London Correſponding Society*, and other ſocie-"ties *in union* with it, had ariſen upon their ruins."—*(Ibid.)*—The delegates who carried it informed the National Committee of Ireland, that "England, Scotland, "and Ireland, were in future to be conſidered as one people, acting for one common cauſe; that *legiſlators were "now choſen from the three kingdoms, to act as an Exe-"cutive for* THE WHOLE."—Whither does this information naturally lead us? Surely to that paper which gave riſe to the famous trial at Maidſtone of Quigley, Binns, O'Connor, &c.? It began thus: "*The Secret Committee "of England to the Executive Directory of France*—"Health and Fraternity—the 6th of Pluviôſe (or Janu-"ary 25th, exactly twenty days after the addreſs to Ire-"land.) CITIZEN DIRECTORS—we are called toge-"ther, on the wing of the moment, to communicate to "you our ſentiments; the citizen who now preſents them "to you, and who was the bearer of them before, having

" but a few hours to remain in town, expect not a labor-
" ed addreſs from us; but plainneſs is the great charac-
" teriſtic of republicans.

" Affairs are now drawing to *a great and awful criſis*;
" tyranny, ſhaken to its baſis, ſeems about to be buried
" in its own ruins. *With the tyranny of England* that of
" all Europe muſt fall. Haſte then, Great Nation, *pour*
" *forth thy gigantic force! Let the baſe deſpot* feel thine
" avenging ſtroke, and let one oppreſſed nation carol forth
" the praiſes of France at the altar of liberty.

" We ſaw with rapture *your proclamations*; they met
" our warmeſt wiſhes, and removed doubts from the minds
" of millions. Go on! *Engliſhmen will be ready to ſecond*
" *your efforts! ! !*" What ſpurious breed of Engliſhmen are theſe? What race of Engliſhmen have ſuffered themſelves to be led away by ſuch baſe-born cowards? Is it in the life-time of a Howe, a Hood, a Bridport, a St. Vincent, a Duncan, or a Nelſon, that they dare invite theſe enemies of the human race to come and pillage this flouriſhing country? Are the *ſans culottes* then to lord it in London ſtreets, bearing on pikes in ſanguinary triumph the heads of the beſt men of England, with the hideous yells of *Equality* and *Liberty?* Vainly ſhall ſuch ſycophants, in the hope of partaking of the general pillage and of deſpoiling their fellow-countrymen (for, from the *king to the peaſant*, ALL are declared *monopolizers*) ſpread the terror of French arms and the impoſſibility of reſiſting them. No; far from us be ſuch teachers and ſuch leaders, who only beguile the unheedy to lead them to beggary, wretchedneſs, or the gallows. ENGLISHMEN are *loyal*, *manly*, and *brave*; and when once they ſhall have unmaſked theſe inſidious brethren, they need never doubt of victory. But to return to the addreſs:—The nation is repreſented to be on the eve of bankruptcy; as making great progreſs in democracy; and as placing little confidence in the leaders of oppoſition (at leaſt ſuch was the explanation of that paſſage given by the Counſel for Mr. O'Connor). It then proceeds:

" Already have the Engliſh fraternized with the Iriſh
" and the Scots; *and a delegate* FROM EACH *now ſits*
" with us. The ſacred flame of liberty is rekindled, *the*
" *holy obligation* OF BROTHERHOOD *is received with en-*
" *thuſiaſm. Even* IN THE FLEETS *and Armies it makes*

"*some progress*. DISAFFECTION *prevails in both*, and "United Britain burns to break her chains."

I had forgotten to speak of a circumstance relating to the fleets. Englishmen have viewed with horror the scene of the *Hermione* frigate, whose crew rose on their officers, murdered them, and carried the ship into the enemy's port. They have seen many other plots laid (but fortunately discovered) to murder the officers and give up the ships to the enemy. Looking back to the oath administered to the military in Ireland, "to be true to the French," and the plans agreed upon "to murder their officers and deliver the arms up to the towns-people," the reader will not be so much at a loss to judge whence such atrocious plots could arise, or what *the progress of the* BROTHERHOOD *in the fleets* can mean. God forbid, that I should mention this with any idea of reproach to those gallant men who have since so gloriously obliterated every stain that could have attached to their conduct during the mutiny. They saw with regret that they had fallen victims to seduction, and they gloriously revenged themselves on the enemies of their country. They have counteracted the atrocious plans of the conspiring Brotherhood; and when I mentioned the mutiny, it was only to remind them, that *crafty seducers* could *perchance* surprize their natural honesty.

It continues: "United as we are, we only wait with "impatience to see the Hero of Italy, and the brave ve-"terans of the Great Nation. Myriads will hail their "arrival with shouts of joy; they will soon finish their "glorious campaign! *Tyranny will vanish from the* "*face of the earth, and, crowned with laurels, the in-*"*vincible army of France will return to its native coun-*"*try, there long to enjoy the well earned praise of a grate-*"*ful world, whose freedom they have purchased with their* "*blood.*" *(L. S.)*

Did sycophants ever beg more earnestly for the plunder and devastation of their fellow-countrymen; for they could no longer plead ignorance of the views of the French? Colonel Tate had made his descent on the coast of Wales the 22d of February, 1797, and his instructions, signed by Hoche,* the faithless conqueror of Quiberon,

* These instructions were much cavilled at by those papers that are ever sounding the praises of the French Revolution;

ordered him "to execute a *coup de main* on Briſtol;" for its deſtruction was "of the very laſt importance, and "every poſſible effort ſhould be made to accompliſh it," on account of its riches and commerce. The troops were to be landed by night "within five miles of the town, "in the greateſt ſilence, and being ſupplied with com-"buſtible matter, were to advance rapidly in the dark, "on that ſide of Briſtol which might be to windward, "and immediately ſet fire to that quarter. If the enter-"prize be conducted (they ſay) with dexterity, it cannot "fail to produce the *total ruin* of the town, the port, the "docks, and the veſſels, and to ſtrike terror and amaze-"ment into the very heart of the capital of England." Let the inhabitants of Briſtol now call on thoſe inſidious brethren who dare commune with them, and aſk them, Whether they alſo approve of this invitation of the brotherhood to the French, as they "*applauded and appro-*"*ved the reſolution of forming another general convention*" on the 24th of April, 1794, after the diſperſion of the Scotch Convention in December, 1793. After reading Hoche's Inſtructions, will they write again to the London Correſponding Society—"we read—we bluſhed—we "took courage—we did more; for we reſolved on re-aſ-"ſembling." If ſo they do, it is to be hoped that they will do it for the purpoſe of making public atonement to their fellow-townſmen for their paſt conduct; for they can no longer ſay "*'tis a noble—'tis a virtuous—'tis a* "*god-like and immortal cauſe*—in which we are now mu-„ tually embarked."—(Appendix H.)

and even ſo late as the 31ſt of October, 1798, the COURIER boldly declares them to be a clumſy fabrication of the miniſterial writers. The Engliſh nation at large ſhould know that thoſe inſtructions were never doubted of by any well informed perſon, from the firſt ſeizure of them by Lord Cawdor in February, 1797; that they were depoſited at the Secretary of State's office; that they are alluded to in the report made the 9th of May, 1798, by the Houſe of Commons *On the treatment of priſoners of war*, and are publiſhed in the Appendix (*A. No. XC.*) to that report. When the reader is informed that an office is eſtabliſhed, *Rue du Bacq*, for the delivery of the COURIER at Paris, that it is ſtrongly recommended by a creature of the Directory, in one of their periodical papers, while all other Engliſh papers, *but one*, are proſcribed, his ſurprize will ceaſe, as it is natural to expect that ſome return muſt be made to the Directory by the editor of this paper for ſo marked a favor, though it were at the expenſe of truth.

The Inſtructions proceed: "The expedition under "Colonel Tate has in view three principal objects; the "firſt is, if poſſible, to raiſe an inſurrection in the coun- "try; the ſecond is, *to interrupt and embarraſs the com-* "*merce of the enemy*; and the third, to prepare and faci- "litate the way for a deſcent, by diſtracting the attention "of the Engliſh government.

"In all countries the poor are the claſs moſt prone to "inſurrection; *and this diſpoſition is to be cheriſhed by* "*diſtributing money and drink*; *by* INVEIGHING *againſt* "*the government*, AS THE CAUSE OF THE PUBLIC DIS- "TRESS; by recommending and facilitating a riſing, to "plunder the public ſtores and magazines, and the pro- "perty of the rich, whoſe affluence is the natural ſubject "of envy to the poor." By ſuch means "numbers of "artizans and workmen, of vagabonds and idlers, and "even malefactors," were to be attracted and "formed "into new companies under the command of French of- "ficers.

"The commerce of the enemy in the country is to be "interrupted by breaking down bridges, cutting off dykes, "and ruining cauſeways, which is, at the ſame time, es- "ſentially neceſſary for the preſervation of the army; by "plundering all convoys of ſubſiſtence, the public ſtages "and waggons, and even private carriages; the cutting "off the ſupplies of proviſions from the principal towns, "burning all veſſels and boats in the rivers and canals, "deſtroying magazines, ſetting fire to docks and coal- "yards, rope-walks, great manufactories, &c. &c. It is "to be obſerved likewiſe, that *by theſe means a crowd of* "*artizans will be thrown out of employ*, and of courſe "be ready to embark in any meaſure which holds out to "them ſubſiſtence and plunder without labor or fatigue." To be ſure, the poor, the workmen, and artizans, are here held out as a moſt profligate race; but Hoche, it is to be remembered, ſpeaks from the example of France, where the deſtruction of manufacturing towns was looked upon as a means of recruiting the Jacobin ranks. Secret ſocieties had prepared them for ſuch horrid deeds in France; and Sheffield, Birmingham, and Mancheſter, appear to have been the firſt objects of the *patriotic* labors of the ſecret ſocieties in England.

"Subſiſtence is to be ſeized wherever it can be found; "if any town or village refuſe to ſupply it at the moment,

" *it is to be given up to immediate pillage*; your soldiers " are to carry with them nothing but their arms; *they* " *will find every where clothes, linen, and shoes*; the in- " habitants *must supply your wants*, and the seats of the " gentry are to be your magazines. Wherever the le- " gion, or any of its columns, is posted, if the neighboring " parishes *do not give instant notice of the approach of the* " *enemy* by ringing bells, or otherwise, *they are to be giv-* " *en up* TO FIRE AND SWORD.

" With boldness and intelligence combined, you may " easily possess yourself of *Chester or Liverpool*, which " you will ruin *by burning the magazines, and filling up* " *the ports*, or at least you will cut off all communication " between those cities and the interior.—In order to " spread the consternation and astonishment as widely as " possible, after the destruction of Liverpool, *(for this* " *point is capital)*, you must follow your blow, aud seize " upon some small town or sea-port on that coast, which " you will lay under contribution." Was it (I would ask) to prepare the town of Liverpool for such a fate that so early as 1792, some of its inhabitants entered into a direct correspondence with the London societies that were at that time addressing the Jacobins of Paris and *hailing them as brothers?* Did they then conceive, that within the space of six years an address would be sent to invite those Jacobins into England, bearing such instructions as are now laid before the reader?—During this time Hoche, in person was supposed to be in Ireland; and my reader may easily conceive, by these instructions, the horrors that he would have committed himself, had he succeeded in his attempt at Bantry-Bay. Two other French parties were to have been acting in concert with Tate, in all probability with similar instructions, in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland; and without doubt these parties, if successful, would have as *radically reformed* the constitution as could have been desired by that association at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, which wrote, on the 24th of April, 1794, to inform the London Corresponding Society how *cunningly* they met every week, " admitting none *but known* " *friends*, and assuming no name *but that of* NEWSPA- " PER-COMPANIES." News indeed! their town burnt, their port destroyed—Great news—bloody news for the FRIENDS. Should they, however, not have been the first object of the rapacity of the implacable enemy, and, learn-

ing by the example of Briſtol, have conceived hopes of preſerving their town, by petitioning his majeſty for a military force, would they (I make bold to aſk) patriotically finiſh their petition, by "Farewell, *hoping the* HYDRA OF TYRANNY AND IMPOSITION *ſhall ſoon fall* "*under the* GUILLOTINE OF TRUTH AND REASON!!" Let them learn before it is too late.—(*Appendix*, H. p. 121).

In February laſt, the United Britiſh were ſwearing in proſelytes in the Borough; and theſe ſeducers would have continued their ſeditious practices, had they not been put to flight by the magiſtrates of Union-hall; and John Cormick, in his declaration of July, 1798, ſtated, that "he "knows there is an agent for the United Britiſh reſident "in Paris, and that there are agents both for the United "Britiſh and Iriſh reſident at Hamburg."—(*Iriſh Ap. No. XXXII.*)—Thus are we led to July, 1798, by authentic documents, which will be more than enough to convince the moſt obſtinate ſceptick, that this conſpiring Sect is ever active and vigilant to betray its countrymen into the hands of the moſt implacable of enemies.

Would to God that every Engliſhman would reflect on the proceedings of Secret Societies! how clearly might he perceive their twofold object—of overturning a conſtitution that has led England to the ſummit of glory and proſperity; and of erecting a power, on bloodſhed, rapine, and the neglect of every ſocial duty. On the one ſide, we ſee the Rights of man, Equality and Liberty, ſet forth by theſe inſidious teachers, to prove to the induſtrious laboror and unwary artizan, that it is a breach of their rights to ſee the inhabitants of the earth diſtinguiſhed into claſſes ſubordinate to different ranks and ſubject to Superiors; that were theſe diſtinctions of *monopolizers* once broken, the people would be then repoſſeſſed of their impreſcriptible rights; that tyrannical laws would no longer repreſs the glorious zeal for the welfare of mankind, and deſpotically condemn thoſe *real patriots*, the friends of man and the defenders of their rights. The exiſting governments are repreſented as an infringement of the rights of the people; the magiſtrates and military as agents of deſpotiſm; the clergy as impoſtors. On the other ſide, to eſtabliſh the rebellious power of the Secret Societies, any number of perſons being rendered diſcontented by hearing the perpetual declamations of thoſe *po-*

litical libertines, an oath of ſecrecy and union is tendered to them; their curioſity and enthuſiaſm is next worked upon by the hopes of ſecrets of high importance; they make proſelytes; their aſſemblies ſoon become too numerous; it is hinted that it would be dangerous, under the exiſting circumſtances, to meet in ſuch numbers; it is propoſed and agreed that they ſhould divide, *by tens* for example; that, in order to eſtabliſh a ſort of ſubordination, each ſociety ſhould chooſe a delegate; then the ten delegates depute one of theirs to a higher degree; ſo from degree to degree we riſe to the *Grand and Regulating Committee.* One would think they had forgotten their declamations againſt rank and Superiors. The leaſt breach of ſecrecy is to be puniſhed by poiſon or the dagger. Disobedience is ſeverely puniſhed; and when we look to the Jacobin oath we find that neither *Father*, *Mother*, *Friend*, *Relation*, nor *even Miſtreſs*, are to be ſpared, when the good of the cauſe is in queſtion. Is it that a few rebels, ſtyling themſelves a Secret Committee, may in conjunction with the moſt inveterate enemies of theſe kingdoms plunder and deſpoil their fellow-countrymen, that Engliſhmen will hearken to theſe ſeducers? Shall a few frantic Jacobins, becauſe they are arrived at the ſummit of the pyramid, there to receive the loathſome fumes of blaſphemy and rebellion, lord it over a nation that can boaſt of a Sovereign whoſe virtues and paternal affection have rather made him the father than the ruler of the nation;—of a Houſe of Lords, deſcribed even by the Jacobin Lacroix, "as precious to the nation, becauſe it is a rampart of its "liberties,"—of a Houſe of Commons ever watchful of the real rights of the people, in ſpite of the declamations of the Brotherhood to repreſent it as the contrary;* over

* Few people would ſuſpect, that the debates in Parliament could ever be converted into a tool for the propagation of the views of the Correſponding Society. The following letter, however, will ſhow how carefully our anceſtors had foreſeen every danger, when they ordained that the debates ſhould be kept ſecret; it will alſo ſerve to explain the vehemence of many, on the occaſion of the recent clearing of the galleries and bar during certain debates of high and tickliſh importance, ſuch, for example, as the Iriſh buſineſs. This letter from the London Correſponding Society (Appendix E. March 4, 1793) is written to a ſociety at Sheffield: "With regard to petitioning "Parliament, we are unanimous in the opinion, that ſuch a "petition will not produce a reform; yet, from many conſi-

a nation, in ſhort, that can boaſt of Laws which, formed by the mutual conſent of King, Lords, and Commons, have led it to unparalleled glory, proſperity, and riches? Is it to men who have been ſeated on juries, who have attended the public courts of juſtice, that theſe ſeducers ſhall hold forth on the mal-adminiſtration of juſtice? Shall a loyal army and victorious navy be repreſented as the agents of deſpotiſm and tyranny, becauſe they will not murder their officers and deſert to the enemy?—No, Engliſhmen; ſuch efforts ſhall ever meet with the contempt they deſerve; union, honeſty, and loyalty, ſhall lead us to victory; and, ever mindful of our duties to God and man, we may bid defiance to the malignity of our internal, and the rapacity of our external foes.

So be it!

" derations, we are now perſuaded, that if every ſociety in the " iſland would ſend forward a petition, we ſhould ultimately " gain ground; for as much as *it will force the preſent mem-* " *bers of the ſenate repeatedly to diſcuſs the ſubject: and their* " *deliberations, printed in the different newſpapers*, will moſt " naturally awaken *the public mind towards the object of our* " *purſuit*; the nation once informed that a reform in Parlia- " ment is ſought for from different quarters, gives riſe to de- " bates in the Houſe of Commons, and is acknowledged by " every rank to be wanting, *will begin to exerciſe its own rea-* " *ſon* on the ſubject (probably, as we have ſeen five or ſix me- " chanics of Sheffield doing). Arrived at that period, we pre- " ſume that our buſineſs will be nearly accompliſhed."

END OF THE FOURTH AND LAST PART.